



WARS OF THE AMERICAS

A CHRONOLOGY OF ARMED CONFLICT IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE

Second Edition

DAVID F. MARLEY

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Second Edition

DAVID F. MARLEY

A B C  C L I O

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*Dedicated to the memory of my beloved father
Frank Lewis "Pancho" Marley
(July 12, 1917–November 27, 1996)
who at the age of nineteen departed Canada aboard the S.S. Calgary
for a life of adventure in Africa, and the world beyond*

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Preface

Twist all our victories into one bright wreath,
On which let honor breathe . . .

—William Cartwright (1611–1643)

INEVITABLY, ANY ATTEMPT to compress more than 500 years of warfare into a pair of volumes must entail certain compromises. As a result, minor confrontations may have been inadvertently ignored or underreported in this book, while the very geographic limitations imposed by such a project—of describing only conflicts occurring within the territorial boundaries of the New World since the arrival of the Europeans—furthermore means that descriptions of several colossal global efforts such as World War II appear strangely stunted, because most of their action was played out overseas.

Nevertheless, the narrow continental focus of this work also serves to reveal certain historical trends, common to virtually every modern nation-state in the Americas. The earliest explorers, for example, encountered lands already embroiled in warfare, and used the divisions existing between native tribes to facilitate their own campaigns of subjugation—by playing off Arawak against Carib, Tlaxcaltecan versus Aztec, northern Inca against southern Inca, and so on—as described in Volume 1's first chapter, titled "Discovery and Conquest." French, English, and Dutch sailors then arrived to scavenge amid the fringes of Spain's sprawling new empire (*see* "Seaborne Challengers"), eventually setting up shore establishments of their own in defiance of Madrid's opposition (*see* "Rival Outposts"). In time, these footholds came to be contested as minor prizes during larger European conflicts (*see* "Intercolonial Friction"), before finally flourishing to such an extent as to become the primary cause—and even active participants—in a worldwide struggle for economic supremacy (*see* "High Tide of Empire").

The evolution of most American colonies culminated with them seeking their own liberty (as described in the sixth chapter on "Independence," at the beginning of Volume 2), which in turn inaugurated a

distinctly new—and oftentimes painful—transitional phase into full autonomy (*see* "Struggles of the Young Republics" and "Nationhood"). Finally, the gradual emergence of the United States as the world's dominant superpower brought an end to all foreign designs on the Western Hemisphere (*see* "Pax Americana") and ushered in our own contemporary age (*see* "Modern Era"). This chronology is intended to provide both scholarly and amateur historians with rapid access to information about past conflicts and, in particular, considerable detail on some of the lesser-known hostilities of the New World.

In conclusion, the author would like to acknowledge the kind and patient assistance received from countless esteemed colleagues and friends during the compilation of this book, most especially Dr. Basil Kingstone, head of the French Department, Dr. Berislav Primorac of the Classical and Modern Languages Department, and Dr. Ronald Welch of the Geography Department at the University of Windsor, Ontario, Canada; the entire staff of the Archivo General de la Nación in Mexico City; Dr. Pedro González García, director of the Archive of Indies in Seville; Dr. José Ignacio González-Aller, director of the Museo Naval in Madrid; Mr. André Gousse, military curator of Parks Canada; Dr. Leo M. Akveld, curator, and Mr. Ron Brand, deputy librarian, of the Prins Hendrik Maritime Museum in Rotterdam; Mr. Robert Elliott, Mr. Graham Staffen, Mr. Donald Tupling, and the late Mr. Kenneth W. Badder of the Leddy Library of the University of Windsor; Ms. Hendrika Ruger, Ms. Joan Magee, Ing. Adolfo Langenscheidt F. and Dr. Jodie S. Randall of Mexico City; Dr. Jean Starr of Edinburgh, Scotland; and Mr. René Chartrand of Hull, Quebec.

—David F. Marley
Windsor, Ontario

Adoption of the Gregorian Calendar

BY THE LATE 1500s, the Julian calendar—named in honor of its ancient Roman reviser Julius Caesar—no longer coincides with the seasons or the new moons, because its original reckoning of a year being 365 and one-fourth days long had been a slight overestimate. Therefore, on February 24, 1582, after lengthy studies by the Neapolitan astronomer Aloysius Lilius and many others, Pope Gregory XIII issues a bull declaring that a new reformed calendar is to be introduced. The Friday following the feast of Saint Francis on October 4, 1582, rather than being reckoned as October 5, is instead to be designated as October 15 so as to cut out 10 excessive days and restore all subsequent equinoxes to their proper cycle.

This change is accepted in most of Italy, Spain, and Portugal and in France it is instituted two months later—moving from December 9 to December 20, 1582—while the Netherlands and much of Germany introduce it in 1583. Protestant England, however—being opposed to any hint of Catholic suzerainty—refuses to comply. Consequently, from 1582 through 1700, English “Old Style” (O.S.) Julian calendars lag 10

days behind the “New Style” (N.S.) Gregorian calendars used by the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese. As a result, it becomes customary to use both dates whenever corresponding internationally, such as when Adm. Robert Blake writes to England’s secretary of state, John Thurloe, from “aboard the *George* in Calary Bay, 18/28 April 1655.” To further add to the confusion, Old Style calendars continue to recognize the New Year as beginning on March 25, rather than recognize the Gregorian changeover to January 1.

This difference between both systems increases to 11 days in 1700 when New Style calendars declare it to be a leap year and incorporate a February 29, while those of the Old Style later go directly from February 28 to March 1. This 11-day discrepancy will persist until September 1752, when Britain finally adopts the modern Gregorian calendar, still in use today. The date following Wednesday, September 2, 1752 (O.S.), is declared as Thursday, September 14 (N.S.), a change bringing British calendars into alignment with those used by Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese colonies; a few protests are held in England, nevertheless, with mobs chanting: “Give us back our eleven days!”

For purposes of this book, all dates are given using the modern Gregorian calendar unless specifically followed by the O.S. designation.

Discovery and Conquest (1492–1572)



We only come to sleep,
we only come to dream;
it is not true, no, it is not true,
that we come to live upon this earth.

—ancient Aztec verse

INITIAL CONTACTS (1492–1498)

On a Friday morning, October 12, 1492, the Genoese-born explorer Christopher Columbus steps onto an island called Guanahani by its Arawak-speaking Taíno inhabitants, but which he renames San Salvador (today generally believed to be Long Bay on Watling Island in the Bahamas). Having led a trio of Spanish vessels across the Atlantic in hopes of establishing a new trade route between Europe and Asia, the admiral erroneously assumes that he is somewhere near Japan.

After briefly exploring San Salvador's adjoining islands, Columbus coasts along northeastern Cuba, where he becomes separated from his caravel *Pinta*, commanded by Martín Alonso Pinzón, then visits the north side of an island that he names Española—literally, the “Spanish” island because of its strong resemblance to Spain's coastline—a term that will later become Anglicized as Hispaniola. Here, his flagship *Santa María* is accidentally wrecked on December 24, but the Spaniards are generously welcomed ashore the next day by Guacanagarí, the local chieftain. With only one ship remaining to him, Columbus decides to leave part of his crew behind while he returns to Spain. The Arawaks prove amenable, in turn hoping that these visitors will protect them against their more ferocious Antillean neighbors, the Caribs, who have been raiding them from seaward for several generations. The *Santa María*'s timbers are consequently used to construct a small fortress within the native village, which Columbus dubs Navidad or “Christmas” in honor of the auspicious day on which he and his men had been received. He then installs a 36-man garrison under the officers Diego de Arana, Pedro Gutiérrez, and Rodrigo de Escobedo.

Setting sail with his remaining caravel on January 4, 1493, Columbus overtakes the *Pinta* two days later, just east of present-day Monte Cristi, Dominican Republic. On January 13, both vessels encounter a Carib war party in Samaná Bay, their faces “blackened with charcoal.” After an uneasy parley, fighting erupts when a 7-man Spanish boat-party is set upon by 55 natives. The Spaniards' steel weapons frighten and scatter the Caribs, and three days later Columbus sets back out into the Atlantic for Spain.

Upon his return to Europe, the explorer proclaims his discovery of new islands and gives a glowing account of exotic, fertile lands rich with gold and inhabited only by primitive peoples. He encourages a much larger expedition to gather around him for his second voyage—intended to establish a permanent foothold.

NOVEMBER 3, 1493. Columbus returns to the Antilles with the title “Admiral of the Ocean Seas,” heading a fleet comprised of five Spanish ships and a dozen caravels bearing 1,500 people, as well as several score of horses and domesticated animals. The first island he sights is called Dominica in honor of the day of discovery—it being Sunday—while the next is named Maria Galante, after the admiral's flagship *Santa María la Galante*, or *Marigalante* to its Spanish seamen. Other islands are spotted as the fleet picks its way through the Leeward Islands, then passes northern Puerto Rico toward Columbus's original outpost of Navidad (Haiti). A handful of Caribs are seized en route, but no major clashes occur.

Upon reaching Hispaniola, the Spaniards find their compatriots dead, apparently from a tribal war

against the rival chieftains Caonabó and Mayreni. Columbus orders a new settlement constructed nearby, christening it La Isabela in honor of the Spanish queen. The colonists—many of them criminals banished from Spain—soon become disillusioned by the hardships, disease, and poverty that they experience, and frictions develop both among themselves as well as with the local tribesmen.

JANUARY 21, 1494. Having established a secure base on Santo Domingo, the Spaniards dispatch two expeditions in opposite directions on the island, searching for the natives' goldfields.

FEBRUARY 2, 1494. Twelve of Columbus's vessels return to Spain under Capt. Antonio de Torres

Trade Factory

In the late 15th century, commercial expeditions from Europe faced voyages over immense distances. Companies therefore sought to establish a permanent footing in any distant new territory to stockpile wares for repeat visits, as well as to resist hostilities. Because a firm's overseas business was supervised by a resident agent or *factor* (a term derived from the Latin verb *factum*, meaning "to do or make"), such outposts became known as "factories."

As early as 1445, Portuguese merchants tried to bypass the Italian stranglehold on Middle Eastern trade routes by sailing down the African coastline. They erected their first factory on Arguin Island (modern Mauritania), which was transformed over the next six years into an impregnable fortress. The Portuguese Crown received a quarter of the profits from its trade in gold, slaves, and other regional goods, appointing a captain to command the outpost's garrison. The company otherwise ruled this tiny private colony in accordance with Portuguese customs and laws. Over the next half century, a string of similar factories was extended all down the West African coast, until Vasco da Gama at last rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached India. Some outposts were founded without permission along uninhabited stretches of shoreline; others were created in cooperation with tribal chieftains. All served to maintain Portugal's claim over this trade route against European competitors.

Upon Columbus's return to Spain from his initial voyage of discovery, his backers immediately sent him back across the Atlantic to assert ownership by establishing just such a permanent settlement. It was assumed that Columbus's outpost would soon begin serving as a factory for trade with nearby Japan, China, or India. When the Asian mainland was not encountered within the next few years, however, this commercial focus was supplanted by a drive to exploit the native peoples of the New World.



Engraving of a 15th-century round ship by Albrecht Dürer. (Author's Collection)

bearing messages, a few exotic articles, and requests for further reinforcement.

MARCH 12, 1494. Columbus, after recuperating from a brief illness, leads a small army inland from La Isabela to the supposed goldfields around Cibao. Almost a week later, he arrives and builds a second fort called Santo Tomás, installing Capt. Pedro Margarit as its commander and establishing a garrison of 56 men. Returning to La Isabela, Columbus then sends an additional 70 men to reinforce Santo Tomás because of rumors of an impending native attack.

APRIL 9, 1494. Concerned by the overcrowding of his original La Isabela encampment, Columbus sends Capt. Alonso de Ojeda with more than 400 men overland toward Santo Tomás, hoping to expand upon this foothold. During this march, some minor incidents occur with the Arawaks because of heavy-handed Spanish punishments against theft.

APRIL 24, 1494. Looking for the Asian mainland, Columbus sets sail with three vessels to explore farther west. Probing southern Cuba as far as Isla de Pinos, he turns back, then slowly circles Jamaica and the southern side of Hispaniola.

JUNE 1494. During Columbus's absence, frictions on Hispaniola increase, both among the Spaniards and with the local natives. When the admiral's brother

Bartholomew arrives with an additional trio of ships from Spain, he finds discipline badly deteriorated, and Margarit immediately goes aboard one of the vessels with his followers to set sail for Europe.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1494. Exhausted and sick, Columbus puts back into La Isabela, bitterly disappointed at his inability to find any trace of either China or Japan.

MARCH 26, 1495. *Defeat of Caonabó.* After a lengthy convalescence, the admiral and his brother Bartholomew march inland on March 24 at the head of 200 Spaniards, 20 horsemen, and a score of fighting dogs to do battle against Caonabó, the principal leader of Arawak resistance. Two days later, they defeat a mass of Indians in what the Spanish later call the Battle of Vega Real or "Royal Plain," capturing this chieftain and condemning him to transportation to Spain, while executing many of his followers. This massacre, coupled with disease and enslavement, effectively ends organized Arawak opposition on Hispaniola.

MARCH 10, 1496. Still plagued by his failure to locate Asia, as well as by negative reports circulating against him in Spain, Columbus decides to visit Europe. He sets sail aboard the caravels *Niña* and *Santa Cruz* (the latter also known as *La India*, being the first European vessel constructed in the New World), which are crowded with 225 Spaniards and 30 Indian

Treaty of Tordesillas

When he learned in 1493 of Columbus's first transatlantic voyage, the Portuguese king João II complained that this new route infringed upon the 14-year-old Treaty of Alcáçovas-Toledo. By its terms, Spain had agreed to respect Portugal's monopoly down the African coast by not sending any expeditions "below the Canary Islands." Spanish diplomats replied that their explorer had in fact sailed west, not south, but this argument failed to calm the situation. Spain's joint monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel, therefore asked the recently elected Pope Alexander VI to mediate. The pope issued a trio of bulls on May 3–4 upholding the Spanish monarchs' claim. His second *Inter caetera* bull of May 4 even suggested that a dividing line be created 100 leagues (roughly 300 miles) west of the Cape Verde and Azores islands. All lands west of this boundary would belong to Spain, just as all lands to its east were already being monopolized by Portugal.

Yet, because the pope was originally Spanish—having been born 61 years earlier in Valencia as Rodrigo Borgia—and had become a venal individual open to bribes and other excesses, João II refused to abide by his decision. Instead, he pressed Ferdinand and Isabel directly for a settlement, until a new treaty was signed at the Spanish city of Tordesillas on June 7, 1494. It shifted the dividing line 270 leagues farther out into the Atlantic, thus running some 1,100 miles west of the Cape Verde and Azores islands. Such a realignment would eventually allow Portugal to occupy Brazil, although the treaty was never recognized by any other nation. Indeed, when the Colombian tribal chieftain Sinú was informed of its existence by a Spanish expedition probing upriver in quest of the Tarufi gold mines in 1514, he replied that "the Pope must have been drunk, for giving away what was not his."

passengers—among the latter the captive chieftain Caonabó. Running short on provisions, the Spanish fight their way onto the island of Guadeloupe, seizing food and a dozen Carib captives before departing again on April 20 for Madeira. The admiral has chosen this unusual route to avoid a French fleet rumored to be blockading Spain's coast.

JUNE 24, 1497. At 5:00 a.m. on this Saturday morning, 47-year-old John Cabot—an Italian navigator residing in Bristol and commissioned by King Henry VII of England—sights either the northern tip of Newfoundland or Cape Breton (Canada) after traversing the North Atlantic via Iceland. Briefly exploring this region with his 50-ton, 18-man

Matthew, he apparently names Capes Ray and Saint George along with the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon before sailing past Cape Race and out into the Atlantic again, returning to Bristol by August 6, convinced that he has reached Asia—"the country of the Great Khan."

SUMMER 1498. Reinforced with four ships and 300 men, Cabot returns to North America, determined to find "Cipangu" or Japan. After briefly exploring southern Greenland, he sights Baffin Island at a latitude of approximately 66° N, then coasts south as far as the 38th parallel without encountering any sign of a major Asian kingdom. Disappointed, he returns to Bristol late in autumn, dying shortly thereafter.

MAINLAND EXPLORATIONS (1498–1519)

The initial belief that a new Far Eastern trade route has been found gradually gives way to disillusionment, especially because these newly discovered islands apparently have little commercial value. Thus the urgency to establish a fortified Spanish outpost and monopolize this western route against other European rivals, such as the Portuguese and Italians—who have earlier done much the same during their explorations of Africa and Asia—soon begins to evaporate. In case after case, the Antillean natives prove to be simple folk, eking out a subsistence-level living while barely possessing any clothes or tools, much less valuable barter items.

This alters the Spanish colonists' attitude as well, from one of mercantile adventurism to a desire to occupy the land. In the absence of better economic prospects, they lay claim to increasingly extensive plots and begin clearing these to plant crops—eventually importing slaves to help in this work. Those natives who befriend the Spaniards are decimated by disease, while those who resist are unable to match the Spanish weaponry or armor. The Church further encourages assimilation to gain converts. Thus, as the search to reach Japan, China, or India vainly continues, the Caribbean islanders go under.

JULY 31, 1498. His prestige at court fully restored, Columbus returns to the New World, this time having followed a more southerly route across the Atlantic in hopes of spotting the chimerical Asian continent. Having quit Spain at the head of a squadron of four ships and two caravels with 500 men, the admiral sends three craft directly from the Canaries toward Hispaniola, while leading the other trio farther south. Thus he discovers the island of Trinidad, Gulf of Paria, and Margarita Island (Venezuela) before continuing toward Hispaniola, where he arrives on August 20.

During Columbus's absence, La Isabela has been abandoned by his brothers Bartholomew and Di-

ego in favor of a new town on the island's southeastern coast, which they have christened Santo Domingo. A serious insurrection has also developed among the Spanish settlers, most of whom have sided with Francisco Roldán against the Columbus brothers. The admiral finds his own authority greatly diminished among the disgruntled inhabitants, forcing him to enter protracted negotiations with Roldán, eventually appointing him his lieutenant governor.

OCTOBER 18, 1498. Five Spanish ships depart Hispaniola to recross the Atlantic, sighting the South American coast again during their voyage.

SUMMER 1499. In Spain, Bishop Juan Rodríguez de Fonseca has increasingly begun acting as minister for West Indian affairs, authorizing rival captains to make independent explorations despite Columbus's supposed primacy over such matters. One of the first challengers to sail is Columbus's former subordinate Alonso de Ojeda, who departs Santa Catalina at Cadiz on May 18, 1499 with two ships piloted by the admiral's former sailing master, Juan de la Cosa, and accompanied by another pair of vessels under the 48-year-old Florentine navigator Amerigo Vespucci.

After sighting land around Guyana, the first two ships explore the northeastern shores of South America from the Gulf of Paria as far west as Cape de la Vela, naming this stretch of coastline Venezuela or "Little Venice" because of the native huts perched on stilts along its shores. At Chichiriviche, a Spanish landing party clashes with Carib warriors ashore, suffering one dead and a score wounded. They christen Cabo San Román on August 9, explore the Laguna de Maracaibo by August 24, and then quit Cape de la Vela for Santo Domingo six days afterward.

Meanwhile, the second group under Vespucci veers southeastward, probing the Brazilian shoreline well past the mouth of the Amazon River before turning back at a latitude of 6°30' S on August 23. Vespucci then visits the island of Trinidad and the Gulf of Paria before continuing westward in Ojeda's wake. After receiving a hostile reception from natives on the mainland, he rests on Curaçao and Aruba before venturing farther southwest and eventually swinging around to rejoin Ojeda at Santo Domingo.

JULY 1499. A third expedition enters the Gulf of Paria, consisting of a single 50-ton caravel with 33 crew members under Pedro Alonso Niño—another of Columbus's former pilots—and his merchant partner Cristóbal Guerra who have quit Spain in late May just a few days after Ojeda. After successfully bartering for pearls in the Gulf, their caravel is attacked upon exiting the Dragon's Mouths (near modern Port of Spain, Trinidad) by 18 Carib war canoes, which the Spaniards drive off with considerable difficulty by firing their artillery to frighten the occupants and capturing one craft.

Niño and Guerra then trade peaceably at Margarita and Cumaná for several weeks before venturing west and reaching Golfo Triste by November. When they attempt to land near Chichiriviche, however, several hundred warriors confront them on its beach, compelling the Spaniards to retrace their course toward Cumaná. After spending three

weeks acquiring more pearls and visiting the nearby Araya salt pans, Niño and Guerra set sail for Spain on February 13, 1500. The profits from their voyage will encourage other imitators.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1499. Having completed his exploration of Venezuela, Ojeda calls at Yáquimo (southern Santo Domingo) to replenish his supplies. When Lieutenant Governor Roldán visits his ships on Sunday, September 29, news of Bishop Fonseca's granting of licenses to explore the New World helps revive the Spanish settlers' resentment against the Columbus brothers, who have always sought to monopolize these affairs. Several months of turmoil ensue, culminating with numerous arrests, banishments, and even executions on the admiral's orders.

Ojeda, meanwhile, sails north with Vespucci on his return passage toward Spain, traversing the Lucayas (Bahamas) and enslaving 232 of its natives before recrossing the Atlantic via the Azores, Canaries, and Madeira, reaching Cadiz by mid-June 1500.

JANUARY 26, 1500. Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, a veteran of Columbus's voyages, appears with four caravels and 150 seamen off the eastern tip of Brazil, exploring its coast in a northwesterly direction. Near Maranhão, one of his landing parties is set upon and 11 members killed, plus many others wounded by arrows as they rush to their companions' aid. Near the mouth of the Amazon River, 36 natives are taken aboard as captives, after which Yáñez Pinzón continues as far as the Orinoco River, the Dragon's Mouths, and the island of Tobago before finally reaching Santo Domingo on June 23. After refreshing his supplies, he presses on toward the Bahamas, but two of his vessels are sunk by a hurricane in July, the remaining pair being obliged to retire to Santo Domingo for repairs. The explorer subsequently strikes out across the Atlantic, returning to Spain by September 30.

Another two-ship expedition under Diego Lepe follows a similar course up the South American coastline and back toward Spain around this same time, although it does not make many contacts ashore.

APRIL 22, 1500. A dozen large Portuguese trading ships under Adm. Pedro Álvares Cabral (sometimes referred to as "Pedro Álvares de Gouveia") and Vice Adm. Sancho de Toar sight the Brazilian coast near latitude 19° S, around modern Bahia's Porto Seguro. Although this region nominally lies within the Portuguese sphere of influence as defined by the Treaty



The Portuguese admiral Álvaro Cabral comes ashore near Porto Seguro, Brazil, in April 1500. (Library of Congress)

of Tordesillas (see sidebar titled “Treaty of Tordesillas”), Cabral has in fact not come in search of this territory. His actual destination is India via the Cape of Good Hope, but having departed Cape Verde in West Africa, Cabral has circled too far out into the Atlantic, thus inadvertently coming within sight of South America.

His vessels spend the next fortnight coasting southward, occasionally visiting ashore to refresh their provisions and treat with local inhabitants. After celebrating Easter Mass on land, they name this shoreline Terra da Vera Cruz or “Land of the True Cross”; then on May 3 they set out into the South Atlantic once again, bound toward the Cape of Good Hope. Cabral also detaches Capt. Gaspar de Lemos’s caravel to carry word of his discovery back to King Manoel I, but this report is greeted with scant enthusiasm as the commercial allure of the Far East commands much greater attention. Only a few sporadic crossings will be made by Portuguese ships to Brazil over the next 30 years, until the French threaten to take over this region, prompting the first serious Portuguese colonizing effort by Martim Afonso de Sousa in 1532.

JUNE 5, 1500. The wealthy Sevillian notary Rodrigo Galván de Bastidas, who sailed with Columbus

on his second voyage, receives a license from the Spanish Crown to outfit two ships at his own expense to explore any lands on the far side of the Atlantic not already sighted by the admiral or any other Spaniard. After consulting with the veteran seaman Juan de la Cosa, de Bastidas appoints him as senior pilot for his expedition. They set sail from Cadiz that same October with the ships *San Antón* and *Santa María de Gracia*, plus two smaller consorts.

AUGUST 23, 1500. Francisco de Bobadilla, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, arrives at Santo Domingo in command of the caravels *Goda* and *Antigua*, with plenary powers to investigate reports of deteriorating conditions upon this island. He finds Columbus inland at Vega Real and Bartholomew, Columbus’s brother, at Jaragua dealing with its rebellious settlers, so Bobadilla immediately assumes office as governor. The admiral is thereupon recalled to the capital, arrested early in October, and taken in chains aboard one of Bobadilla’s ships—along with his brother—to set sail early that December back toward Spain.

JANUARY 1501. De Bastidas and de la Cosa arrive at Cape de la Vela (modern Venezuela) and begin to expand on the Spaniards’ mainland knowledge by charting and bartering with local natives. They

slowly explore as far southwest as the Gulf of Darién, in the process discovering and naming such ports as Santa Marta and Cartagena as well as the mouth of the Magdalena River on April 1.

Their vessels weakened by teredo worms, de Bastidas and de la Cosa eventually depart and touch at Jamaica, experiencing many difficulties before one of their vessels finally founders off Jaragua in western Santo Domingo. They succeed in rescuing part of their gold but are arrested by Governor Bobadilla on a charge of tax evasion for their dealings with the locals. In 1502, de Bastidas and de la Cosa are exonerated; they return to Spain late that same year.

FEBRUARY 3, 1501. The Spanish Crown repeats an earlier ban of 1499, prohibiting all foreigners from traveling to the West Indies. Such restrictions will be reiterated numerous times over the next two decades, to little avail.

SPRING 1501. The merchant Cristóbal Guerra and his brother Luis return into the Gulf of Paria from Seville aboard their 50-ton caravel to barter for more pearls. During their westward progression they endure some clashes with natives and seize a number as slaves before returning to Spain that same November.

On December 2, the Catholic monarchs order Cristóbal Guerra's arrest for his enslavement and sale of these natives. He must forfeit any proceeds, while the Indians are to be freed and returned across the Atlantic.

AUGUST 10, 1501. The Florentine navigator Vespucci returns to the New World, this time piloting a Portuguese expedition commanded by André Gonçalves. They sight the Brazilian coast and slowly reconnoiter down its shoreline past modern Rio de Janeiro—"January River," so named because it is sighted on January 1, 1502—and the River Plate. After perhaps reaching as far south as Patagonia by late January 1502, they eventually reverse course.

When Vespucci reaches Lisbon again on July 22, reports of this and similar immense distances of new coastline being explored convince him and a growing body of other scholars that these territories cannot be part of Asia but, rather, a completely new continent.

MARCH 12, 1502. *Ojeda's Failure.* A colonizing expedition led by Ojeda from Cadiz arrives off pearl-rich Margarita Island (northeastern Venezuela) and includes the ships *Santa María de la Antigua*

under Capt. García de Ocampo and *Santa María de la Granada* under Juan de Vergara (both partners of Ojeda), plus the caravels *Magdalena* under Pedro de Ojeda (the commander in chief's nephew) and *Santa Ana* under Hernando de Guevara.

Having become separated, a shortage of supplies leads some of these Spaniards to attack a peaceful native settlement at Cumaná on April 2, killing 78 Indians at the cost of one Spanish fatality. Continuing westward, Ojeda and his men eventually reach the port of Santa Cruz (so called because it is discovered on May 3—the day of the Feast of the Cross; today it is called Bahía Honda, Colombia). Here they are joined by Juan de Buenaventura, one of Rodrigo de Bastidas's men, who had been left behind at nearby Santa Marta (see "January 1501" entry) where he had learned the natives' language and customs. Shortly thereafter, when Ojeda attempts to erect an establishment ashore, his Spaniards are pelted with arrows by local tribesmen, obliging his expedition to come ashore in full armor to subdue these opponents. Ojeda then erects three small fortresses to protect his new town, while skirmishing with the Indians farther inland and detaching Vergara's *Granada*—later, his nephew's *Magdalena* as well—to hunt for provisions.

On Vergara's return passage from Jamaica, where he has ventured to secure food, 25 of his men go ashore to forage at Valderrábano (24 miles southwest of Bahía Honda), suffering 19 slain before regaining their ship. By late May, Ojeda's fledgling colony is in such dire straits that Ocampo and Vergara lure their partner Ojeda aboard the *Granada*, clapping him in irons to be conveyed to Hispaniola, thus abandoning Bahía Honda.

APRIL 15, 1502. The first contingent of a massive new colonizing expedition reaches Santo Domingo from Spain under Gov. Designate Nicolás de Ovando, Knight of the Order of Alcántara, which—when joined by its second group 15 days later—will comprise a total of 32 ships bearing 2,500 settlers (among them, the chronicler-priest Bartolomé de las Casas, as well as the future conquistadores Hernán Cortés and Francisco Pizarro).

Ovando immediately deposes Bobadilla as governor and sets about extirpating the last seeds of rebelliousness from this island, preparing to send all troublemakers home aboard the returning fleet under Capt. Antonio de Torres. The new governor also has orders to keep Spanish residents from intermingling among the natives and to charge tribute

from the latter. (A couple of years later, natives will furthermore be assigned as seasonal laborers for the Spaniards.)

Just as Captain de Torres's vessels get under way from Santo Domingo early in July 1502, Columbus, who has been exonerated and given a new (if somewhat more limited) commission, passes by the island with four ships, having departed Cadiz on May 9 and discovered Martinique on June 15. The admiral is now heading farther west in another attempt to find Asia. Columbus has been ordered not to touch land at Santo Domingo until its situation is stabilized, so he merely sets some messages ashore, along with a recommendation that Torres's fleet not weigh anchor because of signs of an impending hurricane. His advice is ignored, and all but two ships and a handful of lesser vessels are subsequently destroyed by a violent storm, which costs Torres, Bobadilla, Roldán, the imprisoned chieftain Guarionex, and countless others their lives. Among the few survivors is Rodrigo de Bastidas.

Columbus's quartet of ships rides out this hurricane at Puerto Hermoso, at the mouth of the Jaina River, and then are blown past Jamaica toward southern Cuba. From here, the admiral reaches Guanaja Island (Honduras) on August 14 and rounds Cape Gracias a Dios by September 12. He works his way down the Central American shoreline as far south as Veragua (Panama) without encountering any major kingdoms. He is nonetheless convinced that he has reached the outer fringes of Indochina. On November 2, he names the harbor of Portobelo (Panama) and later pauses to gather provisions in a bay that he dubs Bastimentos.

JANUARY 6, 1503. Buffeted by contrary winds, Columbus returns into Veragua (Panama) and establishes a camp ashore named Santa María de Belén.

FEBRUARY 6, 1503. Unable to sail eastward because of contrary winds and storms, Columbus sends 70 men up the Belén River from his Santa María base camp, establishing a brief trade in gold pieces with its natives. This barter soon degenerates into hostility, though, with the local *quibián* or "chieftain" being captured by the Spaniards, then escaping.

SPRING 1503. On Santo Domingo, the new governor de Ovando declares war against the natives of Saona Island for killing eight Spaniards who had been circling around to the north to settle there. Capt. Juan de Esquivel leads a punitive expedition

that defeats these tribesmen, along with their mainland overlord Cutubano or Cutubanamú at Higüey.

Around this same time, four Portuguese ships visit Brazil, returning home with several captives and tropical wood.

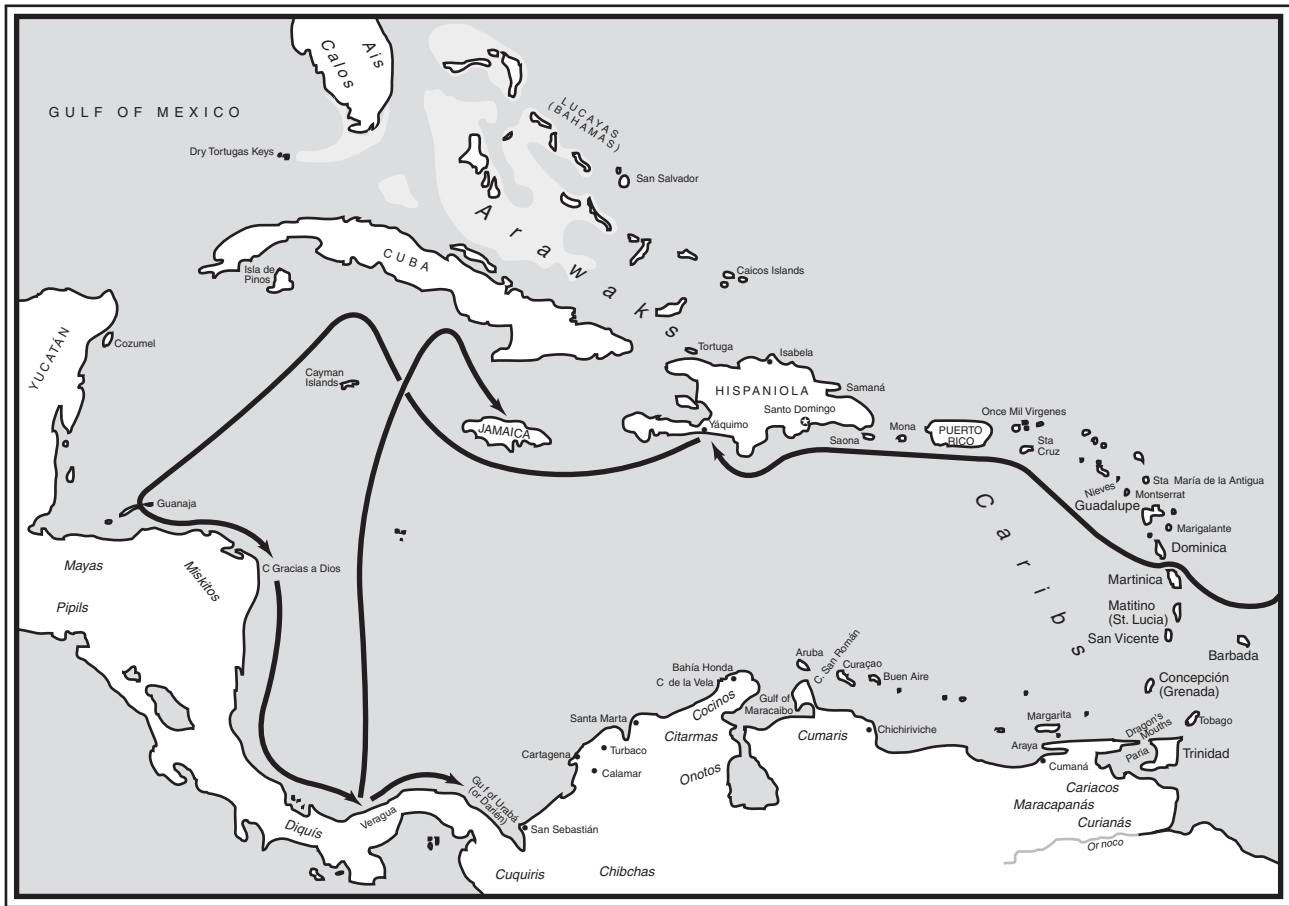
APRIL 16, 1503. *Columbus's Defeat at Veragua.* With his ships dangerously deteriorated after long exposure in the tropics, the admiral tows three out to sea from Veragua in anticipation of departing (the *Gallega* being left behind as unseaworthy). However, his shore parties are attacked by 400 infuriated natives before he can set sail; 7 of his 20 men at the base camp under Capt. Diego Méndez are killed, and all but 1 of Capt. Diego Tristán's 12-man boat party are slaughtered when they venture upriver. The remainder finally fights its way offshore.

Columbus subsequently touches at Portobelo, Bastimentos, and Mármol Point before finally steering for Cuba with his two remaining ships (another having been scuttled).

JULY 7, 1503. Exhausted, Columbus is shipwrecked on Jamaica with his two ships and 116 surviving men, where they construct a palisaded camp at Santa Gloria Bay on its northern coast to resist native attacks. His subordinate, Diego Méndez, is sent to Santo Domingo with 6 seamen for help, but although Méndez arrives five days later, de Ovando is slow to help. Columbus will endure more than a year of native hostility and Spanish mutinies before Méndez finally appears with a hired caravel on June 28, 1504. This ordeal will mark the end of the great explorer's efforts in the New World, as he returns to Seville desperately ill by November 7. He will die at Valladolid on May 20, 1506.

On Hispaniola, meanwhile, de Ovando has brought order into the settlers' lives and crushed the last shreds of Indian resistance by a brutal massacre at Jaragua: with 70 riders and 300 infantrymen he visits Anacaona—Caonabó's widow and native queen of the southwestern portion of this island—luring her with a false invitation to dine, only to then seize the queen and burn her principal followers alive on suspicion of plotting a revolt. Spanish units under Diego Velázquez and Rodrigo Mejía subsequently subjugate this entire region, establish new towns, and three months afterward hang Anacaona.

Shortly thereafter, news also reaches de Ovando that the nine-man Spanish garrison installed this same spring at Higüey under Capt. Martín Villamán has been massacred by disgruntled natives, one man



Columbus's fourth voyage through the Caribbean.

alone surviving to bring word of this disaster. The governor promptly orders Capt. Juan de Esquivel to prepare another punitive expedition for the east, comprising 300–400 Spaniards under lieutenants Juan Ponce de León and Diego de Escobar, plus numerous native auxiliaries. They take 8–10 months to hunt down Chief Cutubano on his Saona Island refuge and execute him, after which this territory is completely occupied.

JANUARY 5, 1504. The 60-man, 120-ton French ship *Espoir* of Capt. Binot Paulmier de Gonneville, damaged by a South Atlantic storm while bound from the Canaries toward the Cape of Good Hope, reaches Santa Catarina Island (Brazil). Welcomed ashore by Chief Arosca, the Frenchmen remain here until June 3, when they depart for Normandy aboard their repaired vessel. Their report will inspire future contacts.

SPRING 1504. Cristóbal Guerra returns into the Caribbean with a small colonizing expedition,

meeting the ships of Juan de la Cosa near Cartagena in the summer. Guerra chooses to remain and attempt a settlement at this place, while de la Cosa presses southwest into the Gulf of Darién, vainly searching for a passage farther west. Eventually Guerra sends his fellow explorer a message begging for help against Indian attacks, but no one can reach Guerra before he is slain.

De la Cosa, meanwhile, beaches his ships because of extensive damage caused by teredo worms and camps uneasily on the shore with 200 men, while building two smaller brigantines from the ships' remains. Yellow fever and native attacks take a heavy toll, so only 50 Spaniards reach Jamaica and subsequently are rescued from Santo Domingo. Early in 1506, de la Cosa returns to Spain with his survivors.

APRIL 24, 1505. After having explored the unconquered island of Borinquen or Boriquén (modern Puerto Rico) the previous year with Martín García de Salazar, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón is granted a license by the Spanish Crown to settle it. However,

he evidently fails to carry out this project within the allotted year, instead supposedly sailing around Cuba—thus proving it to be an island—before returning to Spain.

SUMMER 1506. Alonso de Ojeda, released from his legal entanglements (*see* “March 12, 1502” entry), returns to the Caribbean with a small expedition, supposedly to establish a stronghold in the Gulf of Urabá, but actually only coasting from Paria as far west as Panama before retiring into Santo Domingo.

EARLY 1508. Capt. Sebastián de Ocampo, a veteran from Columbus’s first explorations, is ordered by Governor de Ovando to sail with two caravels from Santo Domingo to explore Cuba. He circles around this land, starting on its northern shore, returning eight months later to confirm it as an island.

MARCH 1508. Yáñez Pinzón and Juan Díaz de Solís are commissioned to attempt another exploration of the New World’s mainland, Pinzón aboard the hired merchantman *San Benito*, and Díaz aboard the *Magdalena*. Although failing to find any passage toward Asia’s long-sought Spice Islands, they nonetheless expand upon Columbus’s original Central American reconnaissance (*see* “April 15, 1502” entry) by sailing west from Hispaniola until sighting land, then traveling northwest from Cape Gracias a Dios as far as the northeastern tip of the Yucatán—and perhaps even beyond into the Gulf of Mexico—before returning to Santo Domingo in frustration and regaining Spain by August 1509.

JUNE 15, 1508. *Occupation of Puerto Rico.* The veteran campaigner Juan Ponce de León is given license by Governor de Ovando of Santo Domingo to reconnoiter and occupy the adjacent island of Borinquen or Boriquén, known among the Spaniards ever since Columbus’s day as “San Juan Bautista.” Ponce de León consequently sets sail from the capital city of Santo Domingo on July 12 to gather more men and provisions from his landholding of Salvaleón de Higüey at the eastern end of the modern Dominican Republic.

Upon departing the Yama River mouth during his first attempt, Ponce de León flounders when his *carabelón* or “large caravel” bearing 42 men—many of them natives from his Dominican plantations—plus 8 sailors is driven back by a storm and runs aground on August 3, its provisions spoiling. A

Juan Ponce de León

One of the earliest conquistadores to have campaigned in the Antilles and whose name is forever linked with his supposed quest for the Fountain of Youth or *Fons Juventutis*, Ponce de León may have been born on April 8, 1460—although some sources estimate that the actual year was as late as 1474—in Santervás de Campos, a hamlet near Palencia in the Spanish province of Valladolid. Descended from a minor noble family, he became a page in Spain’s royal household before pursuing a military career. At the end of the centuries-long struggle to expel the country’s Moorish occupiers in 1492, the unemployed Ponce de León joined Columbus’s second transatlantic expedition the next year. He left behind his wife, Inés, as well as a young son and daughter. Once reunited, two more daughters would be born in the New World.

Instead of winning his fortune as a colonist on Santo Domingo, a decade of disappointment ensued. But when Nicolás de Ovando arrived as the new royal governor and started hostilities against the island’s Taíno natives, Ponce de León so distinguished himself that he was granted title to the town and district of Salvaleón de Higüey in eastern Santo Domingo. Among his subalterns was the youthful Vasco Núñez de Balboa, future conqueror of Panama. Ponce de León even gave him a puppy named Leoncito, who accompanied Balboa on all of his Central American forays.

From his Dominican vassals, Ponce de León heard stories of the wealthy adjoining island of Borinquen, so he pushed across to claim it. Despite gaining a small fortune, he nonetheless became so disillusioned when his title as governor was repeatedly contested that he abandoned his peaceful existence to lead a new expedition north of Cuba to conquer another new territory. Whether he was actually searching for the *Fons Juventutis* of European myth remains a matter of historical conjecture, although he did reach Florida. Mortally wounded while attempting to establish a foothold there, he retreated and died in Havana. His remains were returned to San Juan and buried in Santo Tomás de Aquino Monastery (erected in 1523; the modern San José Church). Eventually, his remains were transferred into an honored spot in the city’s cathedral in 1908 to help mark Puerto Rico’s quadricentennial.

second departure a few days later touches at Mona Island before the explorer reaches southwestern Borinquen and establishes friendly contact with the district chieftain, Agüeybana, who is willing to allow the Spaniards to establish a permanent base in exchange for their help against Carib raiders.

Another storm beaches Ponce de León's vessel here on August 10, but while it is being refloated, he explores the island's interior with his host. Learning that the gold-bearing Guayanés, Maunabo, and Sibucu rivers empty to the island's north coast, Ponce de León quickly returns to his caravel and circles around the eastern tip. On August 12, he steps ashore near the Toa River mouth to found a tiny settlement.

Next month, he shifts this toehold eight miles farther east by erecting a small fort to defend a bay that he optimistically dubs Puerto Rico or "Rich Port" (today known as Pueblo Viejo, lying between the modern cities of San Juan and Bayamón). In a third move, Ponce de León transfers his base to a small fortified site called Caparra, two miles inland from the great natural harbor of San Juan de Puerto Rico. Some crops are planted and gold gathered in token of possession, after which Ponce de León returns to Santo Domingo in April 1509 to report to de Ovando, leaving two Spaniards behind at Caparra as permanent residents.

De Ovando acknowledges the explorer's accomplishment by appointing him governor and chief justice for Puerto Rico on May 1, 1509—subject to confirmation from Spain—and Ponce de León returns to Caparra that same month, soon to be followed by his family and a few more settlers. Despite epidemics that will ravage the island's native population over the next few years, he amasses a tidy fortune by having gold panned and mined.

JULY 10, 1509. Diego Columbus, son and heir to the great admiral, leads a sizable convoy into Santo Domingo in an effort to succeed de Ovando as its governor. The newcomer's ships are largely destroyed by a hurricane shortly thereafter, and Diego Columbus finds the island's native population—100,000 at his father's first contact—shrunk to a mere 30,000 survivors. Among his retinue is the well-connected Cristóbal de Sotomayor, a son of Pedro Álvarez de Sotomayor or "Pedro Madruga"—the influential Conde de Camiña—who bears a commission from King Ferdinand as the new governor of Puerto Rico. Ponce de León is therefore deposed, but once de Ovando reaches Spain, he has Sotomayor's appointment rescinded on August 14 so that Ponce de León is reinstated by November. To mollify any ill will, the latter in turn delegates Sotomayor as his deputy governor, but Sotomayor soon resigns and retires to his allotted native village, called Villa de Sotomayor (near modern Aguada). Eventually, Ponce de León's commission will be in-

validated for a second time in 1511, leading him to seek opportunities elsewhere.

Meanwhile, other captains continue to probe the Panamanian coast, which is soon called *Castilla de Oro* or "Golden Castile." Juan de Esquivel prepares to establish a small Spanish colony on Jamaica; Ojeda receives title to the coastline stretching eastward from Colombia's Gulf of Darién, renaming this whole area as New Andalucía; while 44-year-old Diego de Nicuesa arrives from Spain with five vessels and a similar grant farther to the west at Veragua, sparking arguments between both leaders as to the boundary between their jurisdictions.

NOVEMBER 10, 1509. *Repulse at Cartagena.* Seconded by Juan de la Cosa, Ojeda sets forth south from Hispaniola with two ships and two brigantines bearing 225 men to establish his new colony at San Sebastián de Urabá (near the modern Colombia-Panamanian border). Four or five days later, his expedition appears off Cartagena, pausing to storm ashore with 100 soldiers and kidnap natives to serve as slaves. Ojeda's column surprises a village called Calamar, slaughtering many of its inhabitants and securing some 60 captives; but when his raiders then press on against the larger town of Turbaco, 12 miles farther inland, things begin to go awry. Turbaco's inhabitants flee into the underbrush, and the Spaniards disperse in hot pursuit. They quickly lose contact with one another and are destroyed piecemeal by Indian counterattacks in the jungle, suffering 70 deaths—among these is de la Cosa, who is captured alive and tortured before succumbing. Ojeda is heavily beset, yet manages to win free and is rescued.

His vessels are joined some days later by the five-ship, 700-man expedition of his rival Nicuesa (who has quit Santo Domingo on November 20), and both Spanish contingents now unite to throw 400 fighting men ashore and raze Turbaco. The two expeditions then part company, Nicuesa pressing on toward his destination of Veragua, while Ojeda limps toward the Gulf of Urabá. Ill fortune then descends upon Nicuesa, whose squadron is scattered by a heavy storm, his own flagship being lost upon the Panamanian coast. It takes three months for him and his survivors to straggle to the Belén River mouth, where his remaining vessels are riding at anchor under Lope de Olano, unaware of their leader's fate.

MARCH 1510. Ojeda's reduced company establishes a new settlement at San Sebastián de Urabá, but they are soon beleaguered within their town by

this region's ferocious natives. A renegade named Bernardino de Talavera arrives, having run away from Cape Tiburon (southwestern Santo Domingo) with a Genoese ship and 70 followers. Despite this reinforcement, Indian ambushes continue to take a heavy toll on the Spaniards, until Ojeda himself is wounded in the thigh by a poisoned arrow. Cauterizing this injury with hot irons, Ojeda waits in vain for further reinforcements and resupply to reach him from his financial backer, Martín Fernández de Enciso, on Santo Domingo.

Eventually the wounded leader offers to sail toward Hispaniola in person aboard Talavera's ship for provisions, promising his colonists that, if he does not return within 50 days, they are free to abandon San Sebastián. Ojeda's proposal is accepted and he departs, leaving his colony under the temporary command of one of his soldiers, Francisco Pizarro. During their passage, Ojeda and Talavera are driven far northwest and shipwrecked east of Jagua (Cuba). It takes many weeks before a caravel under Pánfilo de Narváez arrives from Jamaica to rescue them.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1510. Unaware of Ojeda's tribulations, Fernández de Enciso sets sail from Santo Domingo with two ships, a caravel, and a smaller brigantine bearing 150 men and more than a dozen horses to carry provisions and relief to San Sebastián de Urabá. After clearing port, a stowaway (fleeing from his creditors) named Vasco Núñez de Balboa is found hidden aboard in a barrel.

Upon arriving opposite Cartagena, Fernández de Enciso finds the survivors of Ojeda's expedition limping away from their deserted outpost; having waited the stipulated 50 days, Pizarro and his subordinate Valenzuela have quit this place with the two brigantines left to them. Valenzuela's brigantine sinks with all hands near Fuerte Island, leaving Pizarro to seek refuge ashore near Cartagena with his 30–40 remaining followers. Fernández de Enciso incorporates them into his command and sails on for San Sebastián de Urabá, finding its stockade and 30 shacks already burned by local tribesmen.

Uncertain how to proceed next, Fernández de Enciso is convinced by Núñez de Balboa to sail farther west into the Gulf of Darién (which the latter knows from his earlier service under Rodrigo de Bastidas). Here, they quickly establish a new town called Santa María la Antigua del Darién, but quarrels soon break out among its inhabitants. Fernández de Enciso is deposed, thrown into prison, and deported back to Spain, while the charismatic

Contagion

When Columbus returned into the Antilles in November 1493, he did not know he was also bringing the first of several European diseases that would decimate its native peoples. This initial influenza epidemic, along with malaria and typhus, ravaged the Spanish residents at his settlement of La Isabela. Yet they would prove much deadlier among the Taino inhabitants of Hispaniola. They in turn spread it to neighboring islands, as their infected refugees fled. Having no natural immunity, they all suffered a terrible death rate, typical of many first-time sufferers exposed to new epidemics.

The importation of domesticated European animals worsened the problem, as they mutated many diseases. Other contagions soon followed. Smallpox crossed the Atlantic to Santo Domingo in 1518. From there, it was carried to Santiago de Cuba the next year. Then, Pánfilo de Narváez conveyed it on to Veracruz when he set sail in early March 1520 with 1,400 men crammed aboard 18 vessels. The toll taken by such epidemics within the crowded central Valley of Mexico claimed countless more victims, even long after the Aztec capital fell. A total population of more than 1.5 million Mexicans was reduced to less than 200,000 by 1610. This decline also contributed to other calamities, such as famines and floods, because there were not enough people to plant and harvest or maintain the system of finely tuned dams. Measles inflicted even more losses after it appeared in 1531.

All the casualties caused by Spanish weaponry during their conquests were insignificant when compared to the millions lost to sickness. This catastrophe was so dreadful that it has been described as "the greatest natural tragedy in human history." Some later conquistadores even found that their penetrations into new territories were facilitated by contagions, which had already weakened or eliminated their foes. For example, when Ponce de León sailed through the Bahamian archipelago in quest of Florida in 1513, he met only a single elderly woman living amid its once-populous islands. And as late as 1580, a small band of Spaniards overcame the resistance of 30,000 Caracas Indians in northern Venezuela once smallpox had swept through their camps and killed perhaps as many as two-thirds.

Núñez de Balboa assumes overall command. His bravery and just dealing soon win the allegiance of local tribesmen as well.

OCTOBER 1510. Having reunited his command at the Belén River mouth, Nicuesa leaves a small contingent behind, under Alonso Núñez, while



Drawing by native scribes from about 1541–1542, in the Codex Mendoza, showing the effects of a smallpox epidemic in Mexico. (Author's Collection)

venturing southeast himself to establish his governorship over Veragua (northern Panama). After being repelled by the natives of Portobelo, he comes ashore at Nombre de Dios in October, gaining a shaky foothold despite the hostility of its residents.

NOVEMBER 1510. Nicuesa's lieutenant, Rodrigo de Colmenares, arrives at Santa María la Antigua from Santo Domingo with 60 reinforcements plus abundant supplies and arms. Noting how Núñez de Balboa's unofficial new Santa María settlement is flourishing—although with a faction remaining opposed to his self-proclaimed rule—Colmenares proposes that Nicuesa take over as this town's governor.

LATE DECEMBER 1510. Desperate to hang on at Nombre de Dios, Nicuesa recalls Alonso Núñez's small contingent from the Belén River mouth to better resist the surrounding natives. This meager

infusion of strength allows Capt. Gonzalo de Bada-joz to lead a 20-man foray inland from Nombre de Dios, winning the Spaniards some breathing room; however, the Indians then adopt a different tactic, retiring as far into the jungles as they can and leaving the 60 invaders isolated upon the coast.

It is at this juncture that Nicuesa is joined by Colmenares, who holds out the promise of usurping command of Núñez de Balboa's settlement at Santa María la Antigua. The governor readily accedes, sending a caravel on ahead under Juan de Quincedo to openly announce his intention, while gathering up the rest of his flotilla. This advance warning allows Núñez de Balboa to prepare for this contingency by organizing a protest to greet Nicuesa upon his arrival, obliging him to retreat toward Santo Domingo aboard his brigantine.

Nicuesa's vessel never arrives, being lost with all 17 hands on March 1, 1511.

SPRING 1511. After the chieftain Urayóan has secretly drowned the young Spaniard Diego Salazar and left his body decomposing for three days at the bottom of the Guairabo (modern Grande de Añasco) River to prove that Puerto Rico's occupiers are mortal, a native uprising erupts early this June under the direction of the main tribal leader Guaybana—brother and successor the previous year to the deceased Agüeybana—as well as Urayóan, Guarionex, and Mabodamaca.

Among their first victims are Ponce de León's former lieutenant governor Cristóbal de Sotomayor and his nephew Diego, whose town of Sotomayor is torched and all its inhabitants slain except for Juan González—who carries a warning to other inhabitants and to Ponce de León at Caparra. In all, some 80 Spaniards are killed and perhaps 11,000 natives rise in revolt before this rebellion can be contained and eventually crushed by Ponce de León, who requests reinforcements from Santo Domingo and divides his counterattacking forces into three companies under captains Miguel del Toro, Diego de Salazar, and Luis de Almansa. Salazar defeats Mabodamaca's 600 warriors while they are encamped between Quebradillas and La Isabela, slaying 150 of them and scattering the rest. Ponce de León subsequently reestablishes his residence at Aymaco on the Yaucol River.

The deaths of Spanish residents at the hands of Puerto Rican rebels prompts Queen Juana in Spain to issue a decree on June 3 of this same year, authorizing Spaniards to make war against the Caribs anywhere in the New World and to treat any prisoners that they seize as slaves. The chronic labor shortage in the Antilles means that this law will be eagerly seized upon and used as a pretext for slaving raids against outlying islands.

NOVEMBER 1511. *Conquest of Cuba.* The jovial, 46-year-old giant Diego Velázquez de Cuellar, deputy governor for the western half of Santo Domingo, departs Salvatierra de la Sábana with 330 Spaniards and some native auxiliaries aboard four ships. He is in pursuit of the Arawak chieftain Hatuey, who has fled west and reestablished himself on Cuba in the wake of de Ovando's Jaragua massacre (see "July 7, 1503" entry).

Velázquez's small Spanish army disembarks at Puerto de Palmas ("Port of Palms") near Cuba's Guantánamo Bay, where it is shortly joined by another contingent under Velázquez's lieutenant Pánfilo de Narváez, who takes charge of the actual mil-

itary operations against Hatuey. Hatuey is soon defeated and burned at the stake so that by early 1512 Velázquez can establish the first official Spanish settlement on Cuba: Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Baracoa.

From this northeastern corner, he drives west to Camagüey, and then regains the southern shore where he establishes a new capital called Santiago de Cuba. Over the course of the next couple of years, Velázquez's cohorts gradually pacify this large island, moving ever farther west: the town of San Salvador del Bayamo is founded in 1513, Puerto Príncipe (modern Camagüey) in 1514, followed successively by Sancti Spíritus, Remedios, San Cristóbal de la Habana, and so on.

FEBRUARY 23, 1512. Having once again been deposed the previous year as governor of Puerto Rico in favor of one of Diego Columbus's appointees, Ponce de León obtains a patent from Emperor Charles V to probe north of Cuba for new territories—later alleged to include the island of Bimini, which according to Indian legend has waters of marvelous curative powers, supposedly the long sought-after Fountain of Youth of European lore. He will spend the next year preparing this private expedition.

EARLY JANUARY 1513. Capt. Cristóbal Serrano reaches Santa María la Antigua del Darién with 150 soldiers aboard two ships, further bearing a royal commission appointing Núñez de Balboa as governor of Darién. The latter has spent the previous two years exploring and pacifying this region, capturing the *cacique* (chieftain) Careta at Mosquitos Point, as well as subduing the tribes of Ponca and Comagre.

MARCH 3, 1513. *Exploration of Florida.* On this Thursday afternoon, Ponce de León sets sail from San Germán de Puerto Rico with three vessels, traversing the Caicos and reaching Guanahaní in the now entirely depopulated Bahamas archipelago 11 days afterward. Continuing northwestward, he sights new land on March 27, subsequently deciding to name this territory Florida, because the date is Easter Sunday (in Spanish, *Pascua Florida*). Ponce de León disembarks north of modern St. Augustine by April 2, taking possession of this area—which he believes to be yet another Caribbean island—for Spain 6 days afterward. He then explores the coast southward, and on April 21 clashes with a party of Ais natives just below the Saint Lucie River mouth,

despite his best attempts to establish friendly contacts. Two Spaniards are wounded during this encounter, and an Indian is seized a few days later to be trained as an interpreter.

Rounding the Florida Keys by May 8, Ponce de León heads up Florida's western or gulf side to a latitude of at least 26°30' N, and perhaps even higher. On Friday, June 4, while careening his carrack *Cristóbal* near Sanibel Island, his followers are attacked by 20 Calos war canoes—some lashed together two-by-two. The Spanish sink 5 of them, killing numerous occupants and capturing four, while suffering only a single fatality. Another Calos flotilla appears a week later, ineffectually showering arrows upon the intruders, until Ponce de León decides to reverse course on June 14. They reach the Dry Tortugas seven days afterward, where they obtain a fresh supply of meat before retiring toward Cuba and the Bahamas, then weathering a hurricane and finally regaining Puerto Rico by October 15.

Traversing the Atlantic to Spain early the next year, Ponce de León receives—with the help of his friend and former mentor, the court tutor Pedro Núñez de Guzmán, brother to the influential Ramiro Núñez, Lord of Toral—a knighthood and appointment on September 27, 1514, as governor of his newly discovered “island of Florida,” as well as the office of mayor of San Juan de Puerto Rico in perpetuity. Ponce de León will not actually attempt to subdue his new Floridian claim until 1521.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1513. *Thrust toward the Pacific.*

Earlier this year, Núñez de Balboa received word that his previous deposal, arrest, and deportation of Fernández de Enciso has been deemed illegal in Spain (see “Summer 1510” entry). With judgment already rendered against him as a usurper, and an order issued for his recall, Núñez de Balboa is anxious to achieve some great success before this reprimand can arrive. He therefore decides to act upon a rumor that he has heard from the friendly chieftain Comagre of a great ocean on the far side of Panama's mountains, allegedly permitting access to rich and distant kingdoms.

Deciding to act upon this information, the conquistador sets out from Santa María la Antigua on September 1 with 190 Spaniards, 1,000 Indian auxiliaries, and numerous war dogs aboard a brigantine and 10 large canoes. They travel westward to the port of Acla, establishing a base camp in the village of Chief Careta (now Núñez de Balboa's father-in-

law) from where his expedition strikes inland into the jungle. Passing through the territory of the vassal Ponca, the Spaniards are then confronted farther south by a hostile native concentration several hundred strong, led by the Cuarecuán *cacique* Torecha, whose followers are easily scattered by the invaders' firearms, then cruelly slaughtered. Núñez de Balboa occupies the dead Torecha's village on September 23, and two days later advances to catch sight of a vast new body of water farther to the south.

OCTOBER 17, 1513. Eager to explore the newly encountered Pacific, Núñez de Balboa ventures out onto its waters with 70 soldiers aboard eight native canoes to conquer some offshore islands allegedly rich in pearls; but his expedition is instead washed back onto the mainland beaches of Chief Tumaco's territory, who promptly submits to Spanish rule and offers up tribute. On October 28, his town is renamed as San Lucas, where the conquistadores remain encamped until November 3 before pressing northwestward in search of other shoreline territories to subdue.

Shortly thereafter, the Spaniards capture the hated regional overlord named Pacra, condemning him and three subordinates to be torn to pieces by their Spanish war dogs so as to ingratiate themselves with—as well as to frighten—the lesser tribesmen. Núñez de Balboa resumes his progression early in December, defeating chiefs Bocheriboca, Chiorisco, Tubanamá, and Pocorosa in quick succession before at last regaining his ally Comagre's village of Acla by December 14 (now ruled by the latter's son Panquiano, as the aged *cacique* has died since the expedition's departure).

Recuperating for a month from his trans-Isthmian trek, Núñez de Balboa sets sail on January 17, 1514, returning triumphantly into Santa María la Antigua two days later. He at once sends messengers with presents of gold and pearls across the Atlantic to Ferdinand, announcing his discovery. Fully as the conquistador expects, the king's displeasure is mollified by his vassal's feat. Although Núñez de Balboa will not be confirmed as governor of Darién (this post having already been granted to the well-connected Pedro Arias de Avila, who sets sail from Seville on April 12, 1514, with Martín Fernández de Enciso plus 2,000 men aboard 22 ships), Núñez de Balboa is nonetheless appointed in March 1515 as *adelantado* or “advance military governor” for the newly discovered territories of Panama and the South Seas.

Discovery of the Pacific

Having crushed all Cuarecuan resistance through several-score brutal executions, Núñez de Balboa rounded up a few terrified natives to act as guides, determined to continue his trans-Isthmian push to the new ocean. Two days after forging deeper into the dense Panamanian jungle, his weary column halted on September 25, 1513, when these guides pointed out a nearby promontory from where this body of water could apparently be seen. Balboa ascended alone, then excitedly called down to his Spanish companions to join him and gaze south toward a blue expanse that stretched to the horizon. Believing that they had found the long-sought route to the East Indies, the conquistadores felled a giant tree and built a cross on which they carved the names of the Spanish monarchs. It was raised on a foundation of stones to serve as a permanent marker.

Descending into a nearby valley, Núñez de Balboa and his small army scattered and subdued the tribesmen of Chief Chiriquí, in whose village the conquistadores then rested. While there, three 12-man patrols were sent out under Francisco Pizarro, Juan de Ezcaray, and Alonso Martín to find the actual shoreline. Martín succeeded two days later, even paddling out into the ocean briefly aboard a canoe before returning to report to Balboa.

The commander thereupon advanced with 26 of his soldiers, reaching this beach by the early evening of September 29. The Spaniards rested upon its sands as the tide came gently rolling in. Finally, when Núñez de Balboa became engulfed by the waters, he rose and waded fully armored through the waves, sword in one hand and a Spanish flag in the other, shouting that this ocean belonged to Spain. This body of water was christened as the Gulf of San Miguel because it was Saint Michael's Day by the Church's calendar. The ocean itself, however, received the name "the Pacific" because of its gentle welcoming embrace of Balboa and his men.

JUNE 3, 1514. The elderly European campaigner Pedro Arias de Avila (whose name is commonly contracted, both during his lifetime and ever since, as "Pedrarias Dávila") reaches Dominica with his followers, pausing a few days later at Santa Marta to send three barks inshore to lay claim to this port. Local natives react with hostility, obliging the Spaniards to open fire before retiring.

LATE JUNE 1514. Pedrarias Dávila's expedition reaches Santa María la Antigua del Darién and relieves Núñez de Balboa as governor of this territory. (Among the more than 1,000 new arrivals are such famous future conquistadores as Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Diego de Almagro, Pascual de Andagoya, Sebastián de Velalcázar or Benalcázar, Hernando de Soto, and Francisco Vázquez de Córdoba.) Núñez de Balboa is briefly detained to answer charges of having deposed Fernández de Enciso, yet is soon released.

JULY 1514. Finding insufficient provisions at Santa María la Antigua to refresh Pedrarias Dávila's men and more than 1,000 sailors, Capt. Juan de Ayora—one of Dávila's favorites—ventures westward with a ship and three or four caravels, pillaging friendly coastal tribes despite instructions to the contrary. He returns into port by early October, sailing for Spain shortly thereafter with much ill-gotten booty.

AUTUMN 1514. One of Pedrarias Dávila's nephews is sent northeastward across the Gulf of Darién with 450 men aboard two ships to ascend the Cenú River (Colombia) and locate its Tarufi gold mines. The local natives contest the Spaniards' advance, eventually compelling Pedrarias Dávila's nephew to turn back after three months, with only 200 slaves and a little gold to show for his efforts and having suffered 150 casualties.

LATE 1514. Ponce de León returns to the West Indies from Spain at the head of a small expedition intended to conduct reprisals against the Caribs on Guadeloupe. Pausing off that island to refresh provisions following their transatlantic crossing, one of the Spaniards' laundering parties is ambushed and carried off into the jungle, along with its escort of soldiers, before Ponce de León proceeds with his voyage to Puerto Rico.

1515. During this year, a series of Spanish *indiero* or "Indian-hunting expeditions" under Capt. Diego de Salazar nets 2,000 natives from Curaçao and Bonaire, who are shipped as slaves to Santo Domingo.

MARCH 20, 1515. Two caravels reach Santa María la Antigua del Darién bearing Núñez de Balboa's appointment as *adelantado* for Panama and the South Seas, which Pedrarias Dávila grudgingly confirms.

Pedrarias Dávila

Pedrarias Dávila was one of the first of many impoverished noblemen to come out from Spain seeking to win lands and vassals on the American mainland. Pedro Arias de Ávila was born in the Castilian city of Segovia around 1440. He was the younger brother of the first Conde de Puñonrostro and a nephew of King Enrique IV's royal accountant Diego de Arias. Raised as a retainer at court, the handsome young Pedro married Isabel de Bobadilla, a niece of Queen Isabel I's favorite lady-in-waiting. Known as "Pedrarias Dávila" throughout his lifetime, he saw a great deal of military service against the Moors in Spain and North Africa.

Still vigorous at the age of 73, Dávila used his influence at court to obtain command on July 27, 1513, of an expedition being sent across the Atlantic. He was to replace the adventurer Vasco Núñez de Balboa as governor at Darién and rule over the newly united provinces of New Andalucía and *Castilla del Oro* or "Golden Castile" (northeastern and northwestern Panama, respectively). The veteran therefore set sail from Seville on April 12, 1514. Yet shortly after arriving, he was disappointed to learn of Núñez de Balboa's promotion to the military governorship of the South Seas.

Dávila realized that such a vast new territory would reduce his own title to secondary importance. He also could not personally lead forays through the steamy jungles like his charismatic young predecessor, and his efforts to wring wealth from the primitive natives of Darién were viewed with contempt by the audacious conquistadores. Dávila would even be remembered by the disdainful nickname *Furor Domini* or "Wrath of God" in the chronicles of Bartolomé de las Casas.

The elderly governor's arrest and execution of Núñez de Balboa in 1519 sealed his reputation for cruel unscrupulousness. Despite founding the city of Panama and using it as a springboard for expeditions that he sent all up and down the Pacific coast, riches continued to elude him. Eventually Dávila would be replaced as governor of the Isthmus in 1526, retiring to his holdings at León in Nicaragua, where he died on March 6, 1531, at 91 years of age.

on April 23. The ambitious governor is now consumed by jealousy at his subordinate's better prospects. Dávila's ferocity and aggressiveness have earned him a reputation for cruelty among Santa María's natives, yet scant profit. In contrast, the more humane Núñez de Balboa is not only popular but there is feverish excitement throughout the Spanish Caribbean about his latest push southward, which

Dávila realizes will reduce his own Darién governorship to insignificance.

EARLY APRIL 1515. Before Núñez de Balboa receives his promotion, Pedrarias Dávila dispatches an expedition northwest along Panama's coast from Santa María la Antigua under captains Gonzalo de Badajoz and Alonso Pérez de la Rúa to sail toward Portobelo and attempt to cross the Isthmus. The latter pillage their way inland until their greed leads them to treacherously assault the natives under Chief Paris, after being generously greeted with four chests of gold dust. This plan backfires—Pérez de la Rúa being killed along with almost half the Spanish force, and the chests lost—before they retreat to the coast.

When news of this disaster reaches Pedrarias Dávila, he sends Capt. Gaspar de Espinosa with 200 men to recuperate this rich prize. The latter first crosses the Tubanamá Range and cruelly subdues the province of Chepo, establishing his headquarters at Natá before advancing against Paris. The latter is eventually burned alive while defending his capital, which goes up in flames.

LATE SPRING 1515. Another of Pedrarias Dávila's favorites—Capt. Gaspar de Morales, seconded by Francisco Pizarro—departs Santa María la Antigua with 80 men to conquer the offshore Perla or Rica Islands in the Gulf of Panama. Reaching the Pacific shore, they compel the *caciques* Chiapes and Tumaco to furnish them with canoes, which they then use to fight their way ashore and defeat and enslave the island inhabitants. The main island is renamed Flores and its chieftain made to promise an annual tribute of pearls before Morales and Pizarro retire to the mainland.

Their return march toward Santa María la Antigua is complicated by a general Indian uprising against the Spaniards, but they nonetheless fight their way through by early August, Morales taking ship shortly thereafter for Spain.

LATE JULY 1515. Núñez de Balboa and his fellow captain Luis Carrillo quit Santa María la Antigua with 150 men aboard five vessels to venture southward into the Gulf of Urabá and up the Darién River, in search of the legendary Dabaybe goldfields. After traveling as far as they can by ship, Núñez de Balboa and Carrillo continue with 50 men aboard four canoes, until they are ambushed in midstream by a hostile native flotilla. About 30

Spaniards are wounded, including their leader, while Carrillo is killed and the survivors forced to retreat back into Santa María by the end of August.

EARLY 1516. While Pedrarias Dávila is absent on an expedition to Acla (Panama), Núñez de Balboa secretly recruits 60 followers aboard a ship from Cuba to attempt to sail toward Nombre de Dios and lead his own enterprise across the Isthmus into the Pacific. However, the governor suddenly returns into Santa María la Antigua, arresting Balboa for attempting to disobey orders, and detaining his vessel.

Relations between Pedrarias Dávila and his subordinate are eventually patched up by having the latter marry the governor's daughter María, after which Núñez de Balboa is sent with 80 men to re-establish the former Spanish base camp at Acla.

FEBRUARY 2, 1516. The veteran explorer Juan Díaz de Solís arrives from Spain opposite present-day Montevideo (Uruguay) with 60 men aboard a 60-ton ship and two 30-ton caravels. His mission is to discover a new route around the South American continent so as to link up with Núñez de Balboa's southwesterly probes out of Panama.

Díaz de Solís duly lays claim to the mouth of the future River Plate estuary with a formal ceremony, then sails northwestward up its course in the mistaken belief that it will lead him into the Pacific. As the waterway gradually narrows, he continues with his smallest caravel alone, until some Indians are sighted opposite what would later become known as Martín García Island, signaling to the Spaniards to land. Díaz de Solís ventures ashore with two officers and six seamen, all of whom are suddenly massacred by the natives.

Díaz de Solís's expedition therefore returns into Seville by September 4 under his brother-in-law and navigator Francisco de Torres, minus one ship, which runs aground at a latitude of 27° S opposite Santa Catarina Island (Brazil) and maroons 11 survivors.

EARLY 1517. Still suspicious and envious of his subordinate Núñez de Balboa, who is at Panama's Pearl Islands preparing his southerly seaborne expedition toward Peru, Pedrarias Dávila lures his son-in-law back into the town of Acla with a crafty message, then has him thrown into prison on a trumped-up charge of treason.

After almost two years' incarceration, the Pacific discoverer is finally executed in January 1519, al-

lowing Pedrarias Dávila to transfer his capital from the unhealthy Santa María la Antigua and, instead, found Panama City on August 15 of that same year.

LATE 1519. Gaspar de Espinosa departs Panama City westward with Núñez de Balboa's former two brigantines, the *San Cristóbal* and the *Santa María de Buena Esperanza*, piloted by Juan de Castañeda. They explore the Central American coastline as far as the Gulf of Nicoya before returning.

LATE NOVEMBER 1519. *Magellan's Circumnavigation.* The 39-year-old explorer Ferdinand Magellan (in Spanish, Fernando de Magallanes) appears off Brazil with his flagship *Trinidad*, the *San Antonio* under Juan de Cartagena, the *Concepción* under Gaspar de Quesada, the *Victoria* under Luis de Mendoza, and the *Santiago* under Juan Rodríguez Serano. After entering a vast bay, which they dub "Santa Lucía" on December 13 (probably modern Rio de Janeiro's Guanabara Bay), they rest for two weeks before departing again, rounding Cape Frío on January 10, 1520, then sighting Montevideo.

The River Plate is explored over the next three weeks by the small *Victoria* and *Santiago*, while the others chart its estuary. Convinced that this waterway does not lead westward to the Pacific, Magellan resumes his passage southward on February 3, finally coming to anchor at San Julián on March 31. Two nights later, captains Cartagena and Quesada lead an armed mutiny by some of the disgruntled Spaniards against their Portuguese-born commander, which Magellan checks next morning by blocking the exit with the *Trinidad*, the *Victoria*, and the *Santiago*. When the *San Antonio* attempts to slip past on the night of April 2–3, it is boarded and recaptured, the *Concepción* surrendering next day. By April 7, more than 40 mutineers have been condemned to death, but only Quesada is actually executed, while Cartagena and another accomplice are sentenced to be marooned.

The expedition then winters at this anchorage rather uneasily, Rodríguez Serrano's *Santiago* being sent out on a coastal reconnaissance and becoming wrecked on May 22 near the Santa Cruz River. On August 11, Cartagena and his companion are set ashore, and Magellan's four remaining ships weigh anchor on August 24. By October 21, they come within sight of Cape Virgenes and begin to probe the strait entrance when a sudden storm blows the *San Antonio* and the *Concepción* directly into this passage—thus leading to the discovery of the Strait

of Magellan. The expedition disperses and explores this waterway for another month, during which time the *San Antonio*'s crew rises against its new captain, Álvaro de Mezquita, and sails back for Spain.

After vainly awaiting his consort's reappearance, Magellan sails into the strait on November 21, emerging on its far side one week later, to sail directly out across the Pacific toward Asia.

CONQUEST OF MEXICO (1517–1521)

More than a generation having elapsed since Columbus's initial contact, without any rich Asian trading countries being found, Spanish efforts have now become increasingly focused upon colonization rather than commerce. Parties raid the Carib islands and South American mainland to bring away captives as slave laborers, while penniless adventurers and soldiers continue to emigrate from the Old World—in much larger numbers than merchants, as these fighting men at least can hope to win large landholdings simply by dint of arms.

On the island of Cuba, the acting governor, Diego Velázquez—having secured his hold over its terrified populace—decides to investigate native rumors of other unknown “islands” due west of his newfound colony. Apparently these refer to neither Florida nor Honduras but, rather, to another much richer land, so he organizes a small reconnaissance force under Francisco Hernández de Córdoba.

FEBRUARY 8, 1517. Hernández de Córdoba departs Santiago de Cuba aboard the *San Sebastián*, accompanied by one other ship and a brigantine, with a total complement of 110 men (including the famous pilot Antón de Alaminos and future chronicler Bernal Díaz del Castillo). They circle through the Windward Passage before coasting along the north side of Cuba to replenish their supplies; then they strike out westward from Cape San Antonio.

FEBRUARY 20, 1517. *Discovery.* Hernández de Córdoba sights Isla Mujeres off northeastern Yucatán, followed shortly thereafter by its mainland. He is greeted off Cape Catoche by fully dressed Mayans in boats, whose chieftain comes aboard the next day and invites the Spaniards to land. Despite such a friendly beginning, a contingent of Spanish soldiers is soon attacked by local warriors when they penetrate the jungle near the modern town of Porvenir. Fifteen Mayans are killed by crossbow and harquebus fire, while a like number of Spaniards are wounded (two subsequently dying). Hernández de Córdoba also obtains several finely wrought gold pieces and two native captives before venturing round the peninsula and landing near Champotón in the vicinity of Campeche late in March to take on water.

Camping ashore overnight, he and his men awaken the next dawn to find themselves surrounded by warriors painted in black and white, whose leader, Mochcouh, launches an immediate attack. Twenty Spaniards are killed, two others captured, and Hernández de Córdoba is compelled to make a fighting retreat to his boats, suffering numerous personal wounds. So many of his men are dead or injured that he abandons his brigantine and sails directly to the southwestern tip of Florida for resupply, only to again be attacked by Indians in canoes. Limping back into Cuba two months after his departure, now with only 54 men, Hernández reports to the governor, then shortly thereafter dies.

Notwithstanding this initial rebuff, Velázquez and other Spaniards are intrigued by Hernández de Córdoba's account of the new land's wealth and relative sophistication, its natives being clothed (unlike the more primitive Arawaks or Caribs of the Caribbean), capable of erecting stone houses, plus practicing many other skilled crafts. Another expedition quickly begins to form under the governor's 28-year-old nephew Juan de Grijalva.

LATE JANUARY 1518. *Reconnaissance.* Grijalva sets sail from Santiago de Cuba with two ships (both called the *San Sebastián*), the caravel *Trinidad*, and the

brigantine *Santiago*, bearing a total of 200 men. His three principal captains are 32-year-old Pedro de Alvarado y Contreras, Francisco de Montejo, and Alonso de Avila, while his expedition is further strengthened by several culverins, or light cannon, and war dogs.

A lengthy layover ensues on the north shore of Cuba, during which the *Santiago* turns back and is replaced by the brigantine *Santa María de los Remedios*. Grijalva's force finally quits the harbor later known as Matanzas on April 8 and passes Cape San Antonio toward the end of this same month.

MAY 3, 1518. Grijalva sights the island of Cozumel (northeastern Mexico), which he explores for four days before heading south and discovering Ascensión Bay. Reversing course, he then rounds the Yucatán Peninsula, following Hernández de Córdoba's earlier route.

MAY 26, 1518. Grijalva comes ashore near Champotón with three cannon, several harquebusiers, and a sizable contingent of troops. The natives allow him to draw water and even present him with some gold gifts before ordering the Spaniards to leave. Grijalva refuses, and two days later his company is confronted at dawn by an army in war paint. This time the natives fail to press home their attack because of the Spaniards' frightening artillery discharges, so the battle ends indecisively, with a single Spanish fatality and about 40 wounded (of whom 13 later die) and an unknown number of Mayan casualties. That night, Grijalva stands out to sea and heads farther west.

JUNE 8, 1518. After resting at the Laguna de Términos, Grijalva passes the mouth of a large river, which is christened with his name; some days later Pedro de Alvarado makes a reconnaissance up another large river, which in turn is given his name (today's Grijalva and Alvarado rivers).

JUNE 17, 1518. Grijalva reaches an island near present-day Veracruz where there are signs of a recent human sacrifice and so names it Sacrificios Island. The local Totonac Indians offer him an elaborate welcome, hoping to ingratiate themselves with these powerful new strangers and then use them to help throw off Aztec rule.

JUNE 24, 1518. Grijalva receives a minor embassy from the distant Mexican emperor, then ceremoniously lays claim to the island of San Juan de Ulúa before detaching Alvarado a few days later to return to



Senior Aztec officers, as depicted by native scribes in the Codex Mendoza, 20 years after the Spanish conquest. The figure at right, clad in a splendid white uniform with a plumed helmet, represents a tlacochcācatl or "quartermaster-general," in command of the Aztec armories. (Author's Collection)

Cuba aboard the *San Sebastián* with a report and booty. Grijalva meanwhile presses deeper into the Gulf of Mexico, eventually reaching as far north as Cape Rojo before turning back. Despite importuning from his men, he refuses to establish any permanent beachhead ashore, preferring instead to make a protracted reconnaissance before retiring toward Cuba.

During his prolonged absence, Governor Velázquez grows increasingly restive at the notion of this wealthy new find not being fully claimed, as he fears usurpation by other Spanish rivals; a single ship is therefore sent out under Cristóbal de Olid in a vain attempt to locate Grijalva, while preparations for a third expedition simultaneously go forward.

OCTOBER 23, 1518. After offering command of this latest enterprise to various individuals, Velázquez selects a 34-year-old *alcalde* or magistrate at Santiago de Cuba named Hernán Cortés. It is Velázquez's intent for Cortés to secure a foothold in this new territory to await the governor's arrival with a main body; yet Velázquez is soon disconcerted by the speed and scope of his subordinate's preparations, for Cortés musters seven vessels and more than 300 eager volunteers within a matter of weeks. Alarmed,

Aztec Warriors

When the first *Mexica* or Aztec nomads migrated into the lush Valley of Anáhuac early in the 12th century, they found it already crowded. The kings of Culhuacán dominated the many other tribes. As primitive latecomers, the Aztecs were driven from their first squatter camps near Zempoala, Tula, Chapultepec, and Contitlán. Finally, they were reduced to a miserable existence amid the marshes and tiny islands that dotted the western banks of the valley's vast saline lake.

According to legend, they established their capital of Tenochtitlán on the largest of these islands in 1325, guided by an eagle clutching a snake in its talons. Because of its remove far out over the water, the Aztecs created an inaccessible city that allowed them to better resist aggression. From this stronghold, they eventually grew so formidable in military prowess that by the mid-15th century the Aztecs were the dominant valley tribe.

Yet given their early difficulties, warriors and priests remained the dominant classes in their society. The Aztecs also continued their military expansion well beyond the valley in ritualized warfare intended to satisfy their war-god Huitzilopochtli. Their armies often paraded past his main temple in Tenochtitlán, observing human sacrifices of enemy captives, before departing on their campaigns. Lesser kingdoms proved no match for the Aztecs' disciplined and fearsome fighting columns, yet they were often subdued only gradually—rather than in a single sweep—so as to ensure a steady supply of altar victims.

By the time the Spaniards appeared, the Aztec military system had evolved into a sophisticated force led by seven military orders named Eagle, Serpent, Jaguar, Wolf, Deer, Coyote, and Grasshopper. These elite warriors, clad in elaborate quilted uniforms with colorful back-banners for identification in battle, were armed with wooden lances and clubs edged with razor-sharp obsidian, and they carried shields. They led huge companies of tribal conscripts armed with spears, slings, or bows and arrows. Yet despite their fanatical courage and patriotism, the Aztec warriors' cruelty during previous campaigns now haunted them. Many enslaved vassals turned against them, helping the Spanish invaders vanquish Tenochtitlán.

the governor decides to replace him at the last minute with Luis de Medina; but Cortés gets wind of this proposed change.

NOVEMBER 18, 1518. Rather than allow himself to be superseded, Cortés weighs anchor from Santiago de Cuba with his 100-ton flagship *Santa María de la Concepción* and five other vessels, sailing along southern Cuba and gathering more recruits and supplies while openly defying Velázquez's repeated recalls.

FEBRUARY 10, 1519. After almost three months, Cortés has gathered a fleet comprised of his 100-ton flagship, three other ships of 70–80 tons apiece, plus seven lesser vessels and brigantines at Guaniguanico near the western tip of Cuba, bearing 500 troops (12 of them harquebusiers and 30 crossbowmen), 50 sailors, 16 horses, and 14 large artillery pieces and numerous smaller ones, plus war dogs, a doctor, 2 interpreters, a dozen women, as well as a couple hundred Cuban porters and black slaves.

With this expedition, he strikes out eight days later for Cozumel but is scattered by a nocturnal storm; his fleet straggles in to drop anchor by February 21 with one ship missing. As the island's inhabitants have fled into the jungle, Cortés lands his troops and horses to recuperate and orders repairs made to his fleet before coaxing the natives back to

their homes through kind usage. Learning of reputed Spanish castaways living on the nearby mainland of Yucatán, he secretly sends an Indian messenger to them, hoping to gain intelligence.

A couple of weeks later, his expedition resumes its passage, touching at Isla Mujeres before Capt. Pedro de Alvarado's vessel springs a bad leak, obliging the entire fleet to return to Cozumel.

MARCH 13, 1519. While preparing to once more depart Cozumel, Cortés is joined by a Spanish castaway named Gerónimo de Aguilar, who has been living among the Indians of Yucatán for eight years and has answered his covert summons.

A few days after setting sail and watering at Isla Mujeres, Cortés rounds the Yucatán Peninsula and locates his missing ship anchored in Puerto Escondido near the Laguna de Términos. He then proceeds to the Grijalva River mouth, probing almost two miles upstream—with only his smaller vessels bearing a small contingent—until they come within sight of a large Mayan town enclosed “by a thick wooden wall and battlements” named Potonchán. Cortés requests permission to buy provisions and water, which the Chontal natives refuse. Instead, their noncombatants exit into the interior, while the Spanish main army moves upstream and covertly joins their leader Cortés under cover of darkness.

APRIL 17, 1519. After celebrating Palm Sunday with a Mass at Santa María de la Victoria, Cortés's expedition goes back aboard ship and resumes its progression westward, sighting the islands of San Juan de Ulúa by April 20. The next day, the fleet drops anchor in the islands' lee, and a boat bearing two subordinates of the regional Aztec administrator Teutliltzin (also rendered as Teudile or Teudilli) contacts the visitors, inquiring as to their intentions.

APRIL 22 (GOOD FRIDAY), 1519. Cortés ferries his army ashore, complete with horses and artillery, and has his Cuban laborers swiftly fell trees and erect a fortified camp opposite San Juan de Ulúa. The Spaniards are given a friendly reception by the local Totonac Indians, vassals of the Aztecs for the past 40 years.

Two days later, the regional overlord Teutliltzin arrives with an impressive Aztec retinue, exchanging presents and banqueting with Cortés. Learning that the visitors wish to meet the Emperor Moctezuma II at his capital of Tenochtitlán (modern Mexico City), Teutliltzin sends a request and other reports inland by messenger, while assigning 2,000 native tributaries to wait upon the Spaniards.

MAY 1, 1519. Teutliltzin returns with an embassy sent by the *hueyi tlatoani* or "great speaker," the Emperor Moctezuma II. The embassy bears even more wealthy gifts for Cortés—thus unwittingly exciting the Spaniards' greed—but also brings a message discouraging the strangers from visiting the Aztec capital. Cortés nonetheless insists and, while awaiting a reply, receives a delegation of Totonac Indians from nearby Cempoala, who reveal to him that many subject tribes are resentful of Aztec rule.

Teutliltzin reappears 10 days afterward with a few more presents, plus a final rejection from the emperor of the Spaniards' request for a meeting; the local tribune also withdraws their 2,000 native servants overnight, thereby cutting off the Spaniards' food supply. Cortés consequently sends Pedro de Alvarado to probe inland with 100 soldiers, 15 cross-bowmen, and 6 harquebusiers, who return after wending nine miles through the dunes and swamps only to find a few abandoned Indian hamlets. Simultaneously, two brigantines with 50 men apiece are sent northwestward up the coast under captains Francisco de Montejo and Rodrigo Álvarez Chico to search for a better anchorage for the fleet.

During these absences, Cortés convenes a general meeting of his small army and gets them to

agree to found a new Spanish settlement in Mexico, which is to be called Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz or "Rich Town of the True Cross." He is elected as its "mayor," a legal fiction that will allow him to sever all ties with Velázquez and report directly to the king in Spain.

JUNE 7, 1519. Once his two brigantines return, Cortés decides to shift his land base 40 miles north-westward of San Juan de Ulúa into the more sheltered harbor near Quiahuiztlan in Totonacan territory beyond Cempoala. He therefore marches overland with 400 soldiers, all his horses, and two small artillery pieces, while his ships circle around with the remaining force. During their progression,

Cortés's "Disease of the Heart"

When the Aztec tribune Teutliltzin first visited the Spaniards' fortified coastal camp amid the dunes near San Juan de Ulúa on Easter Sunday 1519, he was accompanied by more than 4,000 retainers, "handsomely dressed" in cotton garments and bearing a profusion of gifts. Cortés corresponded with European presents, then entertained Teutliltzin at a well-attended banquet in his ample tent. Once this feast concluded, he informed his visitor in a speech "that he was a vassal of Don Carlos of Austria, Emperor of the Christians, King of Spain, and lord of a great part of the world, whom many and great kings served and obeyed, and that all other princes rejoiced to be his friends because of his goodness and power."

Teutliltzin replied that he was very glad to hear this, yet "Cortés should know that his lord Moctezuma was no less a king and no less good, and he was astonished to learn that there could be another such great prince in the world." It therefore was agreed upon to send an account of their meeting to the Aztec emperor and request permission for the Spaniards to visit his inland capital.

In a sly exchange that delighted his Spanish onlookers, Cortés further asked whether Moctezuma might have any gold. When Teutliltzin responded yes, the Spanish commander asked for some to be sent "because my companions and I suffer from a disease of the heart which can only be cured with gold." The Aztecs returned a week later with many fine items of gold, silver, and jewelry, and the emperor even asked Cortés to state what else he might need for "the cure of his sickness" before departing, as Moctezuma would not be able to receive him at Tenochtitlán. Naturally, the very wealth of his offerings only strengthened the Spaniards' resolve to press inland.

the Spanish army is splendidly received by the immensely fat chief Xicomecoatl of Cempoala, who proposes to Cortés that an alliance with the inland tribes of Tlaxcala and Huejotzingo will help overthrow the Aztecs.

JUNE 28, 1519. From Cempoala, Cortés completes his journey to the coastal town of Quiahuiztlan and secretly encourages its inhabitants to seize a score of Aztec tribute-collectors, two of whom he releases that same night in a false gesture of friendship. The Spanish commander then proceeds to the nearby harbor and lays out the future city of Veracruz (then known as Villa Rica la Vieja), assigning lots and having bricks made to erect a fort.

A few days later, two of the emperor's young nephews arrive with a large Aztec delegation, bearing gifts in thanks for the release of the two captive tribute-collectors and informing Cortés that, while the Spaniards may now travel to Tenochtitlán, they might not be received by Moctezuma himself. Cortés returns a smooth reply, while arranging for the liberation of the remaining 18 captives—yet still covertly encouraging the local natives to refuse paying tribute to Mexico.

When news of this tax rebellion spreads, the regional Aztec collectors flee to their garrison town of Tizapantzingo, whose troops sally to punish the Totonac and Cempoalan rebels. Cortés counters by advancing swiftly upon this hilltop fortress with some Spanish soldiers and a host of native allies, scattering the Aztec army through sheer fright at the sight of his horsemen, thereby overrunning this base and expelling its defenders—disarmed but otherwise unharmed.

JULY 1, 1519. Once more back in Villa Rica, Cortés hastens its fortification and is reinforced by the arrival of a single caravel from Santiago de Cuba under Francisco de Saucedo or Salceda, bearing 60 more soldiers and nine horses. More importantly, this officer brings word that Velázquez has now been authorized from Spain to take possession of any new lands discovered west of his Caribbean colony. This news prompts Cortés to send the flagship *Santa María de la Concepción* and two caravels directly across the Atlantic with messages and gifts for the king, in hopes of winning approval for his independent campaign. These vessels set sail on July 26, under Cortés's emissaries Alonso Hernández Portocarrero and Francisco de Montejo. (They will reach the northwestern shores of Cuba by August 1 and re-

fresh their provisions from August 23 to 26 at Mariel, where Montejo owns an estate, before standing out into the open ocean via the “Bahama Channel” or modern Straits of Florida.)

Certain disgruntled elements within Cortés's army, still displaying vestiges of loyalty to the Cuban governor, are also put down shortly thereafter by means of a few arrests and the executions of a pair of ringleaders. Finally, to discourage any further talk about turning back, Cortés persuades the masters of the other nine ships anchored in the harbor to beach and disassemble their craft, incorporating their sailors into his dismayed army's ranks.

AUGUST 8, 1519. Having completed Villa Rica's defenses and installed a 150-man Spanish garrison under Capt. Pedro de Ircio, Cortés begins marching inland for Cempoala at the head of 300 soldiers, 40 crossbowmen, 20 harquebusiers, 15 horsemen, 150 Cuban servants, 800 Cempoalan auxiliaries, and many war dogs. Shortly after reaching Cempoala, though, news overtakes him that four Spanish vessels have been sighted off the coast, so Cortés returns hastily with 100 men.

Joining Ircio's patrols along the shoreline, Cortés meets three disembarked Spaniards, who inform him that the vessels are under the command of Alonso Álvarez de Pineda and have been sent by Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, to stake a claim over Mexico. Cortés therefore arrests this trio and lures another four men ashore into an ambush the next day, after which this rival flotilla stands away.

AUGUST 16, 1519. Having rejoined his army, thrown down Cempoala's pagan temples, and renamed this city as Nueva Sevilla, Cortés resumes his advance inland. Most Indian tribes prove hospitable to the 400 Spaniards, 15 horsemen, and 300 auxiliaries, so during the next couple of weeks they march uncontested through Jalapa, Xicochimalco (modern Xico Viejo), Ixhuacán, Zautla, and Ixtacamaxtitlán.

AUGUST 31, 1519. *Tlaxcala Battles.* Cortés's small army penetrates into the territory of the hostile Tlaxcaltecs, an engagement immediately erupting between his mounted vanguard and 15 brave Tlaxcaltecan scouts, who kill two horses and wound three others with their obsidian-tipped swords, javelins, and arrows before these few natives are slain. The conquistadores carefully conceal their horses' bodies so that they cannot be examined.

Pushing deeper the next day, Cortés is confronted by 1,000 warriors, who emerge from over a low hilltop and engage his army in hand-to-hand combat, slowly retreating through a maze of ravines where more warriors are waiting, until the Spaniards finally fight their way out onto an open plain and scatter their enemies with cavalry charges and artillery blasts at sundown. The Indians suffer many fatalities, as opposed to only injuries among the Spanish ranks. Cortés also remains in possession of the battlefield and camps overnight at Teocatingo, leading half his army on the morning of September 2 on a punitive sweep through half-a-dozen surrounding villages and seizing 400 captives before being chased back into his fortified encampment.

The next dawn, a huge Tlaxcaltecan army under the main command of Xicoténcatl the Younger appears in battle array, well armed and with their faces painted red, “which gave them the look of devils.” They send provisions in to the Spaniards to fatten them up for human sacrifice, then launch repeated assaults across the camp’s encircling ravine, all of which are repelled with heavy losses until the Tlaxcaltecan withdraw at nightfall. Cortés makes another sweep with half of his troops on September 4, burning 10 nearby towns and sacking a large, half-empty city before regaining his encampment at noon and bloodily repulsing yet more Tlaxcaltecan assaults. Two days afterward, he orders the hands of 50 Tlaxcaltecan visitors cut off, believing that they are spies, then chases away a nocturnal probe by Xicoténcatl.

A delegation of six Aztec noblemen visits the Spaniards’ camp and witnesses how daily assaults by the Tlaxcaltecan enemies are gradually losing impetus due to the many hundreds—perhaps even thousands—of casualties caused by the invaders’ superior weaponry. Finally, Tlaxcala’s leadership sues for terms, Xicoténcatl entering Cortés’s camp on September 12 to symbolically ask forgiveness for his attacks. The Spaniards are duly propitiated, and their entire army is welcomed six days afterward into the capital of Tlaxcala amid great festivities.

OCTOBER 12, 1519. Having refreshed his troops (and sent his lieutenants Pedro de Alvarado and Bernardino Vázquez de Tapia to make an unobtrusive visit to the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán), Cortés resumes his march inland, reinforced by several thousand Tlaxcaltecan. A couple of days later, his army enters the large city of Cholula, a major Aztec satellite.

OCTOBER 18, 1519. Cholula Massacre. Convinced that the Cholultecans are plotting in secret concert with Moctezuma to attack the Spaniards within their streets, Cortés feigns a departure. Thousands of Cholultecan porters duly assemble at dawn, and the Spanish leader summons 30 of their chiefs into his quarters. He accuses them of treachery and has them murdered before firing a gun that signals to his men to butcher the porters. More than 6,000 people are slaughtered, after which Cholula is cruelly pillaged over the next two days.

The Aztec emperor sends propitiatory messages to Cortés, denying any knowledge of projected perfidy by his subjects and renewing his invitation for the Spaniards to visit his capital—while at the same time secretly arranging for other obstacles to be created to hinder the Spaniards’ advance.

NOVEMBER 1, 1519. Cortés’s army departs devastated Cholula for Huejotzingo, still determined to reach the Aztec capital. Although their Cempoalan auxiliaries retire at this point toward the coast, they are replaced by perhaps 1,000 Tlaxcaltecan, for a total of 6,000 native auxiliaries assisting the 400 Spaniards.

Hearing rumors that an Aztec ambush may be planned along the main highway leading into Tenochtitlán, Cortés instead veers up into the mountains, passing through the 13,000-foot-high gap between the snow-capped volcanoes of Ixtaccihuatl and Popocatepetl (still today called the *Paso de Cortés* or “Cortés’s Pass”), so as to descend into the Valley of Mexico and behold the Aztec capital set upon its lake, described as being “the finest spectacle in the world.”

NOVEMBER 8, 1519. After being well received at Amecameca and Ixtapalapa, the Spanish army reaches the shores of Lake Texcoco and marches along a six-mile causeway toward the Aztec capital, being personally welcomed into Tenochtitlán (population: approximately 200,000) by the reluctant Moctezuma, who leads a procession of hundreds of his most noble retainers to house the visitors in the home of his deceased father, the former emperor Axayacatl.

NOVEMBER 14, 1519. Having been dazzled by the wonders of the Aztec capital, Cortés receives a message from Captain de Ircio of a clash between his garrison left behind at Villa Rica (Veracruz) and an Aztec contingent stationed farther north of that port at Nautla, under General Cualpopoca. Nine

Spaniards and many Cempoalans having been killed, Cortés seizes upon this incident as a convenient excuse to confront Moctezuma, visiting the emperor in his palace that same evening and launching into a complaint. The next morning, he returns with about 30 armed men and insists that the chief shift into the Spaniards' quarters. After a lengthy discussion, Moctezuma agrees, creating a sensation among his people, despite being allowed to perform his usual daily activities accompanied by a few Spanish guards.

Summoned by the emperor, Cuapopoca arrives from the coast 20 days afterward, along with his son and 15 other offending officers. On Cortés's orders, they are tortured and then burned alive in the main

square of Tenochtitlán, while Moctezuma is placed in irons.

The Spaniards then spend the next several months living uneasily in the wary Aztec capital, learning everything about its empire, receiving vast amounts of tribute, reconnoitering outlying provinces, and even convincing the captive emperor to help them build four brigantines on the lake. The headstrong young lord Cacama of Texcoco threatens to raise a rebellion, free his captive uncle Moctezuma, and drive out the foreigners, yet he, too, is seized through treachery and imprisoned by Cortés.

APRIL 1520. Word reaches Cortés of another Spanish expedition off the coast of Veracruz, larger



A romanticized 19th-century portrayal of Cortés and his conquistadores gazing across the Lake of Mexico toward the Aztec capital for the first time. (Author's Collection)

than his own. It has departed Cuba on March 5, comprising 11 ships and 7 brigantines under Velázquez's 45-year-old lieutenant, Pánfilo de Narváez. The Cuban governor, after learning of Cortés's dispatch of treasure ships directly toward Spain in an effort to circumvent his authority, is now determined to have the usurper arrested and hanged.

Narváez has lost one ship and 40 men during a Gulf storm before reaching San Juan de Ulúa on April 19. Here he finds a single ship awaiting him, bearing Judge Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, who has been dispatched from the island of Santo Domingo to prevent fighting between the two rival Spanish contingents. Narváez contemptuously sends the lawyer away and dispatches three emissaries to Villa Rica, who are promptly arrested by Cortés's garrison commander. Narváez therefore disembarks all his 1,400 men (including 80 riders, 70–80 harquebusiers, 90 crossbowmen, and 650 foot soldiers) to begin building a base camp ashore. However numerous, though, his army is not entirely loyal, many troops being more impressed by tales of Cortés's prowess in dealing with the powerful Aztec empire.

EARLY MAY 1520. After ordering the recall of 150 Spaniards sent under his lieutenant Juan Velázquez de León to settle the Gulf coast near Coatzacoalcos, Cortés departs Tenochtitlán with some 80 of his own Spanish soldiers, leaving another 120 behind as an occupation force under Pedro de Alvarado. After meeting Velázquez de León and marshalling a total of 340 Spaniards at Cholula, Cortés strikes eastward to confront Narváez, unaccompanied by native auxiliaries. Although outnumbered four to one, the clever and charismatic leader nonetheless sways many members of this latest Spanish expedition by a steady stream of messages and gifts sent into Narváez's camp at Cempoala.

MAY 29, 1520. *Narváez's Defeat.* Confident of victory, Narváez goes to sleep on the rainy night of Whitsunday, May 28, high atop Cempoala's main pyramid. Familiar with the terrain, Cortés moves against him in the darkness, a company of troops under 23-year-old Gonzalo de Sandoval hastening up the pyramid's steps to fall upon Narváez and his closest companions before any general alarm can be raised. Amid confused fighting, the thatched covering of Narváez's abode is set ablaze, and his right eye is torn out by a pike-thrust; he is dragged before Cortés, and the rest of his army surrenders. At the cost of only 17 dead among Narváez's men and 2 of

his own men, Cortés incorporates this vast new army into his ranks.

A company of 200 Spaniards is then sent northward under Diego de Ordáz to settle the Gulf coast beyond Pánuco, while a similar number returns southeastward under Velázquez de León to reestablish the colony at Coatzacoalcos, thereby ensuring Cortés's hold along the entire Mexican shoreline against any other rival claimants.

However, these detachments will soon be recalled by even more alarming news: during Cortés's absence from Tenochtitlán, Alvarado—misconstruing the traditional Aztec festival of Toxcatl on May 16 as a war dance in anticipation of a surprise attack—has massacred a large group of native celebrants, precipitating a vengeful descent against the Spanish quarters within the capital that only abates when Alvarado forces Moctezuma onto its rooftop to quell the angry crowd.

JUNE 24, 1520. Cortés, having first warily circled around the lake into Texcoco, returns to a silent and sullen Tenochtitlán in the afternoon with more than 100 Spanish horsemen and 1,000 soldiers, as well as fresh Tlaxcaltecan levies. He finds only five or six of Alvarado's men actually dead, but the garrison is isolated and shunned by the Aztecs; Cortés reproves his lieutenant for his ill judgment. Cortés is also angry with Moctezuma, having learned during his coastal campaign that the emperor has secretly contacted his antagonist Narváez, promising friendship.

JUNE 25, 1520. Wanting the Mexican markets to be reopened so as to obtain food for his troops, Cortés releases Moctezuma's brother Cuitláhuac, lord of Ixtapalapa, to arrange matters. Instead, this chieftain begins rallying Aztec resistance. When Cortés sallies into the narrow city streets with 200 troops and sends Ordáz in the opposite direction with a like number, they are all attacked by swarms of warriors, who kill four or five Spaniards and wound many others with stones and arrows hurled down from rooftops.

Retreating into their quarters at nightfall, the Spanish become besieged, enduring repeated attacks over the next several days. The sheer weight of Aztec numbers prevents their escape from the city, so Cortés orders three mobile wooden towers built in hopes of tearing down nearby strongpoints. Hoping to ease the siege pressure while the towers are being completed, Cortés directs Moctezuma to again address the mob from the roof of the Spaniards'

quarters. Although protected by Spanish soldiers, the unhappy emperor is stoned by his own people and dies three days afterward. His body is released for interment at Chapultepec, and Cuitláhuac is now the acknowledged leader of the Aztecs, soon to be crowned.

When the towers are ready, Cortés sallies with 500 Spanish troops and 3,000 Tlaxcaltecan warriors in support, but they must soon retreat as the Aztecs cripple the towers. Repeated Spanish assaults of bloody hand-to-hand combat succeed in overrunning the main temple, yet even this capture of the war-god Huitzilopochtli's shrine does not sap Aztec fury.

JUNE 30–JULY 1, 1520. “*Noche Triste*” Retreat.

Thirsty, hungry, and desperate, the Spaniards decide to cut their way out of Tenochtitlán after midnight, cloaked by heavy fog and drizzle. They pass undetected over one bridge before being decried and attacked along the Tacuba Causeway. Countless war canoes appear out of the night, filled with archers and enraged fighters. Cortés's conquistadores—crowded together and unable to deploy their cannon or cavalry—make easy targets, some 450 perishing in the darkness. Many drown, being heavy-laden with booty, while 46 horses and 4,000 Tlaxcaltecan auxiliaries are also lost. (One of the last Spaniards to fight his way out of the city is Alvarado, who—according to a legend circulated many years later—allegedly vaults across a gap in the causeway, still remembered today as the *Puente de Alvarado* or “Alvarado's Bridge.”)

Reaching the mainland town of Popotla, Cortés turns back with five horsemen to assist the final escapees before pausing beneath a large tree to weep, giving birth to the name of the *Noche Triste* or “Sad Night” retreat. He then leads his battered survivors on toward Cuajimalpa, hoping to circle westward and northward out of the valley to regain the safety of Tlaxcala. However, the Spaniards are hounded by Cuitláhuac's 40,000 warriors. On July 2, a pitched battle is fought to gain the hilltop temple of Teocallihueyacan, after which the Spaniards press on through Tepotzotlán and other deserted Indian towns, suffering greatly from hunger and thirst. They are almost overwhelmed again when the Aztecs muster a huge force at Otumba on July 7, but the imperial army is repelled by desperate counterthrusts during which Cortés personally slays the Aztec standard-bearer with his lance. The battle is finally ended when Juan de Salamanca kills the imperial general

Cihuacóatl Matlatzincáztin during close-quarters combat.

The next day, 340 Spanish survivors and 27 horsemen finally stagger into the safety of Tlaxcaltecan territory, being greeted by the 4,000 inhabitants of the border town of Hueyotlipan and recuperating there until July 11. The Aztecs remain behind their frontier, unwilling to clash with the fully mobilized Tlaxcaltecan army, 50,000 strong. While recovering from his own minor wounds at Hueyotlipan, Cortés is visited by solicitous allied noblemen from the city of Tlaxcala, 12 miles away. Patrols are sent out to skirmish against the Aztecs before the main Spanish army retreats into the Tlaxcaltecan capital itself.

AUGUST 1, 1520. Cortés leads the most rested men of his army on a punitive expedition through Huejotzingo, Cholula, and Acatzingo against the province of Tepeaca or Tepeyácac, a small but strategically placed Aztec tributary state. His aims are to discourage the number of assaults occurring against other isolated Spanish units, as well as propitiating his fierce Tlaxcaltecan allies, who clamor for this campaign.

Six days later, the Spaniards and 40,000 Tlaxcaltecs overrun the hilltop town of Tepeaca, killing some 400 warriors in a pitched battle before its gates. The town and its surrounding area are then cruelly ravaged, most citizens being either branded on the face with the letter “G” (for *guerra*) and enslaved by the Spanish, or sacrificed and eaten by the Tlaxcaltecs. Such atrocities prompt many other Aztec satellites to refrain from attacking the invaders, and some even seek terms so as to shift allegiance from the Aztec cause.

Tepeaca is temporarily renamed once this campaign is concluded on August 21 as Segura de la Frontera (modern Tepeaca, Puebla, relocated to the foot of its hill in 1543), becoming Cortés's new army headquarters so as not to deplete the resources at Tlaxcala.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1520. Cuitláhuac is officially elected emperor in Tenochtitlán, but aside from strengthening his capital's fortifications and stockpiling weapons, he takes no offensive steps against the foreign enemies. Smallpox has appeared within the Valley of Mexico as well, causing many thousands to sicken and die—the new emperor among them on November 25. Cuitláhuac is succeeded by his royal cousin Cuauhtémoc, who is another of the late Moctezuma's nephews.

MID-SEPTEMBER 1520. Cortés is contacted at Tepeaca by the lord of Huaquechula, a small province in the Valley of Atlixco below Popocatepetl Volcano, who is so resentful of the large Aztec garrison imposed upon his district that he offers to seize its commanders and hand them over to a Spanish relief column. Cortés therefore dispatches captains Andrés de Tapia, Diego de Ordaz, and Cristóbal de Olid with 300 Spanish foot soldiers, 13 horsemen, and 30,000 Tlaxcaltecan allies. While marching through Cholula and Huejotzingo, though, they become suspicious of the Huaquechulans' motives and so detain their emissaries and return them to Tepeaca in irons.

Cortés frees the captives with his apologies and then personally rides to assume command of this operation. Three days later, he charges by surprise into the stoutly fortified city of Huaquechula, whose leaders immediately present him with 40 high-ranking Aztec captives, while its citizenry attacks the remainder within their quarters so furiously that the Spaniards are powerless to prevent an outright massacre. A detachment of 3,000 warriors from the nearby Aztec army encampment attempt to rescue their officers, setting fire to the outskirts of Huaquechula, but are scattered into the open fields by Cortés's cavalry. The main Aztec force thereupon decamps through the pass between the volcanoes for the Valley of Mexico. The heat is so oppressive this day that many men and one horse die of exhaustion.

EARLY OCTOBER 1520. From Huaquechula, Cortés quickly presses on to seize another heavily fortified Aztec garrison town, Izúcar (modern Izúcar de Matamoros, Puebla). Its citizenry flees before his onslaught, leaving 6,000 Aztec troops under General Nahuiaatl to offer a hearty resistance before being annihilated almost to the last man. Many drown while attempting to swim across the encircling river.

MID-OCTOBER 1520. Once more back in Tepeaca, Cortés instructs his shipwright Martín López to return into Tlaxcala with his assistants to begin shaping thousands of pieces of cut timber into the ribs and planks for a fleet of brigantines. The conquistador commander moreover finds that his recent victories are bringing in native overtures from as far away as Oaxaca.

Also, a trickle of Spanish reinforcements continues to arrive at Villa Rica: half-a-dozen individual

vessels bearing an additional 200 adventurers to join Cortés's ranks, plus military stores and more than 20 horses. He furthermore dispatches four of Narváez's vessels to seek help from the licentiate Rodrigo de Figueroa, president of the Royal Audiencia on Hispaniola. He sends a similar expedition to Jamaica to buy mares.

EARLY DECEMBER 1520. Sandoval, one of Cortés's favorite lieutenants, marches northward from Tepeaca with 200 Spanish foot soldiers, 12 crossbowmen, 20 riders, and thousands of native allies to secure the supply route from the Gulf coast by defeating the Aztec vassal-states at Zautla and Xalacingo. He succeeds with very few losses, the chieftains switching allegiances and thereby further shrinking the Aztec empire.

DECEMBER 13, 1520. Now fully confident in his restored military strength, Cortés leaves a Spanish captain in command of only 60 men at Tepeaca, while sending his main army to spend Christmas at Tlaxcala. Cortés rejoins them three days afterward.

DECEMBER 27, 1520. Parading his reconstituted army at Tlaxcala, Cortés counts 40 Spanish horsemen, 80 crossbowmen or harquebusiers, 460 foot soldiers, and 9 cannon. Next day, he summons all the allied chieftains of Tlaxcala, Huejotzingo, Cholula, Chalco, and other lesser towns to inform them that the long-anticipated offensive against the Aztec capital will commence on December 29.

He sets out for Texmelucan on the appointed day, his Spanish army accompanied by only 20,000 warriors under the Tlaxcaltecan general Chichimecatecutli, leaving another 60,000 behind as a reserve. After pushing up an obstructed yet otherwise unguarded mountain road, they reach Coatepec by January 1, 1521, scattering a small Aztec force. The next day, while marching upon the city of Texcoco, Cortés's army is greeted by its frightened rulers, who offer their allegiance and to house the Spaniards. Cortés proceeds through Cuautinchán and Huejutla so as to enter Texcoco by evening, only to discover that most of its populace is fleeing into the Aztec capital aboard thousands of canoes. He therefore allows the city to be sacked and elevates the young son of Nezahualpiltzin as the new king of Texcoco. Three days later, the commander of the conquistadores is approached by the chieftains of Cuautinchán, Huejutla, and Atengo, who agree to switch sides.

JANUARY 9, 1521. Having fortified his base at Texcoco, Cortés leaves Sandoval in command of its garrison while setting out with 15 riders, 10 harquebusiers, 30 crossbowmen, and 160 Spanish foot soldiers, plus 5,000 Indian auxiliaries, to attack the city of Ixtapalapa, located 15 miles away. Despite its defenders' best efforts, the invaders fight their way inside by evening and destroy this city, slaughtering thousands. The retreating Ixtapalapans, however, breach its causeway so that their ruined city is suddenly flooded in the darkness, obliging the attackers to flee to higher ground. The next morning, Aztec columns close in upon the waterlogged Spaniards and Tlaxcaltecs, both by land and aboard canoes, driving them back into Texcoco, during which a single Spaniard is killed.

Notwithstanding this setback, Cortés receives a delegation from Otumba that promises friendship, while the inhabitants of Chalco also request his help to expel its Aztec garrison. Sandoval is promptly sent out with 20 riders and 200 Spanish infantry-

men, who first fight a screening action to allow a column of Tlaxcaltecs to return homeward, before reaching Chalco and securing its allegiance through the defeat of its Aztec occupiers.

LATE JANUARY 1521. Concerned by such defections, Cuauhtémoc leads his army down the eastern shores of Lake Tenochtitlán, cowing many vassals into submission once more. Cortés meanwhile detaches Sandoval with 200 Spanish infantrymen and 15 riders to fetch the brigantines that Martín López has been constructing at Tlaxcala. En route, Sandoval digresses to eradicate the town of Calpulalpan, where a party of Spaniards has been ambushed and sacrificed during the Noche Triste retreat of the previous year. Its inhabitants flee, only to be rounded up and enslaved by Sandoval's vengeful column.

FEBRUARY 15, 1521. *Lakeshore Sweep.* Sandoval returns into Texcoco with a six-mile-long column of 10,000 Tlaxcaltecans, protected by an ad-

Navy over the Mountains

The Spaniards were able to subdue the Aztec capital thanks to some remarkable feats of engineering. Realizing that the huge city depended upon thousands of canoes for its sustenance, Cortés recognized this as a vulnerability and so tricked the captive emperor Moctezuma into helping him start constructing four brigantines. The ships were supposedly for returning to Cuba but were actually intended to dominate Tenochtitlán's lake. Almost immediately after losing these vessels during the "Noche Triste" retreat, Cortés instructed his shipwright Martín López to proceed to Tlaxcala to build a new fleet, which could be disassembled and carried piece-by-piece up into the central highlands. Sails, rigging, nails, rope, and other specialized gear were to be brought from the scuttled Spanish ships at Veracruz, while tar for caulking—which was "not known or used in this country"—had to be obtained by a party of sailors.

After three months of intense labor, 13 brigantines were produced. They were taken apart and had started to be carried by 10,000 Tlaxcaltecans, escorted by 20,000 warriors, up into the mountains by February 11, 1521. This enormous column entered the advance Spanish base of Texcoco four days later, triumphantly parading past for six hours in their splendid feathered uniforms "to the sound of many drums, conches, and other musical instruments."

Yet another Herculean task was then initiated when, after four days of rest, work commenced on reassembling the brigantines as well as digging a fortified channel three-quarters of a mile long and 12 feet deep in order to reach the lake's waters directly from the Spanish encampment. The largest of these flat-bottomed vessels measured about 65 feet in length and was armed with iron cannon; the remainder averaged 40–50 feet in length and were equipped with small bronze swivel-guns. All had double or single masts, plus long oars for propulsion; they were capable of carrying 25–30 armed men apiece.

After fifty days' toil by tens of thousands of native laborers, the fleet was ready to be launched. At this point, Cortés assembled all his conquistadores and addressed them: "My brothers and comrades, you now see these brigantines finished and ready for action, and you know how much work they have cost us, and how much sweat they have cost our friends. A very great part of the hope I have to take Mexico lies in them, because with them we shall either quickly burn all the canoes of the city, or seal them up in the canals. In this we shall do the enemy as much harm as the land forces can do, because the enemy can no more live without canoes than without eating."

His words would prove prophetic, as this navy—so painstakingly carried high up into the mountains—quickly dominated the lake and doomed Tenochtitlán.

ditional 20,000 warriors. Two thousand of these porters are carrying food, but the remainder brings countless planks and timbers, which when assembled will constitute López's vessels.

Work commences four days later on their assembly and the digging of an access canal. In the meantime, Cortés leads 250 Spanish foot soldiers, 50 harquebusiers and crossbowmen, 25 riders, plus thousands of Tlaxcaltecan warriors on a major foray out of Texcoco to circle around the entire lake. Some 12 miles away, this force scatters an Aztec army, then the next day storms and burns the city of Xaltocan. The next night, they sleep in the deserted city of Cuautitlán before passing through Tenayuca and Azcapotzalco without opposition, then assaulting and occupying Tacuba. The next morning, they also sack and torch half of this city before testing the outer defenses of Tenochtitlán itself for a week, then pass through Acolman on their way back into Texcoco.

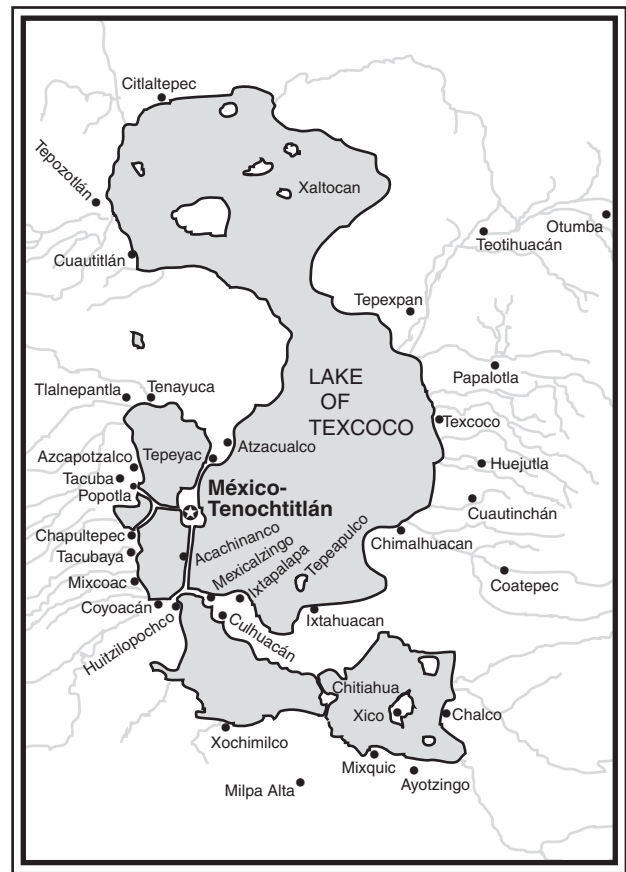
The victorious Tlaxcaltecan contingent is thereupon allowed to return home to boast of their successes and booty. News has also arrived of another Spanish relief force reaching Veracruz, sent by the licentiate de Figueroa of Santo Domingo and comprised of the ship *María*, plus two small caravels. They will add 200 men and 60 horses to Cortés's ranks.

MARCH 5, 1521. The ship of Alonso de Mendoza quits the Gulf coast, bearing messages and gifts from Cortés for the king of Spain.

MARCH 12, 1521. Having received a plea from his native allies at Chalco, who are being threatened by converging Aztec armies, Cortés dispatches Sandoval to their aid with 300 Spanish foot soldiers, 15 riders, and a column of Tlaxcaltecan warriors. Two days later, they fight their way into Oaxtepec, defeating its garrison.

On March 16, Sandoval's army presses on to overrun the hilltop Aztec fortress of Yecapixtla as well, successfully storming it through a hail of stones and arrows that result in the death of a single Spaniard. Auxiliaries from Chalco and other satellite towns follow the more heavily armored Spanish spearhead into this keep, pitilessly slaughtering its defenders, many of whom plunge in desperation into the river below. This mass of bodies taints the water, preventing Sandoval's men from drinking, so they retire the next day for Texcoco.

Hoping to undo this setback, Cuauhtémoc immediately dispatches another army to reimpose



Valley of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest.

Aztec rule over Chalco before the Spaniards can intervene. Nonetheless, the inhabitants of Chalco, Huejotzingo, and other towns band together to resist, while beseeching Sandoval's return. Before the Spanish column can arrive, though, the natives unexpectedly defeat the Aztec army, further diminishing the emperor's prestige.

APRIL 3, 1521. *Sweep beyond the Valley.* After receiving the submission of the chieftains of Tuxpan, Mexicaltzingo, and Nautla, Cortés strikes out from Texcoco at the head of 300 soldiers, 30 riders, and 20,000 allied warriors to disperse a huge new Aztec army that is gathering to threaten Chalco. Resting overnight in the border town of Tlalmanalco, he is joined by a further 40,000 natives and, at 2:00 p.m. the next afternoon, clashes against an enormous enemy host. These subjects of the emperor successfully defend a high and rocky promontory, pushing back Cortés's two assault-columns that gain its summit, in the process slaying a pair of Spanish soldiers and wounding 20. Cortés's battered army therefore fortifies itself overnight and then on April 5 outflanks

the promontory's defenders, who agree to abandon the Aztec cause if allowed to return into their homes.

Heartened by this triumph, Cortés decides to continue his march two days afterward and make a wide-ranging foray all around the Aztec capital. At dawn on April 8, his army smashes the Aztec garrison that has reoccupied Oaxtepec, chasing its survivors as far as Jilotepec. Two days later, the Spaniards set fire to Jilotepec's dwellings as well and proceed over the mountains. By April 13, they descend upon the seemingly impregnable Cuernavaca—a city nestled amid deep ravines and accessible only via two defended drawbridges. While these strongpoints are being engaged, though, a Tlaxcaltecan warrior discovers a small and perilous crossing into the city. He is followed across by four Spanish soldiers, who alarm the defenders by appearing unexpectedly behind their ranks. Cuernavaca erupts in flames, and its people submit that same afternoon to Cortés.

The Spanish army then ascends once more into the Valley of Mexico, storming the strongly fortified lakeside city of Xochimilco two days later, taking it by nightfall after very heavy fighting. Cortés himself is almost taken captive when his horse collapses from fatigue; he is saved by a Tlaxcaltecan warrior. On April 16, a fleet of 2,000 canoes bearing 12,000 Aztec warriors appears from Tenochtitlán, 12 miles distant, while an Aztec army pushes along the causeway. Cortés sallies with 600 Tlaxcaltecan warriors to break up these repeated attacks, while his troops burn most of Xochimilco and dig in at their quarters. Three days of combat ensue, until Cortés marches his whole force six miles into Coyoacán on April 20, finding it deserted. He probes Tenochtitlán's outer defenses at the head of 200 Spanish foot soldiers and five cavalymen before finally returning into Texcoco on April 22 to find that many more Spanish volunteers have arrived during his absence.

Such an irresistible progression through the very heartland of the Aztec dominion greatly enhances the invaders' prestige. Perhaps only a dozen Spaniards have been lost during this campaign, although some have been dragged off to become human sacrifices—a fate greatly feared among the rank and file.

APRIL 25, 1521. Undaunted by Cortés's recent successes, four days of ceremonies begin within the beleaguered Mexican capital to celebrate Cuauhtémoc's official coronation.

APRIL 28, 1521. López's brigantines are launched at Texcoco amid great rejoicing by the Spaniards

and their auxiliaries. With their tall sails, long oars, and swivel-guns, these brigantines will completely outclass the Aztecs' smaller canoes, promising to wrest control of Tenochtitlán's waters. They are to move out onto the waters from their base via a walled, planked channel 12 feet deep, 12 feet wide, and three-quarters of a mile in length, dug by tens of thousands of native levies. The conquistador commander furthermore musters his entire Spanish force, counting 86 horsemen, 118 crossbowmen and arquebusiers, as well as almost 700 foot soldiers armed "with pikes, shields, and halberds, besides the swords and daggers that they all carried." They are supported by three heavy iron cannon, as well as 15 smaller bronze pieces.

The next day, Cortés dispatches messages to all allied cities—Tlaxcala, Huejotzingo, Cholula, Chalco, and so on—urging them to send as many men and supplies as possible into Texcoco within 10 days for one final offensive against Tenochtitlán. The Aztecs' past tyrannies now redound against them as 60,000 warriors quickly rally into the invaders' already-crowded camp.

MAY 7, 1521. Cortés parades his vast host and subdivides it by assigning 30 horsemen, 170 Spanish foot soldiers, 3 guns, and more than 30,000 warriors to Alvarado, with orders to advance and seize Tacuba. Cristóbal de Olid receives 33 riders, 180 infantrymen, 2 guns, and nearly 30,000 natives to simultaneously take Coyoacán. Sandoval will later lead 23 riders, 160 foot soldiers, 2 guns, and more than 40,000 Indians to occupy Ixtapalapa. Together, these captures will sever three of the four causeways leading out of Tenochtitlán—the fourth, which reaches the mainland at Tepeyac, is to be left open to furnish the Aztecs with a tempting avenue of escape.

Cortés himself is to arm each brigantine with a gun, a half-dozen crossbows or arquebuses, plus two-dozen Spanish sailors and personally lead them out onto the lake to combat the Aztec canoes. His strategy is to weaken his densely concentrated foes by denying supplies into their capital, then gradually fighting his way inside with his three convergent armies.

MAY 10, 1521. Alvarado's and Olid's contingents depart Texcoco, the commanders almost coming to blows that night over lodgings at Acolman. The next day they reach deserted Jilotepec and, early on May 12, march into empty Tacuba, which the Spaniards begin fortifying while a Tlaxcaltecan column probes

up its causeway, fighting the defenders of the Aztec capital until sundown.

Olid presses on the next day for Chapultepec, cutting his way through heavy resistance to destroy the aqueducts emanating from the spring there—thereby cutting off Tenochtitlán’s water supply—before proceeding to ensconce his army at Coyoacán.

MAY 31, 1521. The first two Spanish contingents having firmly secured their advance positions at Tacuba and Coyoacán, Sandoval’s unit departs Texcoco for Ixtapalapa.

JUNE 1, 1521. To support Sandoval’s land assault against Ixtapalapa, Cortés sorties from Acachinanco near Texcoco with his brigantines. The terrified inhabitants of Ixtapalapa flee at Sandoval’s very approach, so his column enters uncontested and burns much of this hastily reconstructed city before fortifying the area. Cortés consequently steers away for the Aztec base on Tepeapulco Island, landing with about 150 men and fighting his way to its rocky summit amid fearsome slaughter.

Signal-fires lit all around the lake give warning to the senior Aztec commanders so that a massive fleet of canoes emerges from Tenochtitlán to confront the brigantines. Cortés awaits them in formation, until the wind veers around and allows his much larger vessels to plow right through the crowded native flotillas, using guns and crossbows to finish off survivors in the water. The Aztec fleet is chased six miles back into Tenochtitlán and bottled up inside its canals.

Finding the lake swept clear of opponents for his brigantines, Cortés disembarks with 30 men and seizes the twin-towered Xoloc strongpoint on the Ixtapalapa causeway, despite fierce resistance. He brings another 70 men and three artillery pieces ashore to hold this stronghold overnight, being reinforced at dawn of June 2 by 8 riders, 80 Spanish foot soldiers, and numerous warriors from Olid’s contingent.

JUNE 2, 1521. Heavy fighting rages along both the Ixtapalapa and Tacuba causeways, where Alvarado is also slowly advancing. Cortés pushes almost into the outskirts of Tenochtitlán itself and has the Ixtapalapa causeway cut so that four of his brigantines can penetrate into the inner lake to better protect the Spaniards’ flanks.

JUNE 3, 1521. Amid continual fighting, Cortés orders Sandoval to shift his Ixtapalapa contingent over

to reinforce Olid’s at Coyoacán before joining him personally with an additional 10 horsemen. A week-long lull thereupon ensues, both sides skirmishing against each other’s lines, while Sandoval marches his contingent on to take up a new position at Xaltocan, northwest of Tenochtitlán, to threaten the last Aztec-controlled causeway at Tepeyac.

JUNE 10, 1521. Looking to test the strength of Aztec resolve, Cortés orders Alvarado and Sandoval to attack from their bases while he launches a major thrust up the Ixtapalapa causeway at dawn, leading more than 200 Spaniards and 80,000 native allies. Supported by accompanying brigantines, they fight their way past two strongly defended gaps into the streets of Tenochtitlán itself, where a series of seesaw actions ends with Cortés being forced to retreat at nightfall, losing one of his cannon. (He later comments: “Everyone ran away, and everyone fought well; such is war.”)

JUNE 15, 1521. After being reinforced by 40,000 Texcocan recruits under the 24-year-old chieftain Ixtlilxóchitl, Cortés again advances from Xoloc with 20 horsemen, 300 Spanish foot soldiers, 3 guns, and 10,000 allies to fight his way back into Tenochtitlán. Assisted by his brigantines, the attackers win passage through several defended gaps, which his native auxiliaries then fill in with rubble, stones, and lumber. Upon reaching the city proper, the assault column starts lighting fires and leveling houses so that their cavalry will have more room to maneuver. Desperate Aztec counterthrusts throw the invaders back at nightfall, yet not before great damage has been inflicted.

JUNE 16, 1521. Cortés resumes his assault up the Ixtapalapa causeway at 8:00 a.m., only to discover that the Aztecs have toiled all night under the personal supervision of Cuauhtémoc to reopen its breaches and erect new barricades. Five hours of intense combat result in the Spanish recapture of two gaps, yet when darkness falls, they retire again into their fortified quarters at Xoloc.

Alvarado has launched similar strikes up the Tacuba causeway, so Cortés shifts strategy the next day by also attacking it from his base so that both Spanish contingents may link up. Six brigantines and 3,000 allied canoes support both flanks of Cortés’s advance, which seizes three bridges on its first day. By June 18, the remaining four are secured, establishing contact with Alvarado’s force.

Cortés has moreover realized that his tactic of razing buildings in the Aztec capital both deprives his enemy of high positions from which to pelt down missiles and frees up space for the Spaniards' artillery and cavalry, so he directs a series of attrition raids intended to gradually tear down more and more of Tenochtitlán's edifices. The defenders nonetheless continue to resist stubbornly, so when Alvarado prematurely attempts a thrust a few days afterward into the main square of the Tlatelolco suburb, accompanied by only 50 Spaniards, he is quickly surrounded and obliged to swim for his life. Four of his companions are captured and ritually sacrificed within sight of the horrified Spanish army.

JUNE 30, 1521. After a week of rather ineffectual raids against the Aztec capital, Cortés launches another major assault by having Sandoval break camp and feign a withdrawal but, instead, swing his contingent round to join Alvarado for a concerted drive into Tlatelolco's main square. Cortés meanwhile leads 270 Spaniards and almost 50,000 Indian allies in from the opposite direction, both columns fighting their way deep into the city before becoming bogged down. The Spanish commander is wounded and lucky to escape being taken alive, saved only by the personal sacrifice of his servant Cristóbal de Olea and captain of the guard Antonio de Quiñones, while Alvarado's standard is captured by the Aztec chieftain Tlapanecatli. At least 20 Spaniards and more than 2,000 native allies are slain before both columns retire, another 53 Spanish prisoners being paraded to the tops of Tlatelolco's highest pyramids and publicly sacrificed. Four horses, a cannon, and a brigantine are also lost.

Shaken by this setback, the attackers refrain from renewing their assaults over the next four days, while the Aztecs celebrate noisily with "great bonfires, music, dancing, feasting, and drinking." The heads of two Spaniards and two horses are conveyed through towns all along the lakeshore, persuading many chieftains to quit their alliance with Cortés out of sheer fright.

JULY 2, 1521. Emissaries from Cuernavaca inform Cortés that the warrior priests of Malinalco and Couixco have begun attacking their district, emboldened by the Spaniards' recent setback before Tenochtitlán. To prevent such insurgencies from multiplying, Cortés detaches Andrés de Tapia with 10 riders and 80 soldiers to aid his loyal Cuernavacan chieftain Cuauhnáhuac against the warrior-

priests. Within a few days, Tapia scatters a host gathered outside Malinalco, chasing its survivors back into their formidable hilltop fortress and laying waste to its surrounding farmlands before rejoining the main Spanish army a week later.

Two days after Tapia's triumphal return, Cortés receives a similar request in mid-July from the Otomí inhabitants of the highlands regarding their Matlatzincan neighbors. He therefore detaches Sandoval to their aid, with 18 horsemen and 100 Spanish infantrymen. This column unites with some 60,000 Otomies and, at a Lerma River ford three days later, overtakes the retiring Matlatzincan army, which is heavy-laden with booty. The latter flee and make a brief stand on the Lerma's far side before scattering into the Matlatzinco or Toluca Valley; they suffer some 2,000 deaths during this pursuit. Gathering with their terrified families overnight atop an impregnable height above Tollocan, the Matlatzincans disappear by the next dawn. Sandoval subsequently overruns the towns of Tenango, Calimaya, Metepec,



Tlaxcaltec warrior with plumed regalia on his back, from the Lienzo de Tlaxcala. (Author's Collection)

and so on, before regaining Cortés's encampment with two prominent captives.

These Spanish victories do much to restore the besiegers' prestige, as does a bold foray into Tenochtitlán itself by the Tlaxcaltecs under Chichimecatecutli, which nets a large number of Aztec prisoners during heavy fighting. Soon Cortés's native auxiliaries begin returning, reassured by Tenochtitlán's palpable weakness. He uses them to level more buildings in the Aztec capital, slowly pressing the defenders back. The Spaniards are also heartened by the arrival of a ship at Villa Rica bearing gunpowder, crossbows, and a few more soldiers (having partaken in Ponce de León's recently failed expedition to settle Florida; see "Early March 1521" entry in "Expansion beyond Mexico").

JULY 24, 1521. Concealed before sunrise with 15 horsemen, 100 Spanish foot soldiers, and some Tlaxcaltecan warriors, Cortés surprises Aztec civilians creeping out of beleaguered Tenochtitlán in search of food, pitilessly massacring 800 of them.

The next day, he leads a drive along the streets of Tacuba that reaches as far as Cuauhtémoc's houses, which are torched. Three-quarters of the city are now controlled by the invaders, and communication between Cortés's and Alvarado's headquarters is unimpeded.

JULY 29, 1521. In conjunction with an assault by Cortés, Alvarado's contingent fights its way into the very center of Tlaltelolco, losing three horses but planting his new flag atop the city's twin towers in the face of increasingly feeble opposition. The next day, the Spaniards note the many unburied bodies and emaciated civilians in the remaining Aztec sectors so call on them to surrender. The defenders vow to fight to the last man.

Having exhausted their gunpowder, the Spaniards spend the next four days building a catapult to batter down the walls. It fails, so Cortés and Alvarado resume their direct assaults on August 3, fighting into another city section and slaying 12,000 more civilians. Cortés estimates that only an eighth of Tenochtitlán

Resurrection of Tenochtitlán

Savage fighting left the once-proud Aztec capital in ruins, with most of its 200,000 people dead or gone. Rather than encamp amid the diseased vestiges of the city, the exhausted victors stayed at Coyoacán on the mainland. It was assumed that Tenochtitlán would be abandoned in favor of a new Spanish city, to be created elsewhere in the valley. But when Cristóbal de Tapia unexpectedly arrived at Veracruz that same December 1521, with royal instructions to replace Cortés as "Governor of New Spain," the city's status was revived. Cortés quickly convened an *ayuntamiento* or "municipal government" for Tenochtitlán, his own troops "electing" him as mayor, with the loyal Cristóbal de Olid as deputy mayor, Pedro de Alvarado as chief magistrate, and so on. This legal fiction allowed Cortés to appeal directly to the Crown as an independent titleholder against his proposed deposal.

It proved unnecessary, though, as de Tapia was easily mollified and dismissed. Yet when Cortés began preparing in late January 1522 to campaign into northeastern Mexico, he announced that his new capital would indeed be erected atop Tenochtitlán's ruins. He later explained to the emperor Charles V that he had "debated with himself as to whether to establish another town within the circuit of the lakes" before opting to rebuild atop the smashed Aztec infrastructure. An island stronghold would offer the outnumbered Spaniards a defensible position in case of insurrection, while the superimposition of their institutions atop Aztec hulks would embody the finality of conquest. Charles V approved, and by the end of that same year, Cortés had two officers start razing all damaged native structures—to be replaced with Spanish-style edifices and streets. The captive Cuauhtémoc's influence was used to conscript tens of thousands of laborers, who toiled throughout the ensuing year clearing away debris. The rubble was used to fill in some of the canals.

It was not until a water-fort was completed on the city's eastern shore late in 1523, to serve as a citadel and berth for the brigantines, that Cortés moved from his residence Coyoacán, early the next year. The first urban plots were distributed among his retainers. Fear of a potential uprising meant that the first Spanish mansions were fortified, two-story residences with massive walls, wooden doors, and tiny windows. Public works continued on such a Herculean scale that, when the Franciscan missionary Fr. Toribio de Motolinía arrived in June 1524, he recorded how the "songs and voices" of thousands of workers "scarcely ceased at night." Last, the native suburbs were cleared for repopulation so that by the time Cortés departed to visit Spain in October 1526, he could report that his resurrected capital held approximately 2,000 Spanish and more than 28,000 native residents. Five years of intensive labor had miraculously transformed the shattered Aztec capital.

now remains under Aztec control. The city is so desperate that some people even call on the Spaniards to finish them off quickly. Aztec warriors nonetheless continue to resist heroically, despite the disease, starvation, thirst, relentless military defeats, and Cortés's repeated offers of clemency over the next several days. Another major assault therefore occurs on August 12, during which many thousands of non-combatants are savagely massacred in their shelters.

AUGUST 13, 1521. *Fall of Tenochtitlán.* Determined to end the protracted siege, at dawn Cortés assaults the small northwestern enclave remaining under Cuauhtémoc's control. A throng of civilians

attempts to escape by canoe, thousands drowning or being swamped by Sandoval's surviving brigantines. Any remaining Aztec warriors are slaughtered by Alvarado, Olid, and the Tlaxcaltecs.

In a last-minute bid to reach the north shore of the lake, the defeated emperor flees that afternoon aboard a canoe with 20 paddlers, only to be overtaken and captured by Garcí Holguín's brigantine. Brought before Cortés, the emperor's surrender marks an end to the capital's conquest, during which at least 100,000 people have perished. The ruins are pillaged over the next four days, and many captives are branded as slaves. Large sectors of the city are burned to prevent the spread of disease.

EXPANSION BEYOND MEXICO (1521–1540)

Cortés's conquest of the Aztec empire inspires a host of imitators. In addition to spreading out to secure outlying vassal states, many Spanish captains advance beyond Mexico's borders in quest of additional native kingdoms to subjugate. Despite his own wealth and prestige, Cortés is constrained to head new exploratory efforts on behalf of less fortunate adherents.

EARLY MARCH 1521. *Ponce de León's Repulse.*

While the conquest of Mexico is proceeding, Ponce de León departs Puerto Rico with a two-ship expedition bearing 50 horses and 200 men—including priests, farmers, and artisans—hoping to establish a permanent colony in Florida. He reaches Estero Island on its Gulf or western side and rests his followers ashore near modern Charlotte Harbor. They then advance inland through the dense coastal forest to search for fresh food and water and to confront the local king, Escampaba—dubbed *cacique Carlos* or “chief Charles” by the Spaniards—whose tribal seat is on Mound Key. The invaders cannot speak the dialect of the Calos (also known as the Caloos or Calusa), and in a sharp engagement against these ferocious nomads, Ponce de León is badly wounded in the thigh by a poisoned reed arrow, after which he and his men retreat back aboard ship.

Defeated, Ponce de León retires for Cuba, one of his ships becoming separated and sailing to join Cortés in Mexico (see “July 2, 1521” entry in “Conquest of Mexico”). Ponce de León meanwhile limps into the tiny hamlet of Havana, where he dies that June.

LATE 1521. Because of the drain of Spanish fighting men toward Mexico, numerous Cuban natives

begin rebelling and running away from their masters, some seeking refuge in the Baracoa highlands under a chieftain named Guama. Eventually these uprisings are contained when 28-year-old Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa leads 18–20 horsemen in a sweep inland from the port of Trinidad toward Sancti Spíritus, terrifying its Indians into submission.

JANUARY 21, 1522. *González Dávila's Exploration.*

From the Pearl Islands (Panama), a four-ship expedition sets sail under Gil González Dávila and his pilot Andrés Niño. Their water casks being damaged in a storm, González Dávila is compelled to disembark with 100 men in the territory of Chief Burica (modern Burica Point), to campaign inland until he can rejoin Niño at San Vicente Gulf.

Leaving two ships here with gold treasure, González Dávila and Niño then press northwestward separately, being greeted hospitably by Chief Nicoya and Chief Nicoraguamia (or Nicorao). González Dávila discovers the Lake of Nicaragua in the latter's territory, and on April 17 beats off an attack by 3,000–4,000 warriors under Chief Diriangen; Niño meanwhile sails as far as the Gulf of Fonseca before rejoining his commander at San Vicente.

The expedition eventually regains Panama City on June 25, 1523, reporting to Gov. Pedrarias Dávila, who prepares a follow-up expedition under Capt. Francisco Hernández to lay claim to this new territory.

LATE JUNE 1523. Governor de Garay reaches Havana from Jamaica with 900 men aboard 11 ships, hoping to proceed farther west and conquer the Mexican province of Pánuco (*see* “August 8, 1519” entry in “Conquest of Mexico”). Learning that Cortés has already taken possession of this territory, de Garay agrees to defer his campaign.

DECEMBER 6, 1523. *Alvarado in Guatemala.* Cortés’s lieutenant Pedro de Alvarado leads an expedition out of Mexico City comprised of 130 mounted Spaniards, 300 Spanish infantrymen, and a

host of native auxiliaries to conquer additional kingdoms to the south.

He reaches the Pacific port of Soconusco and early the next year enters what is today Guatemala, finding its local Quiché and Cakchiquel Mayan tribes locked in civil war. Temporarily allying himself with the latter, Alvarado defeats 10,000–12,000 Quichés near Zapotitlán on February 20, 1524—personally killing their chieftain Tecún Umán by running him through with a lance—then burns their defenseless capital of Xelajú (modern Quetzaltenango) on March 7, amid fearful slaughter by both the Spaniards and 2,000 of their Cakchiquel cohorts.

On April 12, the conquistadores reach the Cakchiquel capital of Iximché, remaining for five days before pressing on to destroy the latter’s nearby rivals—the Zutuhils—by April 18. In short order, Alvarado

Pedro de Alvarado

Notable among the conquistadores because of his blond hair and reddish face, this brave yet hot-tempered commander was nicknamed *Tonatiuh* or “The Sun” by the awestruck Aztecs. Born in the city of Badajoz in Spain’s province of Extremadura in 1485, Pedro de Alvarado sailed for Santo Domingo at the age of 25 with his younger brothers Gonzalo, Jorge, Gómez, and Hernando. They were followed by their illegitimate brother Juan, as well as several cousins, all seeking service with their uncle Diego de Alvarado, a knight of the Order of Santiago.

The Alvarados took part in the invasion of Cuba in 1511 and were granted lands by Gov. Diego Velázquez at its conclusion. But a half-dozen years of meager existence as a minor Antillean estate owner rekindled Pedro de Alvarado’s appetite for adventure. When Juan de Grijalva was sent in January 1518 to reconnoiter the Mexican mainland, Alvarado sailed in command of one of his three ships. And when Hernán Cortés ran away with the governor’s expedition at that same year’s end, the entire Alvarado clan joined the usurper at Trinidad off the southern Cuban coast. The size of his family contingent, plus his own loyalty to Cortés, meant that Pedro de Alvarado was promoted to captain by the time this expedition rounded Yucatán.

He played a very prominent role in the conquest of the Aztec empire. Courageous in action, he spearheaded most advances into enemy territory and was rewarded with marriage to the beautiful native princess Tecuīhuatzin (given the name Luisa at her baptism), daughter of the Spaniards’ principal ally, King Xicoténcatl of Tlaxcala. Yet Alvarado also committed many atrocities, the most infamous being his senseless massacre of Aztec dancers in Tenochtitlán on May 16, 1520, which almost undid Cortés’s campaign.

After the final collapse of Aztec resistance, Alvarado—like many others among the conquistador ranks—proved incapable of leaving the martial life, continuing to campaign rather than settle down to rich domesticity. Despite conquering his own personal fiefdom in Central America, being promoted to high office by the emperor Charles V in 1527, and marrying the Spanish noblewoman Francisca de la Cueva (his marriage to Luisa was not recognized by Spanish authorities), Alvarado remained restless. He ventured into South America a few years later, losing a great deal of his fortune.

After the death of his second wife, he married her sister, Beatriz de la Cueva, during a visit to Spain in 1539. Yet Alvarado was back in Mexico a year and a half later preparing to lead a naval expedition across the Pacific in search of the Spice Islands. Word then arrived of a major Indian uprising in the interior so, at 56 years of age, Alvarado marched a column inland. Twice repulsed while trying to fight his way up Yahualica Ravine to the top of Nochistlán Heights, he was crushed on July 1, 1541, when his scribe Baltasar de Montoya’s horse stumbled and rolled down the hillside over him. It is alleged that when asked where he was hurt, Alvarado moaned: “In my soul.” The badly mangled conquistador was carried back into Guadalajara, where he died in agony three days later. His body was buried at Tiripitío, but 40 years later it was conveyed by his *mes-tiza* daughter Leonor Alvarado Xicoténcatl for reburial in the Cathedral at Guatemala City.



*An official portrait of Pedro de Alvarado, ca. 1530.
(Municipalidad de la Antigua Guatemala)*

also reduces the Cakchiquel to subservience, then razes Atacat on May 9 before progressing farther southeast and entering the territory of the Pipil Indians (modern El Salvador) by June, slaying their leader, Atlacatl the Elder. His successor, Atlacatl the Younger, fights on, at which point Alvarado's drive is halted by rumors of a possible Cakchiquel uprising behind him in Guatemala, obliging him to return by July 21.

After extorting a huge ransom from its terrified Cakchiquel inhabitants, Alvarado founds the city of Santiago de los Caballeros de Guatemala on July 25, 1524, upon the site of Iximché, petitioning Emperor Charles V to appoint him as governor over this vast new territory. On August 26, many of his remaining Cakchiquel vassals flee into the jungle, prompting the conquistadores to chase after them and fight a pitched battle on September 5, after which the natives melt into the jungle and launch a protracted guerrilla struggle.

Alvarado meanwhile resumes his Salvadoran campaign and defeats Atlacatl the Younger, so that by April 1, 1525, Alvarado's brother Gonzalo is also able to found the city of San Salvador upon the

ruins of its Pipil capital of Cuzcatlán. (Soon after, however, this Salvadoran outpost falls under the jurisdiction of the ever-ambitious Pedrarias Dávila, governor of Panama, who is attempting to conquer Central America from the south.) On February 7, 1526, Alvarado destroys the hidden Cakchiquel capital of Xepau, compelling its survivors to seek sanctuary atop the mountain retreat of Holom Balam (literally, "Tiger Head") near Iximché.

One year later, Alvarado is formally granted the title of governor of Guatemala and his territory is declared to be an independent captaincy-general. He and his brother Jorge thereupon transfer their capital of Santiago into the Almolonga Valley, at the base of the Agua Volcano—a site today known as Ciudad Vieja. The following year, in 1528, his brother Jorge furthermore wrests El Salvador from the forces of Pedrarias Dávila, moving its capital of San Salvador into the Valley of La Bermuda.

MAY 3, 1524. After visiting Cuba and renewing his loyalty to Governor Velázquez, Cortés's former subordinate Cristóbal de Olid lands on the north coast of Hibueras (Honduras) with a colonizing expedition and founds the town of Triunfo de la Cruz. When Cortés learns of this defection, he dispatches two small counterforces under his cousin Francisco de las Casas and González Dávila, who are encountered separately and captured.

(Although their men are released, de las Casas and González Dávila are held prisoner in Olid's household at Naco. Eventually, they stab Olid one night in bed, and although he flees, de las Casas persuades the soldiery to overtake him the next day and slit his throat.)

OCTOBER 1524. Cortés leaves Mexico City with a large following of conquistadores to personally put down Olid's rebellion in Honduras. Behind him, he leaves the government in the hands of a triumvirate of officials—the treasurer Alonso de Estrada, the accountant Rodrigo de Albornoz, and the lawyer Alonso de Zuazo—and as an added precaution against Indian uprisings, takes the captive emperor, Cuauhtémoc, and other Aztec chieftains with him.

This expedition easily travels down to the mouth of the Coatzacoalcos River but thereafter penetrates trackless jungle, which greatly hampers its progress. Cortés spends many months forging into this wilderness, until it becomes widely believed in Mexico that he and his followers are lost forever. When he reaches Izancanac or Xicalanaco in February 1526,

he orders Cuauhtémoc, the captive lord of Texcoco Cohuanacoxtzin, and the Franciscan friar Juan de Tecto hanged on February 20 as suspects in a plot. By the time the conquistadores finally emerge at Naco, they discover that Olid is already dead at the hands of Francisco de las Casas. Cortés therefore lends aid to the new settlers of Trujillo (on the north coast of Honduras), and even wishes to explore Nicaragua, but instead opts to return to Mexico upon learning of Gonzalo de Salazar and Peralmíndez Chirinos's revolt against its interim government.

LATE 1524. Francisco Cortés—cousin and deputy of the famous conquistador—leads an army northward from Colima (Mexico) for Ahuacatlán and Tepic, meeting some resistance at Tetitlán and elsewhere before returning via the coast.

MAY 4, 1526. After a difficult, year-long voyage from Spain via Santo Domingo and Santiago de Cuba, the governor designate Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán reaches San Esteban del Puerto (modern Pánuco, Mexico) and assumes office. To improve the prospects of its 45 impoverished households, he authorizes slave-catching raids into the interior.

MAY 24, 1526. After visiting Havana—where his former antagonist, Governor Velázquez, has died two years previously (early October 1524)—Cortés returns to Veracruz. News of his miraculous reemergence from the Central American jungles, where many feared him dead, ignites a popular uprising against the usurpers Salazar and Chirinos, and Cortés reenters Mexico City in triumph that June. He learns that during his prolonged absence his secretary has secured him a knighthood in the Order of Santiago, plus other privileges from Spain.

JUNE 1526. Two Spanish ships and a caravel bearing some 150–200 men under the 50-year-old Venetian-born explorer Sebastian Cabot (son of John Cabot; see “June 24, 1497” entry in “Initial Contacts”) appear off the eastern tip of Brazil, commissioned to round South America and “discover the Moluccas, Tarsis, Ophir, Cipango [Japan], and Cathay [China].” At Iguaruçú, they find a 12-man Portuguese outpost under Manuel Braga, who gives such glowing accounts of the continent's mineral wealth far inland that the navigator decides to switch objectives. Guided by the local pilot Jorge Gomes, he strikes southwestward on September 29, arriving opposite Santa Catarina Island by October 19. Three days

later, he contacts Alejo García and two other survivors from Díaz de Solís's failed expedition (see “February 2, 1516” entry in “Mainland Explorations”).

Cabot thereupon decides to go ashore and set up an establishment to repair his vessels; however, this stopover becomes a protracted stay after his flagship *Santa María de la Concepción* runs aground and sinks while working into the bay on October 28. Having built a 20-oared galliot named the *Santa Catarina* from his flagship's remains, the explorer puts out to sea again on February 9, 1527, leaving behind the officers Francisco de Rojas, Martín Méndez, and Miguel de Rodas, whom he holds responsible for the loss.

JUNE 9, 1527. Having pushed up the Paraná River, Cabot establishes a base camp at the nearby confluence of the Carcarañá and Coronda rivers, which he christens Fort Sancti Spiritus in honor of the Pentecost Day. Leaving behind a 30-man garrison, he then probes as far upriver as the Apipé Rapids before reversing course in discouragement, returning into his fort to instead attempt the Paraguay River.

SEPTEMBER 1527. Pánfilo de Narváez enters Santiago de Cuba from Santo Domingo, accompanied by 460 men that he has brought from Spain aboard a half-dozen vessels to conquer Florida. Two of his caravels sail on ahead to the port of Casilda under Vasco Porcallo and Alvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca for supplies, while Narváez remains at anchor with the remainder off Cape Cruz (Manzanillo Bay). A hurricane sinks his first two vessels; 60 of 90 men and 30 horses are lost.

OCTOBER 31, 1527. Cortés's cousin Álvaro de Saavedra Cerón sets sail from the Mexican port of Zihuatanejo with 100 men aboard a ship and two caravels to cross the Pacific in the wake of Garci Jofre de Loaisa. On December 15, Saavedra loses contact with his two cohorts, sailing on alone with his flagship *Florida*. Although he eventually reaches the Caroline and Moluccas islands, he is unable to sail back across the Pacific, dying on his second attempt in May 1529. A handful of survivors fall into the hands of the Portuguese and are returned to Europe.

1528. A large Carib war party from the Leeward Islands assaults the Franciscan monastery at Espinal near Aguada (Puerto Rico), slaying five of its missionaries.

JANUARY 1528. More Indian uprisings are subdued on Cuba by Vasco Porcallo and Gonzalo de Guzmán.

FEBRUARY 23, 1528. Narváez departs Jagua (Cuba) with five ships to proceed with his intended conquest of Florida. Bad weather and the inexperience of his pilot Diego Miruelo leads this ill-fated expedition deep into the Gulf of Mexico, coming ashore at Espíritu Santo Bay (near modern Pensacola). Eventually only his lieutenant, Cabeza de Vaca, and three other men survive this ordeal, reaching Mexico City nine years later.

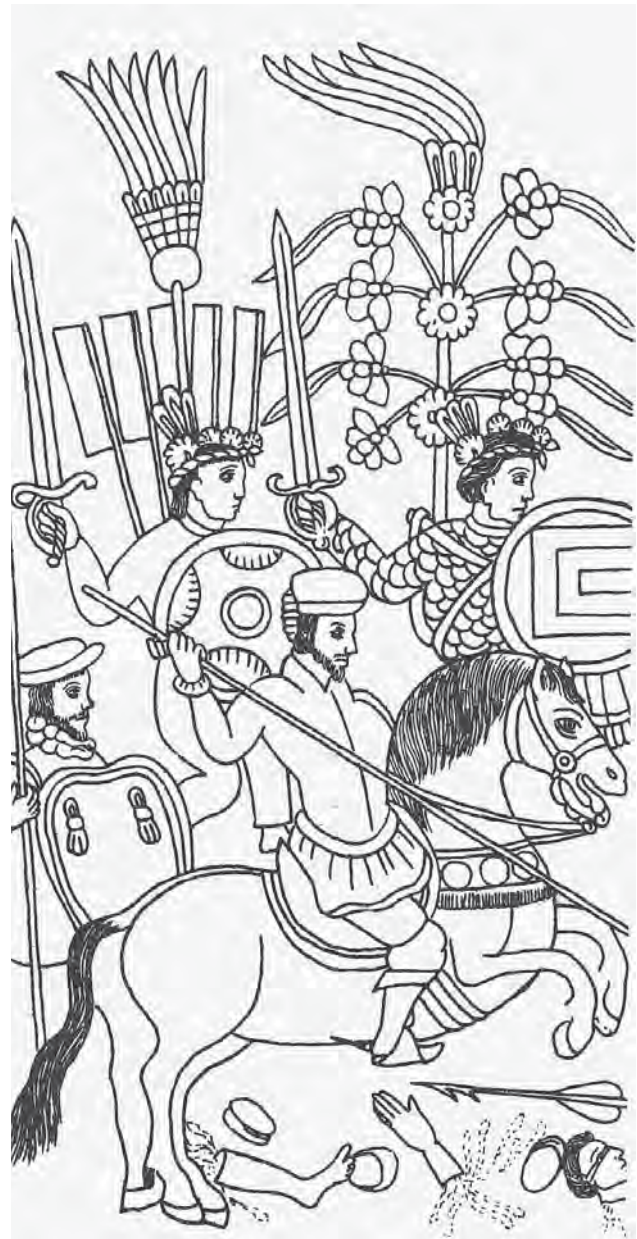
SPRING 1528. Cabot reaches the confluence of the Paraguay and Pilcomayo rivers, 1,000 miles from the Atlantic, his half-starved seamen being bountifully received by the local Guaraní residents. However, a brigantine venturing farther northward loses 15 men to the more hostile Chantul Indians—possibly at the site today named *Emboscada* or “Ambush”—so Cabot and his survivors decide to reverse course downriver.

DECEMBER 8, 1528. Nuño de Guzmán reaches Mexico City from Pánuco and assumes office as president of New Spain’s first audiencia or “tribunal.”

SEPTEMBER 1529. A massive Indian uprising obliges Cabot to abandon his establishment at Fort Sancti Spiritus, and after his 30-ton auxiliary caravel *San Gabriel* is wrecked on the Uruguayan coast—thereby leaving its name to San Gabriel Island, opposite modern Colonia del Sacramento—the discouraged explorer retraces his course homeward that same December, eventually regaining Seville by August 1530. In February, Cabot is condemned to four years’ banishment at Oran in Morocco for having failed to fulfill his original commission and abandoning some of his officers.

OCTOBER 18, 1529. Before dawn, a raiding party of approximately 240 Carib warriors aboard eight seagoing *piraguas* or “dugouts” steal into the roadstead at San Juan de Puerto Rico (population: 500), seizing a Spanish harbor boat and killing three of its black crew members before transferring their prisoners and sending it to the bottom. At first light, residents fire upon these intruders from ashore, obliging them to retreat. The next year, as a result of this incursion, San Juan’s inhabitants complete a stone stronghouse called the Casa Blanca.

DECEMBER 21, 1529. *Nuño de Guzmán’s Campaign.* Uneasy at the prospect of Cortés’s return from a lengthy stay in Spain, during which the Mexican audiencia has often acted against his local interests, its president, Nuño de Guzmán, decides to resign office and depart the capital via Jilotepec with an army of 150 riders, 350 infantrymen, 12 cannon, and 7,000–8,000 Indian auxiliaries to gain his own fortune by conquering Mexico’s northwestern highlands.



Spanish conquistadores and their Indian allies, the latter now armed with swords, from the Lienzo de Tlaxcala. (Author's Collection)

After crossing the Lerma River at Nuestra Señora de la Purificación Ford near Conguripo and entering the already-subject realm of Michoacán, Guzmán tortures its Tarascan king, Tangaxoan II—whom he has brought along from Mexico City as a hostage—for information on the hidden whereabouts of his supposed wealth, afterward having him burned alive on February 14, 1530. The Spanish commander then gathers a further 10,000 natives into his ranks as porters before venturing west into the territory of the hostile Chichimecs. (Despite exaggerated accounts of Guzmán's cruelty later circulated by his enemy Cortés, the former undoubtedly resorts to vicious acts throughout his expedition, apparently hoping to terrify his enemies into submission.)

MARCH 1530. Nuño de Guzmán's army crosses the Río Grande below Puruándiro into Jalisco (Mexico), marching downstream for three days before turning northwest for another three, then capturing Coima. The Spaniards and their allies subsequently make a devastating sweep through this district's communities of Coca-speaking Tecuexe farmers, defeating the chieftain of Cuitzeo in a one-sided battle near Ocotlán before throwing him to their war dogs.

After erecting a fortress at Jamay, Guzmán proceeds through Pancitlán, reaching Tonalá by March 25, then subjugating its queen along with numerous local subchieftains. The Spanish army then strikes north, repelling a native ambush at Tetlán before dividing at Teul in April. Guzmán's contingent marches southwest to recross the Río Grande and continue toward Ahuacatlán and Tepic; meanwhile, his subordinate Pedro Almíndes Chirinos (also known as "Peralmíndes") takes a more direct route north through Huichol territory into the Sierra Madre range, pressing toward Comanja and Zacatecas.

MAY 13, 1530. Nuño de Guzmán reaches Tepic (Nayarit) to find Chirinos already awaiting him outside. The Spanish commander combines forces and attacks the town, then detaches Cristóbal de Oñate's company to explore inland toward Huejotitlán, Teocaltiche, Aguascalientes, and Nochistlán, while leading his own main body down toward the coast for a respite.

JUNE 5, 1530. Nuño de Guzmán's army, now refreshed, departs Tepic toward Huaristamba. Two days later, a Sunday, it traverses the Santiago River

near Ixcuintla and captures Sentispac. Penetrating deeper into hostile territory, the Spaniards are set upon by 2,000 warriors near Cilán, defeating them after two hours' hard fighting. The invaders then cut a bloody swathe of destruction throughout the region, allegedly torching 800 villages before gaining Aztatlán and settling in there to wait out the rainy season.

Many of Guzmán's men subsequently die of illness or hunger in this pestilential backwater, but their commander is able to write to the king in Madrid about his successful campaign, claiming the conquered territory as "New Castile." The Crown responds by the end of that same year, appointing Guzmán as governor over these new lands (which are to instead be called Nueva Galicia or New Galicia).

OCTOBER 1530. A Carib force of 500 disembarks from 11 large war canoes on the eastern shores of Puerto Rico, marching inland to devastate the Luquillo mines before withdrawing. The Spanish Crown responds to this and similar seaborne aggressions by ordering the construction of a small keep on Puerto Rico's coast to prevent future landings, as well as by dispatching two dismantled brigantines from Seville in 1533 under Capt. Juan de Júcar to conduct reprisal raids against the Caribs on Dominica and adjacent islands.

LATE MAY 1532. Two ships ordered built by Cortés depart northwestward from Acapulco to explore the Pacific coastline: the *San Marcos* under Capt. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and the *San Miguel* under Capt. Juan de Mazuela. Only the latter returns, with scant intelligence.

OCTOBER 30, 1533. Capt. Diego Becerra departs "Port Santiago" in Mexico's Manzanillo Bay to explore the Pacific coast with Cortés's ship *Concepción*, plus the *San Lázaro* under Hernando de Grijalva. A month later in the Baja California bay today known as La Paz, 22 of Becerra's crew members mutiny, led by the pilot Fortún Jiménez. Becerra is killed, and his adherents are marooned on the Motines coast. The mutineers sail on December 9 for the rival jurisdiction of Nueva Galicia, with some pearls.

Grijalva meanwhile separately explores the islands later known as Revillagigedo and carries a discouraging report to Cortés.

NOVEMBER 1534. A slave uprising occurs at the Jobabo goldfields near Bayamo (Cuba), being promptly

put down by a mounted company under Gov. Manuel de Rojas.

LATE APRIL 1535. *Cortés in Baja California.* The conquistador leads three ships from Nueva Galicia across the Gulf of California, landing in Santa Cruz Bay (modern Pichilingue) by May 3. So many volunteers have flocked to his standard that Cortés's trio of vessels must make several trips to ferry them all across.

Within a month, 300 Spaniards and many black slaves are encamped ashore, believing Baja California to be an island. It soon proves so harsh and inhospitable, though, that 70 Spaniards and 50 horses have succumbed to starvation by November, plus native skirmishers.

Early in 1536, Cortés returns to the Mexican mainland, leaving Francisco de Ulloa in charge of the 30 or so Spaniards who choose to remain at Santa Cruz. Although intending to reinforce this outpost, Cortés is subsequently ordered to evacuate Baja California by the new Crown-appointed Mexican viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza.

JUNE 7, 1538. Hernando de Soto, a veteran of Pizarro's campaign in Peru (see "January 31, 1531" entry *et seq.* in "Conquest of Peru") and now a knight of the Order of Santiago, arrives at eastern Cuba from Spain to assume office as the island's new governor, further accompanied by an expedition intended to conquer a fiefdom in nearby Florida. He and his family are traveling aboard the 800-ton flagship *San Cristóbal* of Capt. Nuño de Tovar, leading the similar-sized *Buena Fortuna* of Luis Moscoso de Alvarado and the *Magdalena* of Andrés de Vasconcelos, the slightly smaller *Concepción* of Arias Tinoco and the *San Antón* of Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, the 500-ton *San Juan* of Diego García, the caravel *Santa Bárbara* of Pedro Calderón, and two brigantines. The whole fleet bears 950 men.

De Soto is installed into office the next day, quickly appointing Bartolomé Ortíz as his deputy to administer Santiago de Cuba, thus freeing himself to concentrate upon his broader duties and forthcoming Florida venture. Word arrives of a French raid against Havana (see "May 1538" entry in "Franco-Spanish Wars"), necessitating the immediate detachment of a relief force under military engineer Mateo Aceituno. Tovar is also deposed as second-in-command of de Soto's expedition in favor of Vasco Porcallo. The ships then set sail for Havana at the end of August, while de Soto departs Santiago de

Cuba on September 15 to travel overland with 50 riders under Porcallo, inspecting the island before rejoining his fleet at Havana one month later.

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1538. De Soto's pilot, Juan de Añasco, quits Havana aboard a brigantine to reconnoiter the Florida coastline. He returns two months later having failed to obtain reliable information because of bad weather, so he is sent out again in mid-November with a pair of brigantines. This second exploration lasts three months but is more successful; Añasco returns into Havana with four Florida Indians plus a detailed map of Espíritu Santo Bay (near Tampa).

MAY 19, 1539. *De Soto in Florida.* Cuba's governor finally departs Havana with five ships, two caravels, and two brigantines bearing 513 soldiers and 337 horses to launch his long-delayed Florida campaign. Six days later, they drop anchor in Tampa Bay and go ashore by May 30, enduring their first skirmish against local warriors on June 1, in which two horses are killed and several others wounded. A few days later, a band of friendly Indians is encountered, among whom is a Spanish survivor from Narváez's earlier expedition (see "February 23, 1528" entry) called Juan Ortiz, who has lived as a native for the past decade.

Through Ortiz, de Soto is able to arrive at an accommodation with the regional chieftain Mucozo, then penetrates farther north in search of wealthier and more advanced tribes than these coastal nomads. However, he encounters no major civilizations, and his expedition is steadily eroded by hostile ambushes. Near the Suwannee River, a band of 400 warriors is defeated when they attempt to rescue their captive chieftain, after which the Spaniards winter near modern Tallahassee, being joined from Tampa by their ships. A brigantine explores the Gulf coast westward, returning in February 1540 to report about an excellent harbor at Pensacola. It is agreed to send the ships back to Cuba for supplies and to rendezvous at Pensacola in the autumn.

De Soto's army resumes its northward progression on March 3, 1540, soon suffering greatly from hunger, thirst, and disease. By early October, they have veered far enough inland to enter Choctaw territory (south-central Alabama), where they treacherously seize the local chieftain Tuscaloosa—the Black Warrior. The chief guides them into a trap at Mobila (near the confluence of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers), where an over-confident de Soto

enters the village with only 15 riders while his troops forage outside. Hidden Choctaw warriors stream out of the huts, almost overpowering the Spanish leader, and kill five of his companions. Captive Indians, who are carrying powder and supplies into Mobila's palisades, simultaneously rise up in rebellion. A savage fight erupts, which ends with the Choctaw garrison massacred and Mobila consumed by flames. The Spaniards nevertheless suffer 22 dead, 148 wounded, and the loss of most of their matériel.

Although his relief fleet is waiting at Pensacola, de Soto suppresses this news and marches farther northwest in hopes of reversing his fortunes. After entering Chickasaw territory, the Spanish camp is infiltrated during the night of March 3, 1541, by several hundred warriors bearing firebrands concealed within earthenware pots, which are used to set the encampment ablaze. The Spaniards suffer a dozen deaths and the loss of 50–60 of their horses through stampede before repelling the enemy. Now in desperate straits, they reach the banks of the Mississippi by Sunday, May 8, building barges near present-day Sunflower Landing for a month, while hostile native flotillas patrol offshore.

Slipping across, de Soto next forms an alliance with the Casqui tribe and attacks their enemy the Quapaws on June 26. After wintering near the confluence of the Canadian and Arkansas rivers, he and his surviving 300 men and 40 horses head south toward the Gulf of Mexico, but de Soto dies of exhaustion and a fever en route. Luis Moscoso de Alvarado succeeds him but fails to march the army out; instead, it winters on the banks of the Mississippi and turns to building boats. Finally, on July 2, 1543, the men set sail, 322 Spaniards, 100 Indian slaves, and 22 horses aboard seven pinnaces and a host of dugouts. Natives harass their passage, compelling Moscoso to abandon all his horses by the time they reach the Gulf on July 16. Eventually, 311 survivors reach safety at the Spanish settlements on the Pánuco River on September 10.

JULY 1539. Francisco de Ulloa departs Acapulco and reaches the abandoned site of Santa Cruz (Baja California) with two ships by early September. He then crosses to Sonora and follows its coast to the Gulf of California's head before starting down its western shore in late September. By October 13, he reaches Bahía de la Concepción and, five days later, reenters Santa Cruz, where he remains for 11 days, making several incursions inland. The expedition rounds Cabo San Lucas with some difficulty in November, after which both ships run up the Pacific to Almejas where a landing party clashes with Guaycura warriors. December 4–17 is spent exploring Magdalena Bay, after which they follow the coast farther north. Early in January 1540, the expedition reaches Cedros Island, where one ship remains for three months while de Ulloa continues to Punta Baja. Both return to Mexico later this spring.

FEBRUARY 1540. *Coronado Expedition.* The newly appointed governor for the northern Mexican province of Nueva Galicia—40-year-old Francisco Vázquez de Coronado—departs Compostela with 250 cavalymen, 70 Spanish infantrymen, several hundred Indian auxiliaries, plus baggage animals and cattle. His objective is to find the legendary “Seven Cities of Cibola,” reputedly rich in gold, but these prove to be a chimera. After reaching the Zuñi pueblos of New Mexico by July, Coronado presses on through northeastern Arizona and the Grand Canyon before eventually wintering on the Río Grande (Tuguez), where he is re-inspired by Indian tales of another rich city farther to the northeast called “Quivira.”

Coronado strikes out across the Texas plains in April 1541, venturing ahead of his army with about 30 riders as far as central Kansas before finally rejoining his main body on the Río Grande in October. By spring 1542, he is compelled to admit defeat, leading the tattered remnants of his expedition back into Mexico.

CONQUEST OF PERU (1524–1539)

While most Spaniards remain engrossed in the subjugation of Mexico and Central America, another explorer named Pascual de Andagoya sails off in the opposite direction—southeastward from Panama City—in quest of another tribe of legendary wealth known as the “Birú” or “Virú.” Traveling some 200 miles down modern Colombia's Pacific shoreline, he ascends the San Juan River, yet fails to find signs of anything other than primitive coastal peoples.

After his return into Panama City, Andagoya's ships and plans are taken over by a trio of investors who create their own company: Francisco Pizarro, his lieutenant Diego de Almagro, and the local priest and schoolteacher Hernando de Luque (the latter acting on behalf of the recently installed local judge, the licentiate Gaspar de Espinosa).

NOVEMBER 14, 1524. *Probes.* The veteran captain Francisco Pizarro quits Panama City with a 47-ton ship and two large seagoing canoes, bearing 110 men and 40 horses, to explore southeastward down the Pacific coastline. He is to be followed shortly thereafter by his lieutenant Diego de Almagro, with a slightly smaller force.

After touching at Taboga and the Pearl Islands, Pizarro's expedition ascends the Birú River, then reverses course, frustrated at finding the village of Biruquete abandoned by its hostile natives. The Spaniards next endure considerable deprivations while encamped on the ocean shore before eventually being resupplied from the Pearl Islands by Captain Montenegro.

Venturing still farther south, they reach Candelaria by April 14, 1525, then continue into Puerto Quemado to occupy its empty native village and careen their vessel. While doing so, Montenegro ventures inland with 60 men, only to be suddenly ambushed by a large body of Quilian warriors, suffering several losses. Before he can rejoin Pizarro's base camp, it too is assaulted by a native army, which is repelled. Nevertheless, the Spaniards suffer 17 killed and almost 60 injured during these two actions; among the latter is Pizarro (who is wounded seven times, his injuries being cauterized with boiling oil). The expedition therefore limps back into Chochama in the Pearl Islands to recuperate.

Almagro, meanwhile, misses Pizarro while sailing south with his own 70 men and endures a hostile reception from the Quilians at Puerto Quemado as well, during which he loses an eye. Undaunted, he and his men eventually press as far south as the mouth of the San Juan River (at a latitude of 4°10' N) before finally turning back and overtaking the convalescent Pizarro at Chochama. Almagro then reports to Gov. Pedrarias Dávila at Panama City, who although distracted by Hernández's recent revolt in Nicaragua, nonetheless sends Almagro back to the Pearl Islands with 110 men and a commission as co-captain for future ventures against "Pirú" (a corruption of the name "Birú").

SPRING 1526. *First Contact.* Having assembled another 170-man expedition at the Pearl Islands,

Francisco Pizarro

Francisco Pizarro González was born in the city of Trujillo, in the Spanish province of Extremadura, probably on March 16, 1478. (Some chroniclers, though, give the year of his birth as 1476, 1475, 1472, or even 1471.) He would be the first of four sons eventually born to Ens. Gonzalo Pizarro Rodríguez de Aguilar, the first two being illegitimate with Francisca González Mateos, the maid of the ensign's aunt.

Young Francisco was raised in poverty by his mother's family. He never learned to read or write. Legend has it that he worked as a swineherd, then fled around 1492 or 1493 after losing some of his animals. He joined his father, fighting from 1495 in the first campaign of the great Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, who soon become famous as the *Gran Capitán*. The teenaged Pizarro is believed to have served as a foot soldier in Sicily and southern Italy until 1498, when Córdoba's expedition returned triumphantly to Spain. Yet details of Pizarro's early life remain very sketchy.

On February 13, 1502, Pizarro sailed from Seville as leader of the six-man personal bodyguard of Nicolás de Ovando, the new governor for Santo Domingo. The priest Bartolomé de las Casas, who was also aboard, later described the 24-year-old Pizarro as taciturn, "little given to drink," yet a reckless gambler. Over the next dozen years, Pizarro campaigned as a conquistador in the New World. He first gained distinction as a lieutenant in Vasco Núñez de Balboa's expedition, helping to discover the Pacific Ocean in September 1513.

Yet three-and-a-half years later, Pizarro betrayed his former commander by obeying Pedrarias Dávila's order to arrest Núñez de Balboa for execution. Pizarro was rewarded, once Panama City was founded in August 1519, by the grant of its offshore island of Taboga. After two decades of harsh jungle fighting, he achieved some modest financial security. He even served as *alcalde* or "mayor" of Panama City from 1522–1523.

Yet the ambitious Pizarro was not ready to settle down. At the age of 45, he entered into a partnership with two Panamanian colleagues to explore and conquer Peru. He would lead this enterprise with great determination and no little greed. Although Pizarro would win a fortune and be ennobled in 1535 as the Marqués de las Charcas y de los Atabillos, the bitterness of his foes would result in his murder.

Pizarro and Almagro strike out on a second reconnaissance aboard two ships and three *piraguas*. They spend the next several months exploring the coast between the Cartagena and San Juan rivers, often confronted by hostile natives, yet also noticing impressive signs of wealth and civilization. When almost exhausted, Pizarro's expedition decides to remain off this coast, while sending the pilot Bartolomé Ruiz farther south to reconnoiter and Almagro back toward Panama for reinforcements.

Ruiz's 70-day voyage provides the first actual contact with the northernmost fringes of the Inca empire; he sights Gallo and Gorgona islands, San Mateo Bay, Atacames, and San Lucas by October 18, followed by Cape San Antonio on December 3. Off Coaque, a native vessel is captured with two youths and three women passengers, after which Ruiz sails as far south as Capes Pasado and San Francisco before finally turning back.



Francisco Pizarro. (Museo de America, Madrid, Spain)

Upon rejoining Pizarro, he finds the Spaniards worried by their continual losses—especially 14 companions recently slaughtered while venturing upriver in a canoe—yet still willing to persevere upon receipt of his news. Almagro has meanwhile reached Panama by September 1526, only to discover that Pedrarias Dávila has been replaced as governor by Pedro de los Ríos. After meeting this new official on December 14, Almagro sets sail again on January 8, 1527, with 40 additional soldiers to rejoin Pizarro.

Once reassembled, this expedition shifts farther southward to establish itself ashore, visiting Gallo Island before disembarking at the town of Terapulla (renamed Santiago) in San Mateo Bay. Shortly thereafter, the Spaniards are beset by a large Indian army and are compelled to seek sanctuary on Gallo Island. Almagro departs from here in June 1527 for more Panamanian help, leaving Pizarro with only 85 followers. But upon reaching the Isthmus in July, Almagro is detained by Governor de los Ríos, and the same happens when the pilot Ruiz returns into Panama on August 28. Instead, the governor sends his subordinate Pero Tafur on September 14 to recall Pizarro, who refuses to leave Gallo Island. Only 13 of his followers remain with him, soon transferring to Gorgona Island where they are eventually joined by Ruiz with a small ship in March 1528.

Still determined, Pizarro sails as far south as Tumbes with his few Inca captives, releasing them among their compatriots, thereby being well received. He next sails to Paita, Coaque, and Manta without incident, leaving a few volunteers behind when he reverses course toward Gorgona; he returns into Panama by the end of 1528. From here, Pizarro crosses the Isthmus and heads toward Spain to secure royal backing for his projected invasion of Peru.

JULY 26, 1529. Having successfully petitioned Emperor Charles V, Pizarro signs his mark to a charter at Toledo with the Crown, later known as the *Capitulaciones de Toledo*. It specifies the terms under which he is to explore and conquer any new territories extending 600 miles south of the Santiago River (the modern boundary between Colombia and Ecuador). He also receives a knighthood in the Order of Santiago and will be allowed to rule as “*adelantado*, governor, and Captain-General.”

JANUARY 18, 1530. Francisco Pizarro sets sail from Spain aboard a trio of ships to return to Panama with his Crown license to conquer Peru, plus

250–300 fresh recruits—a third of whom will die from disease shortly after disembarking. The 52-year-old veteran is furthermore accompanied by his much younger brother and three half brothers: 28-year-old Gonzalo, 22-year-old Hernando, 19-year-old Juan, and Francisco Martín de Alcántara. The rest of this year will be spent preparing for the forthcoming campaign.

JANUARY 31, 1531. *Beachhead.* Pizarro sets sail from Panama City with 180 men aboard three ships, touching at the Pearl Islands to gather another waiting contingent before proceeding south toward San Mateo Bay. Here the cavalry are disembarked to advance overland, while the ships follow along the coast. When the Spaniards reach Coaque in April, its residents abandon it in fear. Pizarro establishes a base ashore, while dispatching three ships under Bartolomé de Aguilar toward Panama and Nicaragua for more volunteers, bearing gold and precious stones as proof of this new land's wealth.

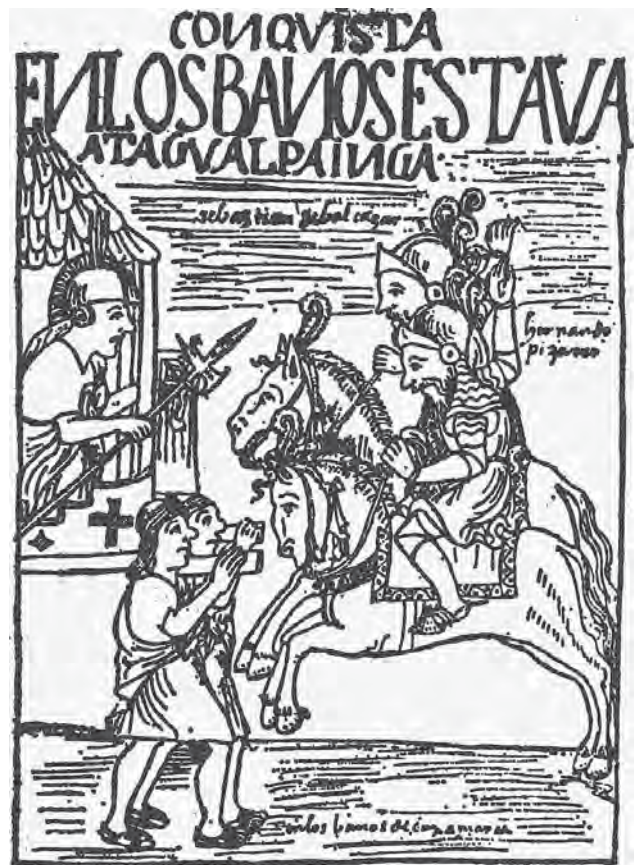
The first of these reinforcements—30 men from Nicaragua under Sebastián de Velalcázar—do not arrive until September, just as Pizarro is preparing to march still farther south. His progress among the coastal tribes is mostly peaceable, and by October his expedition reaches Portoviejo, where it is refreshed and reinforced by another ship. Upon reaching Puná Island, the Spaniards suspect treachery and so arrest Chief Tumbalá and 17 of his lieutenants, handing them over to their mortal enemies—the Indians of Tumbes—for execution. A brief uprising occurs on the island but is quickly put down by Pizarro.

In March 1532, Hernando de Soto arrives from Nicaragua with more men, and the expedition begins rafting across to Tumbes. Now it is the Spaniards' turn to be betrayed, as the waiting natives quietly slaughter the first boat parties while beckoning others to come ashore. Hernando Pizarro, having disembarked farther south with the cavalry, approaches from the rear and is able to scatter the startled warriors, then occupy their abandoned city. Chief Cacalami is promptly obliged to sue for peace, after which Pizarro installs a 50-man garrison and, on May 16, marches inland, eventually reaching Tangara (renamed San Miguel de Piura) in mid-September. En route he learns that the Inca emperor Huayna Capac has died a few years earlier along with his heir-apparent Ninan Cuyuchi, so Peru is now rent by civil war between two rival successors, Huáscar and Atahualpa.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1532. *Opening Campaign.* Pizarro marches out of San Miguel at the head of 62 horsemen and 106 soldiers, having left another 60 Spaniards to maintain this outpost. By November 6, he reaches Saña. Two days later, he strikes up into the Andes after being greeted by an embassy from Atahualpa (who has recently defeated and imprisoned Huáscar).

After passing numerous Inca strongholds, the Spaniards come within sight of Cajamarca on November 15, outside which the emperor is encamped with a large army. The next evening, when Atahualpa visits Pizarro's lodgments within the town, the Inca leader is treacherously seized, and several thousand of his courtiers and servants are massacred in a two-hour bloodbath. The stunned Inca army does nothing, and the next day it disperses upon Pizarro's and Atahualpa's commands.

Noting the avarice with which the Spanish fall upon his treasure, the captive emperor offers to fill a room with gold items as ransom for his release.



Hernando Pizarro meeting Atahualpa in November 1532, from *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* by Felipe Huamán Poma de Ayala. (Author's Collection)

Pizarro accepts and, while waiting for this booty to be gathered, uses Atahualpa's authority to keep Peru calm. The rival emperor Huáscar is also brought as a prisoner from Cuzco, but he is murdered by his Inca guards at Andamarca—just short of Cajamarca—allegedly at Atahualpa's order.

JANUARY 5, 1533. Growing restive at Cajamarca, Pizarro sends his brother Hernando with 20 riders and some foot soldiers to investigate rumors of an Inca army massing at Huamachuco. These rumors prove groundless, but the Spaniards avail themselves of this opportunity to travel on for another three weeks toward the great temple of Pachacamac on the coastal desert (south of modern Lima). Finding its gilt decorations removed, Hernando Pizarro remains there throughout most of February, searching in vain for this treasure.

FEBRUARY 15, 1533. Another contingent of three Spaniards departs Cajamarca for Cuzco with Inca envoys to speed the gathering of Atahualpa's ransom.

EARLY MARCH 1533. Hernando Pizarro quits Pachacamac to rejoin the main body, meeting peacefully with the Inca general Chalcuchima amid his 35,000-strong army at Jauja on March 17. The Spaniard convinces Chalcuchima to accompany him with a small retinue on this journey, thus depriving the Incas of one of their mightiest leaders.

APRIL 14, 1533. Diego de Almagro arrives at Cajamarca from the coast with 150 fresh Spanish troops and 50 horses. Atahualpa realizes that this portends a full-scale Spanish invasion, so fears for his fate.

APRIL 25, 1533. Hernando Pizarro returns into Cajamarca with Chalcuchima, who is henceforth treated as a captive and tortured to reveal the whereabouts of treasure.

JUNE 12, 1533. Hernando Pizarro departs Cajamarca for the coast, taking 100,000 *castellanos* and a report for the king of Spain.

JULY 16, 1533. Pizarro makes a massive distribution of booty to his followers in Cajamarca.

JULY 26, 1533. *Atahualpa's Murder.* Although having fulfilled his ransom pledge, the captive emperor is led into Cajamarca's square this Saturday

evening, garroted, then burned at the stake because of the unfounded fear that his general, Rumiñahui, is approaching with a vast army.

Pizarro and Almagro invest Huáscar's younger brother Tupac Huallpa (whom they also hold prisoner) as the new emperor in early August. They march southward out of Cajamarca on August 11 toward the distant Inca capital of Cuzco. By mid-September, they are in Recuay, where they rest for 12 days before resuming their progress.

OCTOBER 11, 1533. Having entered the part of Peru occupied by its Quito faction, Pizarro's expedition encounters increasing signs of hostility. He, Almagro, and de Soto therefore gallop ahead of their main body with 75 riders and 20 foot soldiers to guard the chained general Chalcuchima.

At Jauja, on October 11, they are greeted as liberators by its oppressed inhabitants, while Chalcuchima's former Quitan army—now commanded by Yucra Hualpa—withdraws to the far bank of the Mantaro River in battle array. When a column of warriors is sent back to set fire to the large storehouses within Jauja, Pizarro's cavalry attacks, scattering them with great slaughter. The Quitan army thereupon retreats farther south to join Quisquis's forces near Cuzco, being harried for almost 16 miles by the Spanish riders, who kill many and demoralize the rest. Pizarro's main body enters Jauja on October 19 under Capt. Alonso Riquelme, and, soon after, the puppet emperor Tupac Huallpa dies of natural causes.

OCTOBER 24, 1533. In anticipation of resuming his march from Jauja toward Cuzco, Pizarro sends de Soto on ahead with 70 riders to capture some vital bridges along its royal highway.

OCTOBER 27, 1533. After installing an 80-man garrison in Jauja under Riquelme, Pizarro departs at the head of 30 riders, 30 foot soldiers, some native auxiliaries, and the captive general Chalcuchima to overtake de Soto.

OCTOBER 29, 1533. At dawn, de Soto's flying column surprises Yucra Hualpa's retreating army at Vilcas, while most of its men are absent hunting or gathering. This evening, the Quitans launch a furious counterattack to free their women and children, pressing the Spaniards so hard that a white horse mounted by Alonso Tabuyo is killed and another two mounts are injured.

Next morning, the Incas resume their assault, this time led by banners made from the mane and tail of the slain horse. Despite killing some 600 attackers, de Soto is eventually obliged to release his captives in order to withdraw back into the town and wait for his enemy to retire with their loved ones.

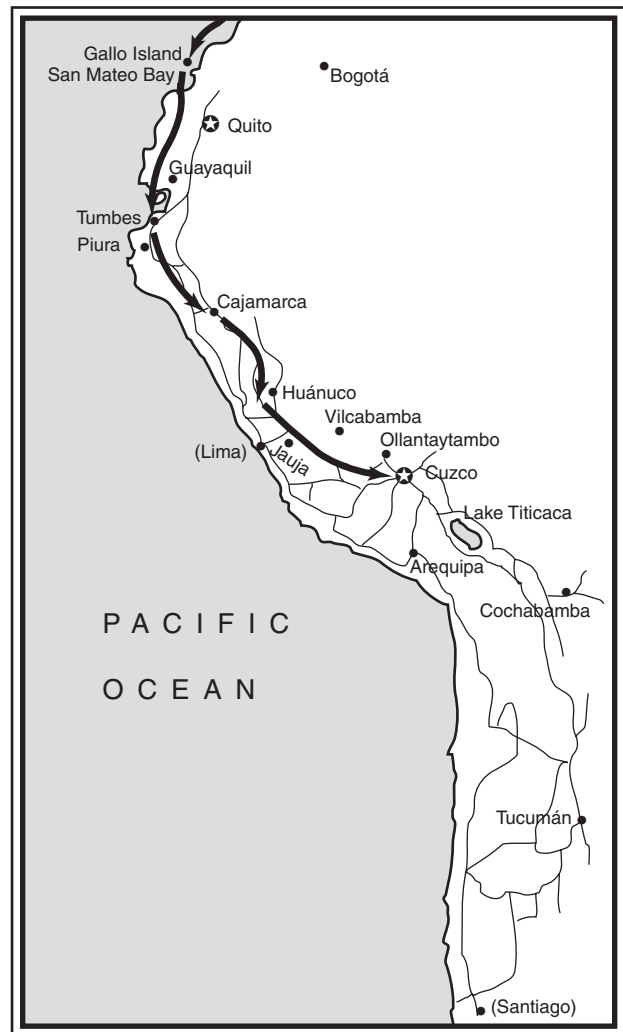
NOVEMBER 8, 1533. *Ambush at Vilcaconga.* Not wishing to wait for Pizarro before entering Cuzco, de Soto strikes on alone with only 40 riders. While ascending a steep hill toward Vilcaconga on this Saturday noon, the Spaniards—dismounted, dispersed, and leading their mounts—are suddenly surprised by 3,000–4,000 of Quisquis's warriors attacking from above. The cavalymen scatter to avoid an opening barrage of stones, then struggle to ride up toward the hilltop through a hail of missiles. Five Spaniards are killed and 11 wounded during this fray, along with 14 horses. There are 20 Inca fatalities.

De Soto therefore retreats and spends an uneasy night encamped nearby; however, he is reinforced before dawn by another 40 riders under Almagro, and they push forward again, while the Incas fall back.

NOVEMBER 13, 1533. Pizarro overtakes Almagro and de Soto at Vilcaconga and, while marching on toward Jaquijahuana, is met by the 19-year-old fugitive Inca prince Manco, son of Huayna Capac and bitter foe to both Atahualpa and Chalcuchima. At Manco's instigation, the captive general is burned alive in Jaquijahuana's square that evening for having sent secret messages to Quisquis advising him where and how to attack the Spaniards.

NOVEMBER 14, 1533. In an effort to reach Cuzco before Quisquis's Quitoan occupiers can set it ablaze, a flying column of 40 Spanish riders surges on ahead, only to be repelled in a clash at a pass outside that city during which three horses are slain.

NOVEMBER 15, 1533. Pizarro and Manco enter Cuzco together (without opposition, as Quisquis's army has retired), and the next day the Inca prince-ling is proclaimed as Emperor Manco Inca Yupanqui. Some 5,000 Cuzcan auxiliaries are quickly raised and set off with 50 riders under de Soto to pursue the retreating enemy into the Condesuyo Mountains. Thanks to this rugged terrain, Quisquis is able to gain safety—though his rear guard is severely mauled—across the Apurímac Gorge by burning the suspension bridge near Capi after crossing. De Soto and his allies are unable to fight their way across, so



Pizarro's penetration into Peru.

they return into Cuzco by the end of December, where the Spaniards are busily gathering booty.

JANUARY 23, 1534. In Guatemala, the conquistador Pedro de Alvarado—having learned of the rich new kingdom being subdued farther southeast by Pizarro—sets sail from the port of Poseción with 100 crossbowmen, 400 soldiers, 119 horses, and 4,000 native auxiliaries aboard a dozen commandeered ships to take part in this latest venture.

LATE JANUARY 1534. Being informed that Quisquis's army is retreating north toward Jauja, Pizarro sends Almagro and de Soto with 50 riders and 20,000 Cuzcan allies to reinforce its 80-man Spanish garrison under Riquelme.

FEBRUARY 1534. *Jauja.* Before any Spanish reinforcements can arrive from Cuzco (although a small

contingent does come up from the coast under Capt. Gabriel de Rojas), this town is attacked by Quisquis in a bungled pincer operation. Approximately 1,000 warriors are to circle through Jauja's hills, slip across the Mantaro River, and occupy the rocky heights behind, launching a coordinated surprise attack when Quisquis's 6,000-strong main body marches up the valley. Instead, the Quitans are discovered while still traversing a bridge 50 miles downstream from Jauja; then their 1,000-man contingent arrives and attacks a day too early. Riquelme easily repels this initial assault across the bridge with 10 riders and some crossbowmen.

The next afternoon, Quisquis appears and camps a mile outside Jauja. Riquelme boldly attacks his army with 18 horsemen, a dozen Spanish foot soldiers, and 2,000 local allies. The Quitans retreat across a swollen stream and pelt the Spaniards with rocks and arrows as they attempt to follow; one Spaniard, three horses, and numerous native auxiliaries are killed before the Spaniards can come to grips with the Quitans and defeat them, inflicting heavy losses. Pursued into the hills, Quisquis is unable to rally his men until Tarma is reached, after which he retires into a mountain stronghold near Bombón on Lake Junín.

FEBRUARY 25, 1534. *Rival Spanish Expedition.*

Alvarado comes ashore at Portoviejo (Ecuador) with his large contingent, mistreating the coastal tribesmen before striking inland toward modern Guayaquil. News of this challenger's arrival prompts Pizarro's lieutenant Sebastián de Velalcázar to set out from San Miguel de Piura in early March with 200 Spanish soldiers and 62 horses to conquer Quito—the last active center of Inca resistance—before this intruder can intervene.

APRIL 1534. Pizarro and Manco reach Jauja and begin assembling an army to drive Quisquis out of his entrenched positions farther north.

APRIL 7, 1534. Almagro reaches Saña with a small contingent from Vilcas, alarmed at hearing of Alvarado's appearance. He attempts to overtake and assume command of Velalcázar's contingent but is driven back by native opposition along the Quito road.

LATE APRIL 1534. Velalcázar's column is approached, while resting near Zoro Palta (possibly Paquishapa in southern Ecuador), by the Inca general Chiaquintinta. As the Spanish commander is

scouting in advance of his troops with 30 riders, he is able to panic and scatter these Quitan warriors, who have never before seen horses.

MAY 3, 1534. *Teocajas.* After being reinforced at Tumibamba by the Cañari and other subject tribes who hate the Incas, Velalcázar's army pushes north into the Andes, emerging into a highland valley. While approaching Teocajas, a vanguard of 10 Spanish horsemen under Capt. Rui Díaz encounters the main Quitan army drawn up in battle array under General Rumiñahui. One rider returns to advise Velalcázar's army, as the other nine skirmish against masses of enraged Quitan warriors, until the Spaniards are reinforced by another 40 cavalymen. Yet despite wreaking fearful destruction among the natives' ranks, this Spanish company is unable to make the Incas retreat, suffering four conquistadores and a like number of mounts killed before finally retiring for the night. It is not until the next morning that the Spaniards at last break the Quitans' desperate resistance and compel this host to withdraw.

MAY 8, 1534. A few weeks after regaining San Miguel de Piura for a second time, Almagro writes to Charles V, complaining of Alvarado's incursion and reaffirming his loyalty to Velalcázar.

MID-MAY 1534. De Soto and Gonzalo Pizarro march northward out of Jauja with 50 Spanish horsemen and 30 foot soldiers, accompanied by 4,000 Cuzcan warriors under Manco plus numerous local levies. By the time they come into contact with Quisquis's army, it is once more retiring toward Quito. The Spaniards and their allies pursue this enemy as far north as Huánuco, fighting a series of sharp engagements, before returning triumphantly into Jauja by early June.

MAY 21, 1534. Emperor Charles V issues a royal decree subdividing South America among its various conquistadores, although some territorial disputes still remain.

JUNE 22, 1534. After detouring down into the lowlands and reascending the Andes around Lake Colta and Lake Riobamba, Almagro and Velalcázar's army succeeds in fighting its way into Quito, which lies deserted after being evacuated and burned by Rumiñahui five days previously. Capt. Rui Díaz is quickly sent with 60 riders to pursue the Inca general into Yumbo Province, but the latter eludes him.

Rumiñahui thereupon adds the forces of the Latacunga chieftain Tucomango, Quingalumba of the Chillos, and Governor Zope Zopahua of northern Ambato to his own, so as to launch a surprise counterattack against the Spanish occupation force at Quito. This descent is made stealthily at night by 15,000 warriors; nonetheless, the defenders are alerted and man their ramparts. The attack ignites numerous buildings, and vicious hand-to-hand fighting ensues by the light of these blazes. Dawn, however, permits the deployment of Velalcázar's cavalry, which smashes the Inca army and captures its camp. Significantly, seven local chieftains come in next day to submit to the conquistadores.

JULY 1534. Velalcázar marches north from Quito toward Cayambe and Otavalo, vainly searching for the Incas' vanished treasure and venting his fury by massacring the women and children of Quinche. Eventually, Almagro and Velalcázar abandon Quito, encountering further opposition in the Chillo Valley and on the right bank of the Pinta River. On either the Liribamba or Chambo rivers, the Spaniards find a small Inca army drawn up for battle on the far side, which they attack despite losing 80 Cañari allies, who drown in this torrent. Twelve horses succeed in swimming across, though, dispersing these enemies.

From prisoners, Almagro and Velalcázar learn of the proximity of Alvarado's expedition, which has suffered terribly, losing 85 members and almost all its horses during a harsh passage over the Andes.

AUGUST 1534. Alvarado's larger but emaciated army captures eight scouts that were sent on ahead by Almagro and Velalcázar, and soon both expeditions warily confront each other, sleeping on their weapons for fear of a sudden attack. Eventually, a deal is struck on August 26 by both leaders, whereby Almagro agrees to buy Alvarado's ships and equipment for 100,000 pesos, and the latter is to return toward Guatemala, leaving his men behind in Peru under Pizarro's orders. Two days later, they all ride toward Quito, where Velalcázar remains in command of 400–500 Spaniards, while Almagro and Alvarado proceed farther south toward Peru.

While en route, Almagro and Alvarado blunder into the vanguard of Quisquis's retreating army. This contingent, under an Inca leader called Sotaurco, is surprised while holding a pass in Chaparra Province and quickly disperses. Realizing that the main Inca body is nearby, the two Spanish commanders lead a nocturnal dash with all their available cavalry, com-

ing within sight of Quisquis's sprawling camp the next evening. The Inca general immediately orders his warriors, under one of Atahualpa's brothers called Huaypalcon, to hold a steep hill, while non-combatants flee in the opposite direction. This stratagem works, as the Spaniards are unable to ride over Huaypalcon's position, and both native formations succeed in disappearing into the night. When overtaken the next day by the pursuing Spaniards, the Inca rear guard again takes up a defensive posture on rocky high ground, killing 14 Spaniards and 3 horses, plus wounding 20 other mounts.

Although Quisquis succeeds in winning free, his army's morale collapses upon approaching Quito and finding it already occupied by many more Spaniards. When the Inca general orders his officers to march on into a remote sector to continue their resistance, he is murdered. The forces of both Rumiñahui and Zope Zopahua are also hunted down and exterminated over the next few weeks by Velalcázar, marking an end to the Inca empire.

FEBRUARY 1535. Velalcázar sends his lieutenant Diego de Tapia from Quito to pacify the Quillacinga Indians on the Angasmayo River.

MARCH 1535. Fighting almost erupts at Cuzco between pro-Pizarro and pro-Almagro factions among the Spaniards, who each claim the former Inca capital as falling under their jurisdiction according to the royal decree of May 21, 1534 (see "May 21, 1534" entry).

LATE MAY 1535. Pizarro reaches Cuzco and mediates a deal with Almagro, whereby the latter is to lead a new expedition farther south and conquer Chile—reputedly even richer than the Inca empire—while their disputed ownership of Cuzco is to be settled by the Spanish Crown.

JULY 3, 1535. Almagro quits Cuzco at the head of 570 Spanish riders and foot soldiers, plus 100 black slaves and 12,000 Inca allies and *yanacones* or native porters under Paullu (brother of the puppet emperor Manco), to conquer Chile. Pizarro in the meantime returns to the coast to continue founding new cities, while de Soto sails for Spain.

EARLY NOVEMBER 1535. Because of increasing Spanish excesses and his own lack of power, the emperor Manco attempts to slip out of Cuzco, only to be ridden down and cruelly imprisoned by Juan

and Gonzalo Pizarro. Isolated Spaniards also begin to be murdered, prompting the two brothers to lead a punitive expedition against Ancocagua, which is besieged and overwhelmed.

JANUARY 1536. Hernando Pizarro returns to Cuzco from Spain, releasing Manco from bondage and treating him well because the court at Madrid has disapproved of any disrespect toward monarchs. Nonetheless, the young Inca emperor is now secretly determined to drive the Spaniards out of Peru. He is secretly manufacturing weapons and slowly marshaling troops to fall upon Cuzco once the rainy season ends.

APRIL 18, 1536. *Manco's Revolt.* The emperor leaves Cuzco with Hernando Pizarro's permission,

Manco

The last emperor at Cuzco is believed to have been born in 1516, possibly in its Yucay Valley. Manco was one of the youngest sons of Huayna Capac with the Cholla woman Mama Runtu, so he was considered a member of a lower noble class. It is estimated that Huayna Capac's royal harem had produced some 300 children in all. Little is known about Manco's infancy, except that he was raised in the train of his older half brother Huáscar at the court in Cuzco. Young Manco apparently was more inclined to the study of history than any other subject. He was trained in martial arts at the nearby fortress of Sacsayhuaman.

The emperor Huayna Capac died in 1528. When the Hurí faction under Atahualpa fought against Huáscar's Hanan faction for control of the empire, the 15-year-old Manco was advised to flee into the jungles outside of Cuzco just before Huáscar's final defeat. Manco returned late in 1532, determined to gain the throne despite his low royal standing.

His alliance with the Spaniards expelled the Hurí faction from Cuzco and gave him the throne. Yet the teen-aged monarch was at best a puppet of the invaders. When the high priest Villac Umo at last made him understand that the Spaniards were not mercenary adventurers on a foray but rather permanent occupiers, Manco began planning his revolt. Although he covertly mustered thousands of warriors, escaped, and mounted a major offensive, the Incas could not overcome superior Spanish weaponry on the battlefield. Despite heroic resistance, Manco was driven deep into the jungle. His power broken, he would be treacherously murdered a few years later by Spanish renegades to whom he had given shelter.



A crude 17th-century depiction of Manco Capac. (Author's Collection)

supposedly to attend some religious ceremonies in the Yucay Valley but actually to mobilize his gathering army. On Easter Saturday, April 21, news of his plot reaches Cuzco, Juan Pizarro being immediately dispatched with 70 riders to disperse the assembling Indians. He fights his way into Calca and captures part of the Inca train, yet after three or four days of occupation, his contingent is abruptly recalled because of word of an immense native army bearing down upon Cuzco under General Inquill.

The Spanish cavalry fights its way back inside the capital and watches as perhaps 50,000 warriors slowly gather outside. Hernando Pizarro only commands 110 soldiers and 80 riders, the latter divided into three squadrons under Gabriel de Rojas, Hernán Ponce de León, and Gonzalo Pizarro. But when the mounted Spaniards sally, they find the Indians' tactics much wiler; they remain on high ground to blunt the weight of cavalry charges, thus killing a rider and horse on April 30.

Emboldened, Inquill's army then institutes a close siege of Cuzco, launching a massive dawn assault on Saturday, May 6, preceded by a hail of heated stones that ignite many of the city's thatched roofs. Through

sheer weight of numbers, they fight their way into the streets, pushing the desperate defenders back into two buildings opposite each other at the east end of the main square. After several days of ferocious sallies and countersallies, Juan Pizarro leads 50 riders in a wild dash at sunrise on May 16, which succeeds in circling out into the countryside and almost capturing the Sacsahuaman citadel above Cuzco from the rear. Juan Pizarro dies from a head wound, but his brothers Hernando and Gonzalo press home infantry assaults over the next few days that eventually carry the fortress amid terrible slaughter. Virtually all its 2,000 Inca defenders are either slain or commit suicide.

Native reinforcements appear and for three more days attempt to recapture Sacsahuaman before finally giving up at the end of May. Nonetheless, hard fighting persists in and around Cuzco until at least August, when the native siege finally slackens.

MAY 1536. Having learned of Manco's revolt on May 4 while at his new coastal capital of Lima, Francisco Pizarro quickly sends a relief column of 30 riders under Capt. Francisco Morgovejo de Quiñones toward Jauja in the mountains, followed by another column of 70 horsemen under his relative Gonzalo de Tapia. The latter climbs inland near Huaitará but is ambushed in a narrow gorge on the upper Pampas River by Quizo Yupanqui's army, which annihilates the trapped Spaniards with rock-slides. The few survivors are sent as prisoners to Manco at Calca.

Quizo Yupanqui meanwhile continues northward and, near Parcos, destroys a second Spanish contingent: 60 men under Diego Pizarro who were marching down the Mantaro River toward Huamanga. Morgovejo is eventually obliged to turn back as well; he is killed before he can regain the coast.

JULY 1536. Francisco Pizarro dispatches 30 foot soldiers from Lima under Francisco de Godoy to reinforce Jauja. While approaching that town, the relief column learns that Jauja has already been overrun by Quizo Yupanqui's army and its 30-man Spanish garrison slaughtered. De Godoy therefore carries the news back into Lima by early August.

AUGUST 1536. *Defense of Lima.* Flush with his victories in the Andes, Quizo Yupanqui descends onto the coastal plateau with a huge army to extirpate Pizarro's stronghold. Capt. Pedro de Lerma is sent out of the city with 70 riders to check the

enemy advance, fighting a sharp engagement in which one Spaniard is killed and many others wounded, yet he cannot halt the Incas' progress. Lima is assaulted, but a surprise sally by Pizarro's hidden cavalry breaks the warrior ranks, persuading Quizo Yupanqui to retire into a defensive position atop San Cristóbal Hill.

After six days of close investiture of the city, the native general decides upon an all-out attack from three directions, personally marching at the head of the eastern column with his senior staff, which receives the brunt of two cavalry squadrons streaming out of Lima under Pizarro. Quizo Yupanqui is killed along with most of his officers and countless followers, shattering the resolve of his army, which begins to melt away that same night.

LATE AUGUST 1536. In Cuzco, the Inca siege has slackened sufficiently for Hernando Pizarro to go on the offensive against Manco, who has transferred his headquarters from Calca into the formidable fortress of Ollantaytambo, 30 miles downstream in the Yucay Valley. The Spaniards fight their way out of the city with 70 horsemen, 30 foot soldiers, and a large contingent of native auxiliaries, leaving Gabriel de Rojas behind with a small garrison. However, once coming within sight of the impregnable Inca fortification—bristling with masses of archers and warriors—Pizarro realizes it cannot be taken, so retreats into Cuzco amid heavy fighting.

Heartened by this success, the emperor in turn sends his army to once more attempt to carry Cuzco, but his columns are smashed in open country by Spanish cavalry charges, so a stalemate develops with both sides remaining exhausted within their bases throughout the ensuing rainy season.

NOVEMBER 8, 1536. Alonso de Alvarado marches from Lima at the head of 100 horsemen, 40 crossbowmen, and 210 foot soldiers to reconquer the interior of Peru. As he enters the Andes 25 miles to the east, he endures a fierce skirmish against an Indian contingent under Illa Tupac, killing 30 and capturing 100. The latter are maimed by having their hands and noses cut off, then released to spread terror among the region's natives. Another engagement occurs on November 15 in Olleros Pass, but Alvarado presses on toward Jauja, sowing destruction.

JANUARY 1537. After being reinforced at Jauja by a further 200 men under Gómez de Tordoya, Alonso de Alvarado resumes his slow drive toward Cuzco.



Spanish cavalryman lancing a fallen foe, from *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* by Felipe Huamán Poma de Ayala. (Author's Collection)

Major opposition is encountered at Rumichaca, a stone bridge over the Pampas River below Vilcas, but the Spaniards nonetheless continue east toward Abancay.

EARLY APRIL 1537. Almagro returns into central Peru from his failed Chilean expedition, sending a peace embassy on ahead to call upon Manco at Ollantaytambo and listening to his grievances against Pizarro. The Inca emperor at first seems inclined to make peace with this rival conquistador, but changes his mind once Almagro enters Calca (25 miles from Ollantaytambo) with his vanguard of 200 riders. Paucar, the young Inca commander for this region, launches a surprise attack with 5,000–6,000 warriors, obliging the Spaniards to fight their way across the river, reaching Cuzco after nightfall on April 18. Almagro immediately deposes Hernando and Gonzalo Pizarro, imprisoning them along with a handful of supporters, while assuming overall command of the city.

JULY 12, 1537. To ensure his hold over Cuzco, Almagro dispatches his lieutenant Rodrigo Orgóñez with a strong Spanish contingent and 10,000 native auxiliaries under Paullu to subdue Alonso de Alvarado's relief force approaching from the coast. Orgóñez meets this rival Spanish army at night near the Abancay River crossing, overwhelming it almost without bloodshed by sunup on July 13.

LATE JULY 1537. *Flight of the Emperor.* Despairing of ever being able to beat the Spaniards upon the battlefield, Manco abandons Ollantaytambo to seek safety in Peru's interior. Almagro instantly orders the victorious Orgóñez to pursue the fleeing emperor with 300 riders and foot soldiers. They overtake Manco at Amaibamba, defeating his rear guard, while the emperor himself escapes on foot toward Vitcos. The next day, Orgóñez reaches Vitcos as well, pausing to loot it, thereby allowing Manco to escape into the mountains. The Spanish column then returns into Cuzco by the end of July with enormous booty and many thousands of prisoners, whereupon they discover that Paullu has in the interim been crowned the new puppet emperor.

SEPTEMBER 1537. Almagro opens negotiations with Francisco Pizarro on the coast over ownership of Cuzco. The latter's position hardens when his brother Gonzalo escapes confinement and Hernando is exchanged. Eventually fighting erupts between both factions, and Hernando Pizarro leads an invasion of the central highlands.

APRIL 26, 1538. *Almagro's End.* After pressing the followers of the infirm, 63-year-old Almagro back into Cuzco, Hernando Pizarro and Alonso de Alvarado fight a pitched two-hour battle a few miles south of this city against Almagro's lieutenant, Rodrigo Orgóñez. The latter defends himself bravely until being wounded in the forehead by a harquebus round, captured, and beheaded. Some 200 of his troops are also slaughtered, and another 150 wounded, as opposed to only 25–26 killed among Pizarro's ranks. Cuzco is thereupon occupied, and Almagro imprisoned. A vengeful Hernando Pizarro has him quickly tried and garroted on July 8.

LATE JULY 1538. At Manco's instigation, the Lupaca tribe in Collasuyu Province attacks its traditional foe the Colla, now vassals of the Spaniards. Hernando Pizarro and Paullu march to their subjects' relief,

defeating the Lupaca in a difficult battle on the banks of Desaguadero River. Hernando Pizarro then retraces his steps toward Cuzco, leaving his brother Gonzalo and the puppet emperor to mop up.

AUTUMN 1538. The Conchucos tribes in the hills bordering the upper Marañón rise against Spanish rule, sweeping southward with Manco as far as Jauja, where the Huanca refuse to join them. The rebuffed Inca emperor thereupon moves his army south to Ayacucho, threatening Spanish communications between Cuzco and the coast.

Francisco Pizarro reaches Cuzco in November and detaches Illán Suárez de Carvajal with 200 horsemen and a large force of auxiliaries to deal with this menace. After marching westward to Vilcas, the Spaniards learn of Manco's headquarters in the hilltop village of Oncoy. Hoping to trap their elusive foe, Suárez remains on one bank of the Pampas River with his cavalry, while a captain called Villadiego stealthily seizes the bridge crossing with a company of infantry. Rather than hold this position, however, the eager young officer then presses on with only 30 men (including 5 harquebusiers and 7 crossbowmen) to personally attempt to capture the Inca chieftain, thereby gaining great credit. Instead, his contingent is discovered and massacred after a two-hour fight that only 6 Spaniards survive.

Inspired by this victory, Manco's generals Paucar Huaman and Yuncallo attack and defeat a large force of Spaniards and Indian allies at Yuramayo, killing many. Finally, Pizarro sorties from Cuzco on December 22 with 70 riders, compelling the Indians to retire.

DECEMBER 1538. *Cochabamba.* Gonzalo Pizarro's 70 Spanish soldiers and Paullu's 5,000 native auxiliaries spend five days fighting their way into wild and remote Cochabamba Valley (Bolivia), only to become trapped inside by huge numbers of warriors led by the Chicha general Torinaseo under the overall strategic guidance of the emperor's uncle Tiso Yupanqui. After a furious day-long confrontation, though, the Chicha army is broken, leaving 800 dead upon the field.

The Spaniards then work their way through the valley, being reinforced early the next year by strong contingents under Hernando Pizarro and Martín

de Guzmán that have circled over the Andean range, thus helping to subdue all of Cochabamba's tribes. Even Tiso Yupanqui surrenders by February 1539 after being granted amnesty, entering Cuzco on March 19 with Gonzalo Pizarro's triumphant army.

APRIL 1539. *Chuquillusca.* Gonzalo Pizarro marches out of Cuzco at the head of 300 Spanish fighting men and a host of native auxiliaries under Paullu to track down Manco at his remote new capital of Vilcabamba, deep within the Amazonian forest. The jungle beyond Vitcos proves so dense that the Spaniards are obliged to leave their horses behind. They nevertheless fight their way through until they reach a rocky hill called Chuquillusca, where 36 are suddenly killed in a native ambush, forcing the rest to retreat.

Ten days later, after being reinforced, Gonzalo Pizarro resumes his attack, delegating 100 Spaniards to storm Chuquillusca, while leading his main body in a flanking maneuver. Manco flees and his followers melt into the wilderness, leaving Vilcabamba, 14 miles away, to be destroyed by the Spaniards. This expedition returns into Cuzco in July with numerous captives, including the empress Cura Ocllo.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1539. Francisco Pizarro returns into Cuzco from Arequipa hoping to negotiate Manco's surrender.

OCTOBER 1539. After a fierce eight-month campaign in Condesuyo Province by Capt. Pedro de los Rios, the Inca high priest Villac Umu submits to the Spaniards.

NOVEMBER 1539. Manco rebuffs Pizarro's peace overture by slaughtering his envoys. In retaliation, the Spaniard has the empress Cura Ocllo stripped, beaten, and shot to death with arrows, her body being floated down the Yucay River in a basket to be found by the Inca's men. Villac Umu, Tiso Yupanqui, and many other prominent captives are also burned alive.

Despite Manco's continuing defiance in the eastern jungles, effective Inca resistance is at an end. Guerrilla warfare persists in certain regions for a number of years, yet Peru is largely subdued. The Spaniards begin managing their vast new estates or dispersing for further adventures.

CONQUEST OF VENEZUELA AND COLOMBIA (1529–1546)

In Europe during the spring of 1528, the Habsburg emperor Charles V—hoping to realize some immediate financial gains from his fast-expanding New World properties—leases mainland Venezuela to the German banking house of Welser (in Spanish, *Velzare* or *Belzare*), which is headquartered in the city of Augsburg. Along with this concession goes the right to establish towns, develop mineral deposits, and import African slaves into this new American territory.

A convoy of three ships and a caravel duly departs Seville on October 7 of that same year, bearing 200 men under García de Lerma and Pedro Márquez, to initiate the process of exploring and settling these new lands. The vessels rendezvous in January 1529 at the Antillean island of Santo Domingo with another contingent of 100 fighting men raised by a tough German mercenary named in Spanish records as Ambrosio de Alfinger—although more likely Talfinger or Dalfinger—who assumes overall command of the enterprise. The first of several thousand Yoruba, Ibo, and Fon slaves are also brought across the Atlantic from West Africa.

The subsequent zeal displayed by these German conquistadores expanding out of Venezuela will prompt their Spanish neighbors at Santa Marta into greater competitive efforts, so as to fully secure their own Colombian hinterland. Both groups will also be fired up by native legends of *El Dorado* or “The Golden Man”—an allusion to the Chibcha coronation ritual, whereby a new leader appears coated with resin and gold dust at dawn, then dives off a raft into the sacred waters of Lake Guatavita to emerge as overlord.

FEBRUARY 24, 1529. Alfinger reaches the town of La Vela de Coro (Venezuela) with 264 men to establish a Welser beachhead and become its first governor.

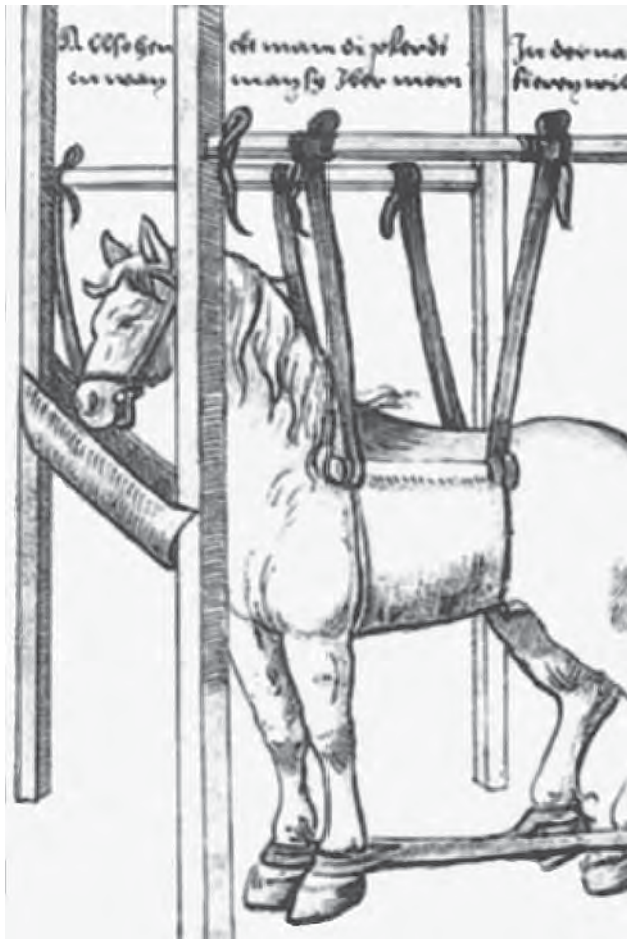
EARLY AUGUST 1529. *Alfinger’s Opening Campaign.* The new German governor appoints Luis Sarmiento as his deputy and departs La Vela de Coro with a small army of 180 men to venture southwest against the inland natives. By September 8, he discovers the shores of Lake Maracaibo, having sown terror in his path. Alfinger’s brutality—calculated to cow the numerous dispersed Indian tribes and includes such atrocities as branding them on the face to establish Welser ownership—quickly earns him the sobriquet “Cruellest of the Cruel” among the natives. He is further resented by his Spanish followers, who are discontent with what they regard as foreign leadership in their American territories.

Alfinger conquers a native town on the site of present-day Maracaibo, renaming it as Ulma in honor of his German birthplace of Ulm. Disease and lack of provisions eventually oblige him to return to La Vela de Coro, with a booty worth only 7,000 pesos.

JANUARY 12, 1530. The 28-year-old mercenary Nicolaus Federmann der Jüngere or “the Younger” (also a native of Ulm) arrives at the Paraguaná Peninsula on the eastern shores of the modern Gulf of Venezuela after a stopover on the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo. Accompanied by 123 Spaniards, 24 German miners, and 10 horses aboard a bark owned by the Welsers, his mission is to support the efforts of Alfinger in exploring and securing this new region.

Federmann disembarks most of his men and horses to march overland toward the main town of La Vela de Coro under Georg Ehinger, while he himself returns aboard his bark and stands away from the coast at 2:00 a.m. on January 15, beating upwind toward Santo Domingo.

MARCH 8, 1530. Having taken on further horses, oxen, cattle, and provisions at Santo Domingo and nearby San Germán de Puerto Rico, plus being joined by another Welser vessel out of Spain, Federmann drops anchor off the Venezuelan port of La Vela de Coro and is greeted by Alfinger’s Spanish deputy Sarmiento. Federmann unloads his bark and sends it back to Santo Domingo on March 22 to continue its homeward passage to Spain.



Early 16th-century horse transportation aboard ship, by Albrecht Dürer. (Author's Collection)

APRIL 18, 1530. Three more Welser vessels reach La Vela de Coro from Seville, bringing a further 200 reinforcements under a new acting governor, Hans Seissenhofer—whose difficult last name is rendered as *Juan Alemán* or “John German,” or *Juan el Bueno* or “John the Good,” among the Spaniards. Seissenhofer is sworn into office with Federmann as his deputy, because it is now feared that the long-absent Alfinger must either be dead or lost.

MAY 3, 1530. After a nine-month absence, a sickly Alfinger staggers back into La Vela de Coro with 110 survivors from his inland campaign, the other 70 having been lost due to disease, battle, or executions. He is immediately restored as governor, while Seissenhofer chooses to pursue other interests (he dies a year and a half later).

JULY 26, 1530. *González de Leiva's Incursion.* Alfinger designates Luis González de Leiva as his

lieutenant governor for Maracaibo and sends him back along the coast with 60 soldiers aboard two large war canoes, which were wrested from the Indian chieftain Manaure, to reoccupy that advance base.

González de Leiva encounters steady resistance during his advance, especially from the Cumari tribesmen, who kill three of his men and injure several others. Nevertheless, the Spaniards succeed in capturing 222 prisoners, sending 100 to the frontier outpost of Santa Marta (Colombia) under Capt. Iñigo de Vasuña to be sold as slaves. Another 78 are dispatched toward Santo Domingo aboard Capt. Gil de Nava's ship *San Cristóbal*, but when this vessel sinks en route during a storm, its survivors are instead sold at Jamaica.

AUGUST 1, 1530. Still infirm from his prolonged military campaign, Alfinger departs La Vela de Coro aboard the ship *San Antón* to convalesce on the island of Santo Domingo, leaving Federmann as his acting governor.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1530. *Federmann's First Venture.* During Alfinger's absence on Santo Domingo, Federmann in turn deputizes Bartolomé de Santillana as his acting governor and quits La Vela de Coro with a small army of 16 Spanish riders, 98 Spanish soldiers, and 100 native Caquetío porters to penetrate the jungles. He strikes out southwestward in the general direction of modern San Luis, hoping to expand the Welsers' Venezuelan holdings by driving toward the long-sought Pacific Ocean (called the *Mar del Mediodía* or “Midday Sea” by these early explorers).

JANUARY 27, 1531. Having recuperated from his previous illness, Alfinger returns to Venezuela from Santo Domingo, reassuming office as governor from Santillana.

MARCH 17, 1531. After a six-month campaign through the interior of western Venezuela, Federmann's sickly army returns into La Vela de Coro, having emerged from the jungle far to its southeast at the Yacaruy River mouth (near present-day Puerto Cabello). During his foray, in contrast to Alfinger, he has managed to establish almost uniformly friendly relations with the mountain tribes, the Cayones being the only people to offer serious resistance to the intruders. But Alfinger is angry at finding his deputy absent upon his return and orders Federmann exiled from Venezuela for four years.

JUNE 9, 1531. *Alfínger's Final Campaign.* The German governor reappoints de Santillana as his deputy, then leads another major expedition out of La Vela de Coro to continue his territorial expansion farther to the west and southwest. Alfínger explores the region in and around his advance base at Maracaibo until September 1, when he is rejoined by González de Leiva's contingent and officially founds a town, appointing Francisco Venegas as Maracaibo's first mayor.

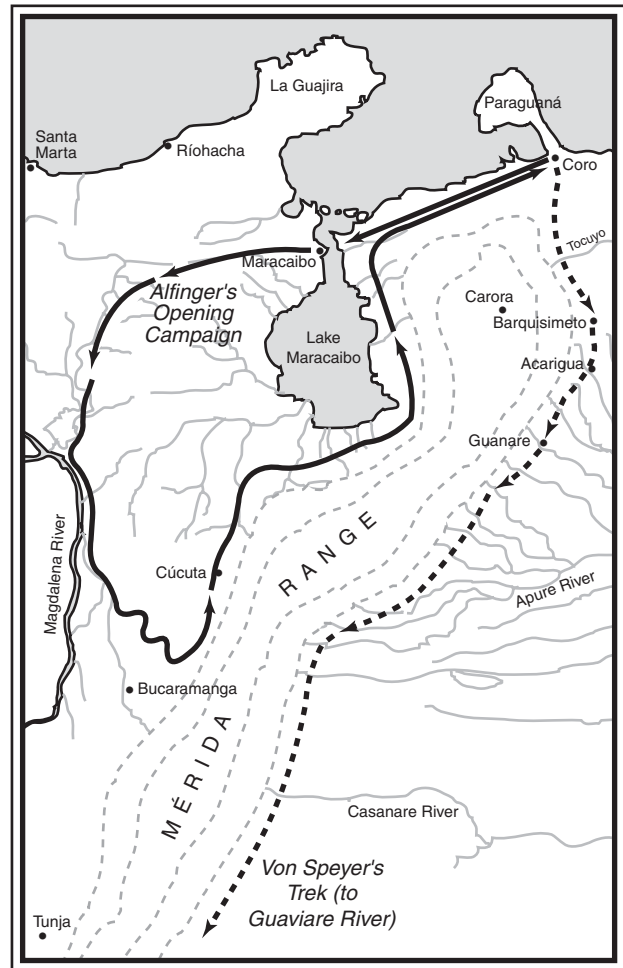
Alfínger subsequently ventures farther north up into the Guajira Peninsula with 40 mounted Spaniards under Capt. Hans von Casimir of Nuremberg and 130 infantrymen divided into three companies under captains Luis de Monserrat, Gómez de Anaya, and Francisco de Quindos. The governor seeks to establish a fixed inland boundary with the nearby Spanish colony of Santa Marta (Colombia) by circling around southwestward in the general direction of the Magdalena River.

JANUARY 7, 1532. After roaming out of Guajira Province in northeastern Colombia and far southward into its mountains, Alfínger detaches his subordinate Íñigo de Vasuña with 24 foot soldiers to return to Maracaibo and La Vela de Coro, bearing 24,000 *castellanos* of gold booty (weighing approximately 350 pounds) and hoping to bring back further reinforcements.

Eighteen months later, it is learned that this detachment never reaches its destination, becoming lost, instead, in the trackless tropical jungle until its desperately hungry survivors are obliged to bury their gold under a large tree and abandon their companions one by one. Eventually all of them—except for one named Francisco Martín—die of exposure.

JUNE 24, 1532. Having grown increasingly anxious to be reinforced and resupplied, Alfínger detaches his German lieutenant and interpreter Stephan Martin (in Spanish, Esteban Martín) with 20 soldiers to carry dispatches out of the jungle northward to Lake Maracaibo. Martin reaches the Spanish settlement of Maracaibo 34 days later to find its lieutenant governor, Venegas, absent on a retaliatory raid against the Onoto tribesmen, who have massacred 14 local Spaniards.

Martin is quite ill and remains at Maracaibo while a subordinate conveys Alfínger's letters north-eastward to La Vela de Coro. Soon, a company of 50



German-Spanish explorations of Venezuela and Colombia.

soldiers returns overland from this latter port, and Martin is able to rejoin Alfínger a few weeks later with 82 Spanish soldiers and a large body of native porters. With this renewed strength, the governor attempts to continue his campaign through the Andean chain, only to be obliged to give up because of its daunting vegetation and towering heights.

For almost another year, Alfínger will continue to probe southward and eastward through these ranges, inflicting untold brutalities upon their primitive mountain tribes, yet finding no major cities or rich gold deposits to conquer and hold. Eventually, he is struck in the throat by a poisoned arrow during a skirmish on May 27, 1533, and dies four days later. His exhausted army is taken over by Pedro de San Martín, who finally strikes out toward the shores of Lake Maracaibo, sending a few survivors ahead to limp back into La Vela de Coro on Monday, November 2, 1533.

Around that same time, Alfinger's deputy governor, de Santillana, is deposed by the Spaniards who, having grown increasingly restive at being ignored by their German rulers, dispatch Luis González de Leiva and Alonso de la Llana to Spain as their spokesmen on January 18, 1534, to petition Emperor Charles V to retract the Welsers' privileges. Instead, a new German governor named Georg Hohermuth von Speyer (in Spanish, Jorge de Espira) is sent out from Europe. He arrives at La Vela de Coro on February 6, 1535, with 700 men.

JANUARY 13, 1533. *Founding of Cartagena.* The tough Spanish adventurer Pedro de Heredia—his nose missing as a result of a Madrid street brawl—

enters Cartagena Bay from Santo Domingo with a ship, two caravels, and a smaller consort bearing 150 soldiers and 22 horses. The next day, he goes ashore near the Indian village of Calamar and rests his cavalry until January 17 before pushing along the low, sandy peninsula. He finds the main native village—protected by a thick stockade of spiny *guamacho* tree trunks—and discovers that it has been abandoned by its frightened inhabitants.

To assert his claim as new territorial governor, de Heredia goes through the legal fiction of constituting a “city” amid Calamar's empty huts on January 20, although no actual presence is created. Instead, his caravels are detached to explore the nearby port of Zamba and the coastline around Cenú (or Sinú), while he

Growth of Cartagena

Soon after Pedro de Heredia staked his claim in June 1533, Spanish immigrants began arriving. Despite his new city's torrid and unhealthy climate, its magnificent harbor was surrounded by a fertile delta and gave access to the interior through a series of navigable rivers. News of gold strikes in its hinterland, plus Pizarro's conquest of the fabulous neighboring empire of Peru, spurred traffic. So many people began passing through Cartagena, many clearing estates amid its delta, that a religious see was created at Cartagena as early as 1534 with Fr. Tomás de Toro installed as its first bishop.

Yet the city itself remained small, serving merely as a way station for passengers and for the import and export of goods. The island beside it, named Getsemaní by the Spanish, was granted to de Heredia's accountant, Rodrigo de Durán. A slaughterhouse was installed on the island once cattle began to multiply in the region. Some years later, Durán's widow, Beatriz de Cogollos, would cede a portion of this island for the erection of a Franciscan monastery.

Cartagena's first foreign enemy materialized as early as 1537, when a lone French corsair vessel prowled past. Because of such threats, the Crown ordered defenses improved throughout the Antilles; but Cartagena's modest increase of only three guns proved woefully inadequate. Five French corsair vessels easily penetrated its harbor on the night of July 24–25, 1543, depositing 450 men. They would extort a ransom of 35,000 pesos and a mass of goods from the populace before withdrawing.

The city recovered enough to receive its first transatlantic convoy in December 1550, which paused for a few days to refresh provisions before continuing to the Panamanian port of Nombre de Dios. Cartagena, however, was swept by an accidental fire two years later, so no more convoys visited until January 1556. The city remained so small that when five French ships set 300 men ashore on April 11, 1559, they easily brushed aside its 36 Spanish defenders. The raiders then pillaged its few houses before agreeing to spare the buildings for a meager ransom of only 4,000 pesos.

Cartagena's status was upgraded two years later, though, when the Crown merged all transatlantic departures from Seville into two annual convoys with naval escorts. Galleons became much larger, so wider and deeper anchorages were needed in the Americas. Cartagena therefore became a major port of call for the South American plate fleets, and royal funds were provided for the construction of strong defenses. Adm. Bartolomé Menéndez added a refinement by visiting in late July 1562 on his outward passage toward Nombre de Dios, then making a second call on his homeward leg. Adm. Diego Flores de Valdés not only returned to Cartagena from Nombre de Dios in late September 1567 but wintered there with his 15 galleons.

The city was so boosted by this increased traffic that, when the English slaver John Hawkins called with 10 ships in July 1568, he was obliged to quit the coast empty handed. Cartagena was now a major lynchpin in Spain's plate-fleet system, with a repair yard called La Machina opposite the Pastelillo fortress at El Boquerón. A swelling number of officials and traders crowded in every year to receive its galleons. Ever-larger amounts of European imports and African slaves were off-loaded for sale into the interior, while regional exports also increased. Cartagena received the title of a “very noble and very loyal” city by a royal decree issued on December 12, 1574, with its own coat of arms. Its strategic role was further confirmed when a small naval squadron was assigned to it two years later and emerged from its harbor to patrol the Caribbean.

and his troops clash with the natives of Canapote and Turbaco before rejoining their flotilla at Zamba.

The Spaniards then make a harrowing, 22-day ascent as far upstream as the Magdalena River before returning into their original seaside site where, on June 1, de Heredia formally names “the first *alcaldes* (magistrates) and *regidores* (aldermen) for the town of Calamar, in which he ha[s] his seat, and order[s] that the city be called Cartagena”—soon amended to Cartagena de Indias or “Cartagena of the Indies” to distinguish it from its namesake in Spain.

MAY 15, 1535. *Von Speyer's Trek.* Because of a food shortage precipitated by his expedition's arrival, the new German governor, von Speyer, immediately sends a 100-man contingent inland, then appoints Federmann (who has also returned to Venezuela with him from his four-year exile in Europe—see “March 17, 1531” entry) as his deputy governor at La Vela de Coro.

On May 15, von Speyer leads a 400-man army and 90 riders toward Barquisimeto to begin a campaign to its plains; his main body reaches Tocuyo five days later, where it is joined by the smaller veteran unit of Lope Montalvo de Lugo and Stephan Martin, who are foraging for provisions. On May 28, this combined force presses southward into hostile territory and commences attacking villages to secure natives to act as porters.

By June 26, von Speyer's army—which has divided into smaller contingents to facilitate its advance—reunites to assault the large town of Oyrabo (today unknown), overrunning it at the cost of three conquistadores. Shortly thereafter, he fights another pitched battle at Catimayagua, and although Indian resistance continues to be strong, their weapons are no match for those of the invaders, who persistently push farther south. On July 16, they reach the shores of the Cojedes River where they encounter the remnants of their 100-man vanguard, retiring with many wounded. Von Speyer reaches Acarigua on July 20 where he remains for several days, terrorizing the district. On August 18, von Speyer plunges west into the unexplored jungles with 30 riders and 100 infantrymen, leaving many men behind at Acarigua to recuperate under captains Sancho de Murga and Andreas Gundelfinger.

AUGUST 1535. From La Vela de Coro, the restless Federmann dispatches a strong contingent westward overland toward La Guajira that consists of 200 Spanish soldiers under Capt. Antonio de Cháves

and is supported by 70 horses and numerous Indian porters. The German lieutenant governor intends to meet this contingent at Cape de la Vela by circling around the peninsula aboard ship with more men for a concerted sweep through the entire area.

Cháves therefore marches to the Bar of Maracaibo and traverses it by canoe before proceeding northward into La Guajira. Here he encounters 50 Spanish soldiers out of Santa Marta (Colombia) under Capt. Juan de Ribera, who has been sent out by the acting governor, Dr. Rodrigo Infante, to reassert Santa Marta's claim over this area after Alfinger's far-ranging western campaign of 1531–1533; but contrary to his instructions, Ribera agrees to incorporate his soldiers into Cháves's army for Federmann's forthcoming campaign.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1535. Deep in the interior, von Speyer's increasingly sick column reaches a prosperous native village on the banks of the Masparro River, and von Speyer sends Stephan Martin to recall his main body from Acarigua. While awaiting their arrival, von Speyer's company is attacked at dawn by 600 native warriors, who are emboldened by the Spaniards' evident weakness; yet the Indians merely succeed in slaying one horse and wounding several conquistadores before being defeated and dispersed. The Acarigua contingent is also ambushed during its approach, suffering eight men and nine horses slain.

OCTOBER 1535. *Guajira.* Lieutenant Governor Federmann delegates his office at La Vela de Coro to Francisco Venegas, then sets sail with an additional force of 100 soldiers and 20 horses to Cape de la Vela (Colombia). After uniting with Cháves's and Ribera's companies, Federmann is further strengthened in February 1536 by the arrival of two ships directly from the island of Santo Domingo that bear 80 more volunteers.

However, Federmann's hopes of effecting a lasting conquest in this region are dashed by the lack of any significant native concentrations. The local Guajiro and Cocino nomads resist fiercely, then simply melt back into the inhospitable terrain. Federmann attempts to establish a town named Nuestra Señora de las Nieves near present-day Ríohacha (Colombia) and sends Capt. Diego Núñez deep into Macuira Province with 60 soldiers to try to found another town, but both efforts fail. Finally, frustrated and hungry, his army heads southward in search of easier prey.

CHRISTMAS 1535. Much farther to the south, von Speyer's lost army is crippled by disease and want, spending an entire month encamped around Coharabichan. Limping into Ithibona by January 9, 1536, the commander decides to leave behind 130 sick soldiers and 19 riders under captains Sancho de Murga and Andreas Gundelfinger, with orders to rejoin his main column once their health is restored. (They never do so; after a year in Ithibona, during which two-thirds of their number succumb, the survivors retrace their route toward La Vela de Coro.) Von Speyer meanwhile continues his progress southward on January 25 with 49 riders and 150 infantrymen.

JANUARY 1536. The new governor designate for Santa Marta (Colombia), Pedro Fernández de Lugo, arrives from Spain with 1,200 men. One of his first tasks after assuming office is to use this host to prevent Federmann's smaller army from pressing out of western Venezuela's Guajira Province and infringing upon Santa Marta's territory. Fernández de Lugo therefore delegates the 26-year-old licentiate Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada to precede Federmann into the Magdalena River Valley and arrest the German lieutenant governor should he break its frontier. Learning of this design, Federmann instead orders the bulk of his army to retire into the Carora Plains under Diego Martínez, while he returns toward La Vela de Coro for reinforcements and resupply.

APRIL 1, 1536. Deep in the hinterland, von Speyer's lost army enters Guaypíe territory, fighting a ferocious battle at Guachimena. The stench of burned Indian bodies quickly obliges them to abandon this town.

APRIL 5, 1536. Jiménez de Quesada quits Santa Marta at the head of a 600-man Spanish army, advancing southward to rendezvous with another 200 troops who will circle around on some brigantines, then travel up the length of the Magdalena River to meet him. After an arduous trek, the two contingents come together at La Tora, where Jiménez de Quesada installs himself with 220 exhausted survivors.

In October, a detached company of his conquistadores probes the Opón River, emerging onto an elevated and lush plateau that is home to a highly developed Indian civilization: the Chibchas or Muiscas (the latter actually a word in the local dialect signifying "persons" rather than the correct

tribal name of Chibchas). The young licentiate heads toward the high central plateau on December 28, with slightly more than 60 Spanish riders and 110 foot soldiers.

MAY 1536. Federmann returns into La Vela de Coro and briefly resumes office, although a cloud of surly disapproval greets his failure at Cape de la Vela. He therefore only remains until December 14, when he departs again with what men he can recruit to continue campaigning in a more southeasterly direction. (In the interim, his previous expedition suffers cruelly in the Carora Plains, losing 120 men to disease, want, and native attacks.)

Federmann and his lieutenant Pedro de Limpias inflict very harsh treatment upon Barquisimeto and Acarigua's Indians but otherwise accomplish little of any lasting military value during their southeastern foray, and they soon turn back.

DECEMBER 1, 1536. After several months of vainly attempting to ford the mighty Opóa River, von Speyer's lost army finally crosses this barrier and fights its way deeper into Guaypíe territory. Passing into Punignigua lands shortly thereafter, the invaders find gold and silver artifacts within an abandoned village, prompting the German commander to detach his lieutenant Stephan Martin with a contingent of troops to again seek a passage westward through these mountains.

During his absence, von Speyer's men weather a dawn attack by local natives. Martin returns with many prisoners yet without having found a route over this range. On January 19, 1537, the invaders turn southward onto fertile plains and are welcomed at a prosperous Indian town that is renamed Nuestra Señora or "Our Lady" (today's San Juan de los Llanos). An inspection reveals that the army's strength is now reduced to a mere 102 men. After a brief rest, von Speyer continues his weary march, again encountering hostile tribes.

LATE FEBRUARY 1537. Somewhere between the banks of the Yari and Caguán rivers, von Speyer detaches his principal lieutenant, Stephan Martin, with 40 men to search for a ford. The rainy season is now fully raging, and these scouts are further beset by hostile bands. Many are injured before turning back, including Martin himself, who dies a few days after rejoining the main body.

Weary and dispirited by the loss of this valuable officer, von Speyer's men insist upon being led back

toward La Vela de Coro. The German governor refuses, personally leading another foray at the head of 40 loyal followers, while the 60 remaining stay behind under Captain Santa Cruz. This attempt proves to be von Speyer's last gasp, as he is unsuccessful in finding any hope of emerging from the endless jungles farther south. Returning into Santa Cruz's base camp, von Speyer eventually orders his surviving band of 100 men and 40 horses to turn back on August 13.

EARLY MARCH 1537. *Subjugation of Colombia.*

With a mere 166 Spanish soldiers, the young explorer Jiménez de Quesada passes through a mountain valley south of Chipatá, which is renamed San Martín, then emerges into an interconnected series of lush plateaus that are home to five major Chibcha tribes: the Panches, Yariguís, Agates, Muzos, and Colimas. After the disappointingly primitive and poor tribesmen encountered along the Magdalena River, the Spaniards are delighted by the wealth and sophistication of these mountain peoples, who share the fertile region delineated by the modern departments of Cundinamarca and Boyacá and produce bountiful harvests. They also enjoy a brisk trade in gold, salt, *coca*, pottery, fine cotton weaves, emeralds, and so on.

Although the natives are almost a million strong and maintain large standing armies, with a professional warrior caste and draftees, their leadership is divided—Tunja's *zaque* or "chieftain" Quemuenchatocha being at war with the dominant *zipa* or "overlord" Tisquesusa of *Bacatá* or Bogotá. Jiménez de Quesada will therefore be able to use these differences to form alliances, pitting one tribe against another until each of the Chibcha nations is defeated in turn. The invaders press forward in easy stages against only sporadic opposition, overawing most defenders with their horses and weaponry until they forge into Tisquesusa's territory by March 22, which they dub the Valle de los Alcázares or "Valley of the Forts." Its stockaded yet largely vacant capital of Bogotá is seized one month later, after which the confident conquistador army detaches some secondary columns to raid lesser Chibcha communities. The main force storms the rich city of Tunja on August 20 and the religious center of Sogamoso on September 4. Combat is minimal, and the Spaniards suffer only minor casualties during a few skirmishes; most of the Indian population is spared and transformed into docile tributaries.

Jiménez de Quesada returns into the burned remnants of Bogotá on February 16, 1538, being

rejoined on May 12 by the contingent of his brother Hernán Pérez de Quesada to divide the spoils. Legend has it that a new capital is created on August 6, when some conquistadores begin erecting a dozen shacks at a spot called Teusa or Teusaquillo on the western riverbank opposite the devastated native city; Jiménez de Quesada, however, does not take any formal steps to legally constitute his holdings until the expeditions of Sebastián de Belalcázar (also spelled Benalcázar, Velalcázar, and so on) and Federmann approach early the next year.

LATE DECEMBER 1537. *Federmann's Southern March.*

Desperate for a success to bolster his sagging prestige, the German lieutenant governor of La Vela de Coro (Venezuela) decides to make a more determined effort southward, starting out through the nearby Tocuyo Valley with a small army. Here he is rejoined by the remnants of his unhappy troops from the Carora Plains, then encounters a rogue Spanish unit under captains Juan Fernández de Alderete and Martín Nieto, who have rebelled against the rule of the new governor of Paria (eastern Venezuela), Jerónimo Dortal, and have ventured westward on their own account.

Federmann therefore arrests these two captains and sends them back into La Vela de Coro to stand trial, while incorporating their men into his company, giving him a total strength of some 300 Spanish troops, 130 mounts, and a host of native bearers. He then strikes out south-southwestward in the wake of von Speyer's lost army, skirting the north Andean foothills. By April 1538, he crosses the Apure River but misses the survivors of von Speyer's expedition—some say deliberately to avoid falling under his superior's orders again—as they are now wearily retracing their steps northward. To make it easier for his troops to forage for food, Federmann subsequently subdivides his small army into three companies, which advance by separate roads and only occasionally reunite.

After a four-month march, his expedition reassembles at the town of San Juan de los Llanos (called Nuestra Señora or La Fragua, that is, "The Forge," by these early explorers), where it is overtaken by another small company of Spanish troops from La Vela de Coro under Capt. Juan Gutiérrez de Aguilón.

MAY 27, 1538. Von Speyer's 20 surviving riders and 80 infantrymen reemerge from the jungle at La Vela de Coro very sickly and worn out after their three-year campaign against the Indians. Another

9 cavalymen and 40 foot soldiers will also return separately under captains Sancho de Murga and Andreas Gundelfinger, having been left behind on the banks of the Sarare River.

Von Speyer finds at La Vela de Coro that he has been suspended from office for almost a year, being replaced as of July 27, 1537, by Dr. Nicolás Navarro, who has been sent out to investigate conditions in the colony. After protracted hearings, the German governor reassumes power toward the end of December 1538, although he is hampered in his decisions by the presence of Navarro.

JUNE 1538. Another Spanish army almost 500 strong departs Popayán, in what is today southwestern Colombia, under Sebastián de Belalcázar, intending to penetrate the Andes from a westerly direction and subdue the legendary native kingdom of Cundirumarca or “Land of the Condors.”

FEBRUARY 1539. After vainly searching for a pass westward through the Andes, Federmann learns that local Ariare Indians receive gold objects in barter from native tribes on the far side of the mountains. He therefore pushes up toward the headwaters of the Arrari River, losing many Indian porters and

horses to the cold weather around Sumapaz. Some 40 days later, he descends into southeastern Colombia’s Fosca Valley with 230 surviving men and 90 horses, only to discover that the entire region has already been subjugated by Jiménez de Quesada and hastily renamed the Nuevo Reino de Granada or “New Kingdom of Granada.” Town plots have even been distributed among Jiménez de Quesada’s 164 soldiers to create the capital of Santa Fé de Bogotá or “Holy Faith of Bogotá.” (Both provincial and city names having been chosen in honor of Jiménez de Quesada’s birthplace of Santa Fé de Granada in Spain.)

Belalcázar arrives in the neighboring Neiva Province around that same time at the head of 150 well-armed men (having detached another 300 to garrison towns that he has occupied along his passage eastward through the Andes from Popayán). Both Federmann and Belalcázar complain that Jiménez de Quesada’s newly conquered territory lies within their respective jurisdictions, yet they opt to submit their disputes for arbitration by Madrid.

EARLY JUNE 1539. Jiménez de Quesada, Federmann, and Belalcázar quit Guataquí (Colombia) to travel down the Magdalena River together aboard

Philipp von Hutten

Philipp von Hutten was born on December 18, 1505, in Birkenfeld Castle at Hassbergen in the principality of Unterfranken in northwestern Bavaria. Little is known about his early life. His older brother Moritz became bishop of the city of Eichstadt. Young Philipp was also a relative of the poet and satirist Ulrich von Hutten.

As a boy of 12, von Hutten was sent to serve as a page and to be educated at the court of Heinrich III, Graf or “Count” von Nassau-Breda-Vianden. The teenaged von Hutten then became attached to the retinue of Emperor Charles V, and so lived in Spain for seven years as of 1522. He traveled with Charles V late in 1529, who was to be crowned Holy Roman Emperor next February 24 at Bologna. Von Hutten remained in Charles V’s service for another four years at Brussels and Toledo, although in an unknown capacity. While at Brussels, von Hutten fell in love with Magdalena von Obritschan, a lady-in-waiting to the emperor’s sister, Maria of Hungary. Lacking enough income to marry apparently inspired him to seek his fortune in the New World.

When the Inca emperor Atahualpa’s fabulous gold ransom was presented by Hernando Pizarro to Charles V at Toledo on February 27, 1534, von Hutten was present. He then used his connections to become enrolled as a captain in the Welsers’ service and sailed from Seville that same October aboard the galleon *Santa Trinidad* with more than 600 mercenary troops under Venezuela’s new governor designate, Georg Hohermuth von Speyer. They reached San Germán de Puerto Rico by January 1535, from where von Hutten wrote the first of a series of letters home to Germany. The next month, the expedition disembarked at La Vela de Coro.

Eleven years of exhausting campaigns ensued. Von Hutten persisted in his quest for the mythic riches of *El Dorado* or “The Golden Man” because, as he wrote to his brother, he could not return home empty handed. Eventually, however, he found only murder at the hands of two of his own men. And because von Hutten had referred to the German mystic Dr. Georgius Faust in one of his letters, the legend arose that his death “under a red moon” had been foretold.



Georg von Speyer at upper right and Philipp von Hutten at lower center, exercising their horses at Seville's port of Sanlúcar de Barrameda prior to departing for the New World in October 1534, by Hieronymus Köler. (Author's Collection)

some brigantines, arriving at Cartagena on June 20 after a few minor skirmishes with Indians along the way. They then continue their journey via Jamaica across the Atlantic to Spain to resolve their jurisdictional disputes.

JUNE 11, 1540. Von Speyer dies at La Vela de Coro just as he is about to depart that port after naming Juan de Villegas as his deputy governor. He had anticipated joining a 150-man advance unit already gathered at Barquisimeto under Capt. Lope Montalvo de Lugo to make another expedition southward.

NOVEMBER 7, 1540. Bishop Rodrigo de Bastidas reaches La Vela de Coro from the island of Santo Domingo with 200 fresh troops and 150 mounts. Finding von Speyer dead, the bishop appoints Philipp von Hutten—a 29-year-old German vet-

eran of von Speyer's previous three-year southward march—to temporarily succeed him in this post.

AUGUST 1, 1541. *Von Hutten's Campaign.* This new acting governor departs La Vela de Coro at the head of 100 riders and a few foot soldiers to campaign southward. Montalvo de Lugo has already refused to place himself under von Hutten's orders, leading his own larger contingent away from Barquisimeto some months earlier to the headwaters of the Casanare River, from whence he gains the far side of its mountain range and enters the service of New Granada (Colombia).

Von Hutten therefore remains at Barquisimeto until the end of January 1542, hoping further volunteers will join his standard, until he too ventures southward following von Speyer's old campaign trail. By August, von Hutten's small army has traversed the Opía River, there learning of a rival Spanish

expedition that has crossed the Andes eastward from Colombia under Hernán Pérez de Quesada in search of *El Dorado*. Von Hutten follows this new continent's path until around Christmas, when he enters the territory of hostile Choque tribesmen. After repeated skirmishes, his column veers southeastward, reaching Caguán by January 1543 and pausing to rest.

Capt. Pedro de Limpias descends Caguán's river with 28 horsemen, sweeping through numerous Choque towns and winning considerable booty over the next three months before rejoining von Hutten's encampment on May 8, 1543. Advancing farther southeastward, the main body thereupon suffers numerous losses battling the Choques until the end of the year. Making a fighting retreat northward into the land of the Guaypíes, von Hutten's exhausted survivors remain at the town of Nuestra Señora (San Juan de los Llanos) until the end of 1544, during which time he further probes the adjacent Omegua territory, finding its inhabitants "strong and bellicose."

Convinced that he needs greater numbers of soldiers to conquer all these regions, the young commander decides to retrace his steps northward early in 1545, heading back toward the Venezuelan coast. They reach the Pauta River by May, where von Hutten's weary army rests for several months before detaching a vanguard of 20 soldiers under the youthful Bartholomäus Welser and the grizzled Pedro de Limpias. This vanguard is to precede the army into La Vela de Coro and have provisions sent to Barquisimeto to refresh the main body upon its homeward leg.

However, upon reaching Acarigua, Limpías and his followers refuse to obey the young German, striking out, instead, toward Cubagua to sail away for the island of Santo Domingo, forsaking the Welser service altogether. This mutinous column is ambushed by a band of natives near Maracapaná—just short of Cubagua—who kill three horses and a Spaniard and wound six others, forcing the remainder to retreat into the Barquisimeto Valley.

Here the Spaniards discover that an independent settlement has been established the previous year, called Nuestra Señora de la Concepción de Tocuyo, whose self-proclaimed "governor" Juan de Carvajal refuses to acknowledge the Welsers' authority. When von Hutten and the young Welser reach this place with their 60 surviving soldiers on April 24, 1546, Carvajal wins over most of their Spanish followers, then provides the two young Germans with a safe-conduct to the coast. They continue their journey toward La Vela de Coro with their reduced band, but a couple of weeks later in the Jirajaras Range, they are murdered while resting in their hammocks by their treacherous followers Gregorio Romero and Diego de Plasencia. On September 16, Carvajal will be tried by Gov. Juan Pérez de Tolosa for inciting these murders and executed the next day.

Although the Welsers will continue to hold legal title to Venezuela for another 10 years—their lease does not officially lapse until April 13, 1556—for all practical purposes their influence extends little beyond the mid-1540s when the Spaniards reassume de facto government over this region.

CONQUEST OF CHILE (1540–1553)

In 1539, the veteran conquistador Pedro de Valdivia seeks permission from Francisco Pizarro to forsake his retirement as a widowed Peruvian landowner in the Canela Valley with a small mine at Porco (Bolivia) and, instead, organize a new expedition to secure the territory known as "Nuevo Toledo"—modern Chile—which successfully resisted Almagro's entry four years previously. Despite receiving Pizarro's grudging approval and appointment as Nuevo Toledo's future lieutenant governor, the 39-year-old Valdivia must sell his estate; he then finds few recruits willing to depart conquered Peru to make an arduous trek down the coastal deserts into the forbidding Chilean landscape. Insufficient funds furthermore oblige him to forge a partnership with a rich financial backer, the recently arrived Spanish merchant Francisco Martínez. Valdivia, moreover, will be burdened with Pizarro's former secretary, the impecunious 25-year-old Pedro Sancho de Hoz, who holds a license from the Crown to colonize the distant Strait of Magellan. He therefore will be released from debtor's prison in Lima to overtake the expedition.

JANUARY 20, 1540. Valdivia departs Cuzco with only 10 or 11 soldiers, less than 100 native porters, and a 32-year-old Spanish widow named Inés Suárez as his consort to initiate his campaign. Hoping to secure a permanent foothold in Chile, they are accompanied by a herd of domestic livestock and carry sacks of seeds for planting crops.

En route, Valdivia gathers several hundred additional porters and attracts another 140 fighting men into his ranks, especially after encountering a defeated 70-man Spanish company at Tarapacá that is retreating out of the Andes under the 29-year-old captain Francisco de Villagra, as well as 25 men under Francisco de Aguirre from Tarija in April.

AUGUST 1540. Pedro Sancho de Hoz, having overtaken the expedition in the Atacama Desert, creeps into Valdivia's tent to assassinate him and assume overall command, but finding only Inés Suárez inside, he is arrested.

OCTOBER 26, 1540. Two months after penetrating into Diaguita territory in the Copiapó Valley, Valdivia formally takes possession of all Chilean territory on behalf of the Crown and, under Pizarro's authority, rechristens these lands as "Nueva Extremadura" in honor of his own natal province in Spain. The headwaters of the Copiapó River where this event takes place will consequently be remembered as the Valle de la Posesión.

DECEMBER 1540. *Foundation of Santiago.* Valdivia's weary army pushes into the long Mapocho Valley, which is framed by snowy Andean peaks to its north and the lesser heights of Cuesta del Prado to its south, and rests at a small farming community nestled between the foot of rocky Huelén Hill—which the conquistador renames Santa Lucía—and the southern bank of the Mapocho River, itself a tributary of the larger Maipó or Maipú. Detachments are sent throughout this fertile landscape, encountering



A 19th-century oil painting by Pedro Subercaseaux of Almagro and his troops celebrating the first Mass in Chile during his initial penetration into this territory in December 1535. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Santiago de Chile)

a mild climate very different from the Atacama Desert and submission from thousands of docile Picunche natives.

Recognizing his base camp's strategic value—set amid bountiful terrain and approachable only through narrow passes—Valdivia decides to summon the regional chieftains and elevate it on February 12, 1541, into a permanent capital named Santiago del Nuevo Extremo or “Saint James of the New Extremadura.” Over the next 12 days, plots are distributed among 126 of his followers and a municipal council is appointed. In June, Valdivia assumes office as the self-appointed “governor” of Chile, throwing off Pizarro's authority.

Gold is soon discovered at nearby Marga Marga, and ship construction commences at Corcón to establish maritime contacts with the main Spanish concentration in Peru.

AUGUST 10, 1541. Valdivia strikes southward with 60 riders to assist the beleaguered shipyard at the mouth of the Aconcagua River, leaving behind a garrison of 32 horsemen, 18 harquebusiers, and 350 Peruvian natives to hold his capital at Santiago.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1541. At 3:00 a.m., Santiago is surprised by several thousand Mapuche warriors under their *toqui* or “chieftain” Michimalonco. They

burn down the Spaniards' daub-and-wattle huts and kill 4 defenders along with 15 mounts before finally being repelled after nine hours of desperate fighting. Shaken by this assault, Valdivia subsequently dispatches his subordinate Alonso Monroy overland to Peru with a small party to beseech assistance and reinforcements, while the survivors erect stout fortress-like homes amid the city's ashes.

FEBRUARY 9, 1552. *Foundation of Valdivia.* After disembarking at the mouth of the Calle-Calle River with a small army and forging inland, Valdivia approaches a native city named Carmenca, 12 miles from the ocean, whose beautiful orchards and broad central avenue so excite his soldiers' admiration that, as they draw near, they spontaneously begin shouting “here shall be founded the city of Valdivia!” Given the site's good defensive qualities, thanks to encircling swamps and streams, as well as a sheltered anchorage capable of receiving both seaborne and river traffic, the governor agrees to establish a permanent outpost.

The settlement is christened Santa María la Blanca de Valdivia or the “White Saint Mary of Valdivia” (Saint Mary of the Snows, better known as the “White Saint Mary,” being chosen as its patron saint), and within a short time, the governor grants plots to 100 of his Spanish followers, the Crown confirming the city's newfound status on March 9, 1554.

CONSOLIDATION (1541–1572)

Having secured the most densely populated, sedentary kingdoms of Mexico, Peru, Colombia, and Venezuela, the Spaniards now turn their efforts to creating a whole new colonial society in the New World by concentrating on erecting cities, farms, and businesses. Military activity is reduced to carrying out exploratory probes against the more remote nomadic tribes and extinguishing occasional flare-ups of internal strife.

APRIL 10, 1541. *Mixtón War.* In northern New Galicia (modern Zacatecas, Mexico), the hitherto pacific Caxcán Indians have for several months refused to pay tribute to the Spaniards. A contingent under Miguel de Ibarra therefore enters their district but is attacked on April 10—during a solar eclipse—and defeated by warriors from Nochistlán; only the Spanish captain and two of his men escape from this ambush with their lives.

Rebellion thereupon grips the nearby towns of Tlaltenango, Juchipila, and Teocaltiche, and 10,000 natives soon gather atop Nochistlán Heights under their leader Tenamaxtle (called “Diego el Zacateco” by the Spaniards). Their example is emulated by the more contentious Tecuexe and Coca peoples as far southwest as the Nayarit Range, all being members of the much larger, semi-nomadic Chichimec nation. Through brutal landgrabs and the imposition



Mexican viceroy Antonio de Mendoza. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City)

of their strange new culture, the conquistadores have alienated most of these far-flung tribesmen, whose spiritual leaders furthermore promise their warriors divine rewards for any extraordinary feats performed during the forthcoming struggle.

After Spanish settlers are pushed south, back into central Jalisco, reinforcements begin rushing to their aid from other parts of Mexico. The first such company under Lt. Gov. Cristóbal de Oñate is defeated, however, while a second led by the veteran commander Pedro de Alvarado fares little better. Twice repulsed while attempting to fight his way up Yahualica Ravine, Alvarado is accidentally crushed on July 1 by the falling horse of his scribe Baltasar de Montoya, dying three days later in Guadalajara, thus dissolving this second relief expedition.

Emboldened by these successes, Tenamaxtle ventures farther south out of his mountain fasts, eventually attacking the city of Guadalajara itself on September 28 at its original site (a native town formerly called Tlacotán, located three miles west of modern Tlacotlán). Despite heavy losses, the garrison manages to resist this incursion, although, once these throngs of attackers withdraw leaving behind thousands of dead from disease and malnourish-

ment, the garrison's 63 frightened Spanish householders decide to abandon this locale and transfer their capital 15 miles farther southwest behind a defensible ravine in the safer Atemajac Valley (where modern Guadalajara now stands).

On October 22, the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza at last quits Mexico City with an army of 300 Spanish riders, 200 infantry, 50 harquebusiers, a like number of crossbowmen, plus perhaps as many as 50,000 native auxiliaries—who in a special dispensation are permitted to wield Iberian weaponry, ride horses, and enslave rebel Indians during the ensuing campaign. This host is joined by further contingents during its march northwestward and, after scattering a rebel concentration at Payacuarán, arrives before Tenamaxtle's mountain stronghold of Nochistlán on November 19. Although only commanding 12,000 Caxcán supporters, the latter refuses a surrender demand the next day. De Mendoza therefore cuts off the defenders' water supply and by November 24 succeeds in fighting his way to the top, capturing 8,000 prisoners—among them, Tenamaxtle.

Rebel survivors then make a final desperate stand at nearby El Mixtón de Juchipila, atop Coína or Coinan Peak, where de Mendoza again calls for their surrender. The defenders ask to speak to their captive leader first, but when Tenamaxtle is brought forth, they instead free him with a bold surprise attack. Furious, the viceroy orders El Mixtón besieged and its stone walls pounded with artillery. On December 7, native turncoats guide a Spanish column to the summit via a hidden route. The next dawn the garrison is overwhelmed, and some 1,500 Chichimecs are slain during the initial onslaught. Later, many of the 3,000 prisoners are savagely executed as a warning against further rebelliousness.

Although Tenamaxtle succeeds in escaping from this massacre atop El Mixtón, the battle brings large-scale hostilities to a virtual close. Thousands of Indians have died or been enslaved, and a string of small keeps are subsequently established along the *camino real* or "king's highway" throughout the area to maintain an uneasy peace. Nevertheless, minor raiding persists for another half century.

JUNE 26, 1541. *Almagro's Revolt.* In Lima on this Sunday morning, a score of embittered supporters of Diego de Almagro the Younger force their way into the undefended palace of Francisco Pizarro and hack the 63-year-old *marqués* to death, along with his half brother Francisco Martín de Alcántara. This uprising has been prompted by the fact that

former supporters of Almagro's father, executed three years previously (see "April 26, 1538" entry in "Conquest of Peru"), have been systematically excluded from the division of Peru's spoils. In a desperate gamble, they proclaim Almagro's teenage son of this same name—the product of a liaison with a native woman from Panama—as the new governor and captain-general.

Young Almagro is soon opposed by the royal envoy Cristóbal Vaca de Castro, who lands in northern Peru and is joined by an army under Alonso de Alvarado, loyal to the dead Pizarro. They press southward together, their ranks swelling with many other adherents, until the two factions finally confront each other at Chupas, just outside Huamanga. A pitched battle is fought here on September 16, 1542, resulting in Almagro's defeat and flight. He is overtaken with a few lieutenants in the Yucay Valley, 25 miles from Cuzco, and carried into that city to be executed. Some of his followers find sanctuary at the fugitive Manco's jungle camps, repaying their reception by instructing the Incas in Spanish tactics.

JUNE 1542. Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo departs Puerto de la Navidad (Mexico) with two ships to continue de Ulloa's exploration of Baja California—also known as "Cardona Island." Rodríguez Cabrillo travels up that peninsula's west coast during the summer months of July through September, making disembarkations at Cabo San Lucas, Cedros Island, and in San Quintín Bay before dying among the Channel Islands, leaving his survivors to return into Navidad by April 14, 1543.

SEPTEMBER 1544. The first Peruvian viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela—in office for only four months—is deposed by Lima's audiencia for his heavy-handed zeal in implementing Spain's New Laws, designed to protect the Indians. Gonzalo Pizarro enters Lima the next month, having rallied popular support because of fears of an alleged Indian uprising, and compels the viceroy shortly thereafter to quit the capital.

Núñez Vela lands in northern Peru and makes his way toward Quito, organizing a rival government. Pizarro eventually marches north against him in the summer of 1545, defeating the viceroy and his followers on January 18, 1546, at the Battle of Añaquito north of Quito. Núñez Vela is killed during this confrontation, leaving Pizarro as undisputed master of all of Peru.

New Laws

Emperor Charles V's proclamation of the *Nuevas Leyes* or "New Laws" on November 20, 1542, to govern his American empire can be said to have marked the beginning of the end of the Spanish conquest. After years of debate at court about the cruelties being endured by so many conquered peoples, the emperor decreed that henceforth the natives of the New World could not be enslaved during wars, rebellions, or under any other pretext. This prohibition curtailed all incentives for further military forays into fringe territories, many of which were now being conducted merely to seize hapless tribesmen for sale as slaves. Large-scale Spanish campaigns therefore soon began to wind down.

The New Laws moreover did not allow Crown or Church officials to be assigned native laborers under the *encomienda* system, while those conquistadores who did enjoy this privilege could no longer pass their title along to their heirs. This practice was supposed to die out within a generation. Various other reforms were enacted as well, such as ensuring that natives who lived near highways were not pressed into service as unpaid *tamemes* or "porters." *Encomienda* vassals also could not be marched any great distance from their homes to serve their Spanish masters.

Hard-bitten veterans living throughout the Americas came to resent these measures, most especially their inability to bequeath their *encomiendas* to their children. Reaction proved so angry, especially in Peru, that Charles V rescinded Article 30 of his New Laws on October 20, 1545, allowing for some *encomiendas* to be inherited once more. All his other reforms, however, were retained, gradually slackening Spanish military aggressiveness and adventurism. Some frontier outposts may have received a dispensation so that the Chichimecan nomads of northern Mexico, for example, could still be hunted as slaves into the early 1600s. But the days of conquistador armies marching in search of native kingdoms were gone forever.

LATE 1544. The fugitive Inca emperor Manco is treacherously murdered in the presence of his young son at Vitcos while playing horseshoes with Diego Méndez and six other Spanish renegades to whom he has given shelter. The latter then attempt to ride into Cuzco to claim credit for this dastardly deed but are overtaken in the jungle by troops under Rimachi Yupanqui and slowly put to death.

APRIL 1545. An immensely wealthy silver deposit is discovered at Potosí (Bolivia).

AUTUMN 1546. A royal emissary from Spain, the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca, advances into northern Peru, gathering adherents against the usurper Gonzalo Pizarro, whom he pronounces guilty of treason in December of that same year.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1546. After probing northward from Nochistlán into the central Mexican highlands, a band of Spanish explorers under Juan de Tolosa—alias *Barbalonga* or “Long-beard”—discovers an immensely wealthy silver ore deposit at the foot of a rocky promontory, which de Tolosa nicknames La Bufa (Basque for “Pig’s Bladder”). Less than a year and a half later, this site will be settled and become the city of Zacatecas.

OCTOBER 21, 1547. Gonzalo Pizarro defeats a royalist army under Alonso de Alvarado at Huarina on the southeastern shores of Lake Titicaca.

APRIL 9, 1548. *Jaquijahuana.* Despite the Huarina setback, Gasca’s royalist army succeeds in driving toward Cuzco, and on this day both armies meet on Jaquijahuana or Sacsahuaman Plain, a few miles west of the city. Some 45 of Gonzalo Pizarro’s closest followers are killed during this battle, while most of the remainder runs across the field to join the royalist ranks. Gasca loses only a single man during this fighting and orders Pizarro executed the next day, thus restoring Madrid’s hold over Peru.

APRIL 22, 1550. This Sunday, the rebellious Nicaraguan brothers Hernando and Pedro de Contreras (Pedrarias Dávila’s grandsons) arrive aboard two frigates at Ancón Bay, five miles southwest of Panama City. Disembarking 262 men, Hernando surprises its sleeping residents at midnight, while Pedro sails into Panama’s harbor the next morning, seizing the two best anchored vessels and crippling the rest.

Their intent is to intercept Gasca, who is bearing a large amount of Peruvian treasure, on his homeward passage toward Spain; however, this royal officer has already proceeded overland for Nombre de Dios two days previously, accompanied by the Panamanian governor Sancho de Clavijo. Finding only 12 chests of gold and 1,000 silver bars—half of Gas-

ca’s bullion—Hernando de Contreras commandeers 40 horses to set off in pursuit, while his second-in-command Juan Bermejo trails along with almost 200 men on foot; Capt. Rodrigo Salguero leads another 25 down a secondary road toward Cruces.

During their absence, Martín Ruiz de Marchena organizes the Panamanian citizenry to resist the rebels’ return, fighting a stiff action around the main square when Bermejo’s infantry reappears at midnight of April 23–24 (having been deterred by a royalist muster farther north at Capira). Driven a mile southwest on to Matanza Hill by dawn, the weary rebel foot soldiers are then reengaged between 8:00 a.m. and 9:00 a.m. and slaughtered over the next several hours; 37 survivors are led back into Panama to be garroted. Learning of this defeat, Hernando de Contreras attempts to circle past the city with his riders and rejoin Pedro’s ships but slips down an embankment and drowns—his head is later displayed in the city. His brother’s vessels are subsequently run down and beaten by a flotilla under Captain Zamorano, and their crews are executed.

NOVEMBER 13, 1553. *Hernández Girón’s Revolt.* The Spanish citizens of Cuzco rebel against Madrid’s continual efforts to introduce pro-Indian legislation, this time under a respected *hacendado* or “estate-owner” named Francisco Hernández Girón. The cities of Huamanga and Arequipa soon join his insurrection, and for the next year, the Spaniards of the southern Andes live in a curious state of rebellion, loudly proclaiming their loyalty to Charles V while demanding a freer hand in exploiting the region’s native populace. A royalist army raised by the *audiencia* or “high tribunal” at Lima eventually defeats Hernández Girón on October 8, 1554, at the Battle of Pucará, north of Lake Titicaca, capturing him at Huamanga in November and beheading him by December.

JANUARY 18, 1567. A plot by certain Peruvian mestizos (offspring of Spaniards and Indians), who call themselves *montañeses* or “mountaineers,” to assassinate Peninsular Spaniards and seize their lands is foiled at both Cuzco and Lima.

MARCH 1572. A Spanish envoy, Atilano de Anaya, is murdered while en route to visit the new Inca emperor Tupac Amaru at Vilcabamba.



Indians with a native prisoner, from *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* by Felipe Huamán Poma de Ayala. (Author's Collection)

APRIL 14, 1572. *Vilcabamba.* In retaliation for de Anaya's slaying, the Peruvian viceroy Francisco de Toledo ends the Spaniards' longstanding truce with the remnants of the Inca empire by declaring war against Tupac Amaru, then two weeks later dispatches an advance unit from Cuzco to prepare the way for an invasion of their last surviving outpost in

remote Vilcabamba. That column is followed by a main army of 250 mounted Spaniards under Martín Hurtado de Arbieta and is accompanied by thousands of native warriors and auxiliaries. A second force of 70 Spaniards under Gaspar Arias de Sotelo is to close in from Abancay, while a third force of 50 under Luis de Toledo Pimentel is to occupy the Cusambi Pass to prevent any escape.

Thirteen miles short of Vitcos, at a place named Coyao Chaca, the 50-man Spanish vanguard under Capt. Martín García de Loyola blunders into a native ambush on June 1, obliging the attackers to retire after two and a half hours of heavy fighting. Three days later, the Spaniards resume their advance; finding Vitcos abandoned, they push higher into the valley. After resting at Pampaconas from June 3 to 16, Hurtado de Arbieta drives deeper into its jungle and learns from an Inca traitor that Tupac Amaru's army is fortified at Huayna Pucará, which is 9 or 10 miles away. The Spanish expedition comes within sight of that place on June 20, and the next dawn a flanking party climbs unseen to some nearby heights, obliging the surprised defenders to retreat toward their keep. When Hurtado de Arbieta follows up with a vigorous frontal assault, the Inca general Colla Topa abandons his position. The same occurs the next day when a Spanish scouting party comes upon another fortification called Machu Pucará, which is forsaken after only token opposition.

At 10:00 a.m. on June 24, Hurtado de Arbieta's army marches into empty, smoldering Vilcabamba. Flying columns are immediately dispatched to overtake the scattering Indians, and after a lengthy pursuit, García de Loyola succeeds in tracking down and capturing Tupac Amaru along with his last surviving general, Huallpa Yupanqui. The Spaniards return triumphantly into Cuzco on September 21, and three days later the last Inca emperor is beheaded on Viceroy de Toledo's orders.

Seaborne Challengers (1526–1609)



I would like to see the clause in Adam's will
which excludes France from the division of the world.

—King François I (1494–1547)

FRANCO-SPANISH WARS (1526–1559)

As Spain's settlers forsake their original Antillean outposts for the rich new kingdoms of the American mainland, traders from other western European nations begin drifting into the void. Madrid will vainly attempt to stem this transatlantic traffic into the West Indies, increasing the envy already taking hold against the Spaniards for their rising fortunes. Old World conflicts soon are transposed to the New World, beginning during the first half of the 16th century, when the rulers of Spain and France fight a series of intermittent conflicts known collectively as the Habsburg-Valois Wars (so named for their respective dynastic surnames). These are largely territorial disputes originating in Italy and Flanders that flare into open conflict during 1494–1495, 1499–1505, 1508–1514, 1515–1516, 1521–1526, 1526–1529, 1536–1538, 1542–1544, and 1552–1559, but which actually constitute an almost continuous period of strife from 1494 to 1559.

The coronation of 20-year-old Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor in October 1520 intensifies this rivalry because—already being king of Spain and duke of the Netherlands—his dominions now completely encircle France. The ensuing round of hostilities from 1521 to 1526, called the First Franco-Spanish War, features numerous depredations by French privateers off the coasts of Spain, the Canaries, and the Azores Islands as they waylay vessels bound to and from the Americas. One such pair of ships, bound from recently conquered Mexico with exotic Aztec spoils, is captured in 1522 by Giovanni da Verrazano or Verrazzano—a Florentine-born navigator in the service of Jean Ango of Dieppe—and the fabulous beauty of the spoils helps to persuade François I to sponsor his own exploration of North America in quest of a Northwest Passage to Asia.

Verrazano makes landfall with his 50-man, 100-ton caravel *Dauphine* near what will later become known as the Carolinas in late February or early March 1524, coasting northward and penetrating through the Narrows into what is today New York City's Upper Bay, hoping that it might prove to be the ephemeral waterway leading to Cathay. After a brief survey, he exits and continues his continental exploration as far northeastward as Newfoundland before regaining Dieppe on July 8 and submitting a favorable report to the king. However, it is not until after that monarch is captured at the Battle of Pavia and compelled to sign the Treaty of Madrid on January 15, 1526, and then responds by forging the so-called Cognac or Clementine League on May 2—uniting France with Florence, Venice, Pope Clement VII, and eventually England—that another three-year round of fighting explodes and the first French corsairs actually strike out across the ocean to make attacks in the West Indies proper.

MARCH 1526. The 130-ton Spanish galleon *San Gabriel* of Rodrigo de Acuña, separated by storms from Juan Garci Jofre de Loaysa and Juan Sebastián de Elcano's seven-ship expedition bound from La Coruña (Galicia) into the South Pacific via the Strait of Magellan, is attacked by three French vessels off the coast of Brazil before anchoring off Santa Catarina Island on March 26 to recuperate over the next few months.

LATE 1527. After touching at Puerto Rico, the English ship *Mary of Guildford* under the explorer John Rutt or Rout—who has previously visited

Newfoundland and the North American shoreline in quest of the fabled Northwest Passage—arrives at the city of Santo Domingo to trade and is amiably received by the city's Spanish inhabitants. However, after the authorities in the harbor castle fire a round at Rutt's anchored ship, he stands back out to sea, disembarking nearby a few days later with 30 or 40 armed men seeking to barter goods for provisions. When this request is refused, the Englishmen pillage a plantation and then depart.

SUMMER 1528. The French corsair vessel *Sainte Anne* out of La Rochelle, which is guided by the



French crossbowman of the Cartier-Roberval expedition in Canada.
(Canadian Department of National Defense)

Portuguese pilot Diogo Ingenios and accompanied by a Spanish caravel seized off Lanzarote in the Canary Islands, traverses the Atlantic and appears near Margarita Island, then briefly seizes the pearl fisheries on June 24 at Cubagua (Venezuela).

Apparently, this same pair of raiders later attacks and sinks a Spanish caravel near Puerto Rico's Cape Rojo on August 11 before sacking and torching the inland hamlet of San Germán at the mouth of the Añasco River the next day, then standing away back across the Atlantic by October. San Germán's residents rebuild and fortify their hamlet.

AUGUST 3, 1529. In Europe, Franco-Spanish relations are temporarily patched up after a month of negotiations by the signing of the Treaty of Cambrai (known as the "Ladies' Peace" because it is negotiated between Charles V's aunt, Margaret of Austria, and the French queen mother, Louise of Savoy).

DECEMBER 3, 1530. *Portugal Claims Brazil.* Fearful of French designs upon Brazil, which include a

few trading outposts that are already beginning to dot its coastline, King João III decides to supersede Portugal's sporadic private efforts to rescue Brazil by dispatching a royal expedition of two ships, two caravels, and a galleon bearing 400 men under his retainer Martim Afonso de Sousa and his brother Pêro Lopes de Sousa.

This expedition arrives from Lisbon off Pernambuco on January 31, 1531, and sights Cape Santo Agostinho the next day. Shortly thereafter, the Portuguese capture three French ships laden with rare woods and other Brazilian produce. The commodore thereupon detaches his subordinate Diogo Leite with two caravels to reconnoiter northeastward from Pernambuco, and João de Sousa is sent back to Europe with a report for the monarch; the main body departs southwestward by February 17 to continue its exploration. They enter Baía de Todos os Santos and encounter a long-time Portuguese resident named Diogo Álvares Correia, who has married a Paraguaçu woman and is known among the Indians as Cararmurú or the "God of Thunder."

APRIL 30, 1531. At midday, de Sousa's expedition enters Guanabara Bay—dubbed Rio de Janeiro three decades previously by Amerigo Vespucci—and because of its vast, sheltered expanse and abundant resources, the Portuguese explorer decides to pause and refresh his ships. A tiny fortification is erected beside his careening beach, and peaceable relations are established with the local Tamoio natives. When de Sousa finally departs on August 1, a small group of Portuguese remain behind, although this foothold will not prosper and is soon abandoned.

AUGUST 12, 1531. De Sousa's expedition gains Cananéia Bay, where other Portuguese and Spanish ships are found lying at anchor. Also found is a decades-old resident named Cosme Fernandes, a Jewish convert and university graduate—hence referred to as the *Bacharel* or "Bachelor"—who was marooned by Vespucci's expedition as long ago as January 22, 1502. He has since married a Carijó princess. There is also a deserter from Rodrigo de Acuña's 1526 visit, named Francisco de Chávez.

Familiar with the native trade patterns, they inform de Sousa of rich mines lying far up the Iguaçu River in Incan territory, so the commodore dispatches 40 harquebusiers and 40 crossbowmen upstream on September 1 under Capt. Pêro Lobo Pinheiro, along with native auxiliaries and with de Chávez as their guide—none of whom will ever

return; they are instead lured out into the Paraná River and massacred by tribal warriors.

Unaware of their fate, de Sousa puts to sea again on September 26 to continue his reconnaissance as far southwest as the River Plate estuary.

JANUARY 8, 1532. Having wrecked his flagship, de Sousa's depleted expedition returns into Cananéia Bay to recuperate before setting out southward 10 days later to establish a permanent Portuguese colony at what is then known as the *Porto do Escravos* or "Slaves Port."

Appearing outside its bar by January 20, de Sousa's vessels cross over after two storm-tossed days to begin erecting a fort and town, from whence they hope to probe inland and finally reach the ephemeral mines of the Incas. This settlement is christened São Vicente—January 22 being St. Vincent's feast day on the Church calendar.

MAY 12, 1532. Having departed from São Vicente to return to Portugal for more colonists, a squadron under Pêro Lopes de Sousa learns of a 30-man French outpost recently installed on Itamaracá Island by the Marseillan privateer Jean Barrau du Perret, commander of the 120-ton *Pèlerine*. He therefore interrupts his homeward passage to capture it after an



Martim Afonso de Sousa consulting at Piaçagüera Bay with its long-time Portuguese resident João Ramalho and the Indian chieftain Tibiriçá before striking inland to found his second settlement at Piratininga, early October 1532. From a 19th-century painting by Benedicto Calixto de Jesus. (São Joaquim Palace, Rio de Janeiro)

Martim Afonso de Sousa

This Portuguese courtier was born at Vila Viçosa toward the end of the 15th century. His father had been a loyal retainer in the household of Bragança, so young Martim was first made a page to Duke Jaime's son, Teodósio. He later became a page under the crown prince João, who would ascend the Portuguese throne in December 1521 as King João III.

At that time, de Sousa was absent with the retinue that accompanied the widowed Queen Leonor de Austria back to her native Spain. He stayed on there to serve under the emperor Charles V and fought against the French. De Sousa also married a Spanish lady, Ana Pimentel, with whom he would have five children. In 1525, he was recalled to Portugal by João III. De Sousa's cousin António de Ataíde, a childhood friend of the young monarch, was ennobled as Conde de Castanheira and appointed ambassador to France. His influence helped de Sousa obtain the titles of prado and alcoentre, as well as a knighthood in the Ordem de Cristo.

De Sousa also displayed an interest in mathematics and navigation. He started studying in 1527 under the young royal tutor Pedro Nunes who was named royal cosmographer two years later. De Sousa's interest helped him obtain command of the Brazilian expedition when it was proposed by his cousin to the king in 1530. De Sousa's two years of exploration were judged so satisfactory that he was rewarded on his return with the title of governor general of the Portuguese East Indies.

He set sail from Lisbon on March 12, 1534, to assume office in the Far East. His first term proved highly successful, with the creation of a fortress at Diu in Cambodia and vigorous campaigns against the rajah of Calcutta. Therefore, after de Sousa's tenure expired in 1538, he was named for a second time late in 1541. His squadron reached Goa by May 6, 1542, but his second administration was marred by corruption and dissension. The Portuguese even fought among themselves, and de Sousa was recalled in 1545. He returned under suspicion of financial irregularities and was never again employed by the Crown. He died in Lisbon on July 26, 1564.

18-day siege and supplants this stronghold with a Portuguese garrison before proceeding out across the Atlantic.

OCTOBER 10, 1532. De Sousa leads a group of settlers inland from São Vicente guided by the Portuguese castaways João Ramalho and Antonio Rodrigues—they have married the daughters of the local Guaná tribal chieftains Tibiriças and Piquerobi and are therefore familiar with the terrain and trusted by the natives. Pushing through the dense mangroves along the Quilombo River Valley, they ascend the formidable Serra do Mar onto the Piratininga Plain to found a second outpost (which will eventually become the modern city of São Paulo).

JANUARY 1533. João de Sousa reaches São Vicente from Portugal, bringing letters from the king informing Martim Afonso de Sousa that he is to be relieved, but he is also to be rewarded with one of the 15 new “hereditary captaincies” into which Brazil will be divided, depending on whether he chooses to remain in the New World or return to Portugal.

MAY 1533. Martim Afonso de Sousa departs São Vicente, leaving his brother Pêro in charge of his properties while he returns to Lisbon, where he will be promoted to governor general of the Portuguese East Indies.

Shortly before leaving São Vicente, Martim Afonso de Sousa learns of the annihilation of Pêro Lobo’s lost expedition up the Iguaçu River, which he believes has been engineered by the *Bacharel* Cosme Fernandes and his Spanish associates. He therefore suggests to the acting military commander who is left behind—the mill owner and militia captain Pêro de Góis da Silveira—that they be arrested.

SUMMER 1533. A body of Portuguese troops under Captain de Góis advances on Iguape to detain Fernandes, who has taken up residence there with his family near his Spanish-born friend Ruy García Mosquera. Apprised of the Portuguese captain’s intent, the defenders rally their numerous retainers, other disgruntled residents, as well as some 150 native archers, and prepare to resist.

To better do so, Fernandes and García Mosquera seize a French privateer anchored off Cananéia and land its artillery to prepare an ambush at a trench that they have dug, covering Icapara Bar outside Iguape (modern Trincheira Bay). De Góis’s disem-

barkation is therefore crushed, 80 of his troops being slain and himself wounded and captured, after which Fernandes and García Mosquera use his ship to mount a destructive counterattack against São Vicente. They thereupon decamp beyond Portuguese jurisdiction, along with their followers.

MAY 10, 1534. The 42-year-old explorer Jacques Cartier arrives off Newfoundland with two ships and 61 men from Saint Malo (France), searching for the Northwest Passage to Asia. After charting part of what are today the shorelines of New Brunswick and Quebec, he returns to Europe by September 5.

AUGUST 9, 1535. Cartier returns to Newfoundland with his 120-ton flagship *Grande Hermine*, the 60-ton *Petite Hermine*, and the 40-ton *Émerillon* and penetrates the Saint Lawrence Seaway as far southwest as Hochelaga (modern Montreal) by October 2 before retiring to winter at the Saint Charles River mouth (modern Quebec City). Although disappointed at not discovering a passage all the way through to the Far East, the Frenchman is nonetheless convinced that this new territory is “rich and wealthy in precious stones,” so he kidnaps a dozen natives before weighing anchor on May 6, 1536, carrying them to Saint Malo by July 16. Cartier’s hope is to spark interest in this new land and thus be granted Crown permission to found a colony, which he mistakenly believes to be called Canada—actually the Huron-Iroquois word for “village.”

LATE AUTUMN 1535. Relations between Paris and Madrid again begin to deteriorate regarding disputes in Savoy and Milan, so numerous French corsairs begin taking up station off the western approaches to Spain and threatening returning ships—especially those bearing treasure from recently conquered Peru. As a result, the Spanish Crown orders the establishment of an *armada de la guardia de la carrera de Indias* or “guard fleet for the Indies route.”

FEBRUARY 1536. War officially erupts between France and Spain when the former occupies Savoy and penetrates the Piedmont, to which the latter replies in June by invading Provence.

NOVEMBER 1536. A lone French corsair vessel cuts out a Spanish ship anchored at Chagres (Panama).

JANUARY 1537. Emperor Charles V and King François I agree to a short-lived truce.

FEBRUARY 1537. Apparently the same single French corsair ship is sighted between Cartagena (Colombia) and Nombre de Dios (Panama), where it captures a Spanish merchantman near the latter port as it is arriving with a consignment of horses from Santo Domingo.

MARCH 15, 1537. This same French vessel materializes before Havana, prompting Gov. Gonzalo de Guzmán to order three of five 200-ton Spanish merchantmen anchored in his port to sortie under Lt. Juan Velázquez. They overtake and trap the shallow-draught intruder inside the harbor at Mariel (then known as the “Puerto de Tablas”), only to run aground when the French vessel escapes out to sea, and so are boarded when this raider reverses course. Two of the Spanish prizes are burned and the third manned by the triumphant Frenchmen, who return before Havana to extort ransom from its hapless villagers. Other French trespassers are also sighted near Santo Domingo.

MAY 31, 1537. A French corsair vessel enters Santiago de Cuba’s harbor and carries off some merchantmen.

JUNE 14, 1537. A dozen Spanish warships and two caravels sortie from Seville under Capt. Gen. Blasco Núñez Vela, becoming the first fleet of warships officially assigned to escort an outward-bound American convoy, reinforce garrisons throughout the Caribbean, lift the blockade of Havana, and then return to Spain.

OCTOBER 1537. A French ship and auxiliary out of Bayonne, bearing a total of 150 men, arrive off the Lesser Antilles to prowl the Spanish West Indies.

SPRING 1538. This pair of Bayonne ships raid Ocoa, Puerto Hermoso, and La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti), bringing maritime traffic off Santo Domingo to almost a complete standstill.

APRIL 4, 1538. The large Bayonne ship pillages a Spanish brigantine exiting from Santiago de Cuba, then the next day penetrates its harbor and engages the caravel *Magdalena* of Diego Pérez as well as a small two-gun battery ashore. The shallow draught of Pérez’s craft allows him to gain the Frenchmen’s quarter, though, peppering the intruders with his four culverins from 11:00 a.m. until they finally withdraw an hour past midnight on April 6, having

sustained about a dozen casualties. Three Spaniards die during this fray, and the French ship eventually exits Santiago Bay three days later.

MAY 1538. A French corsair ship appears near Havana and robs several houses and churches ashore. Upon learning of this attack at the island’s capital of Santiago de Cuba, 500 miles farther east-southeast, the new captain general, Hernando de Soto, dispatches the military engineer Mateo Aceituno with 100 men. Within a few weeks of their arrival, they throw up the 6-gun fort, Castillo de la Fuerza, to guard Havana’s entrance channel (*see* “June 7, 1538” entry in “Expansion beyond Mexico”).

JUNE 1538. San Germán de Puerto Rico is sacked and burned by 80 French raiders from the Bayonne ship. During their retirement back toward their boats, they are overtaken during a rainstorm by 30 mounted Spaniards, who attack while the Frenchmen’s powder is wet. Fifteen raiders are therefore killed and another three taken prisoner, who then are exchanged for San Germán’s looted church bells, plus other booty.

JUNE 15, 1538. In Europe, French and Spanish plenipotentiaries agree upon a 10-year truce negotiated at Nice by Pope Paul III, although it is some time before word of this cessation of hostilities reaches the New World.

EARLY JUNE 1540. French corsairs disembark from a single ship near San Germán de Puerto Rico, sacking and burning the town, along with its outlying district.

AUGUST 1540. A leaking, 400-ton English ship with a French pilot commandeers a Spanish merchantman laden with sugar and hides off Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti), setting its crew ashore before transferring aboard their prize. They then send their leaking vessel to the bottom and sail home in safety.

MAY 1541. As Franco-Spanish relations again begin to fray over differences regarding the succession in Milan, a 35-man French corsair ransacks a Spanish caravel off Puerto Rico. This same craft then sinks another victim off Mona Island before disembarking some men to loot ashore. It proceeds next to Cape de la Vela (Colombia) and robs a Spanish caravel of 7,000–8,000 ducats’ worth of pearls at Portete.

AUGUST 1541. Cartier returns to Canada with five ships, having brought an advance contingent of a few hundred settlers from France to establish a foothold for a new colony. The titular head of this enterprise—the impoverished, 41-year-old courtier Jean-François de La Rocque, Seigneur de Roberval—is to follow next year with many more colonists, hoping in the process to rebuild his fortune by serving as “lieutenant general of Canada” and exploiting its rich mineral deposits.

While awaiting his arrival, Cartier erects a small fort called Charlesbourg Royal at Cap Rouge, nine miles above present-day Quebec City, and explores the Saint Lawrence River until wintertime.

EARLY DECEMBER 1541. Thirteen well-armed French vessels ransack a Portuguese caravel off Guyana, then are joined by three other vessels to press deeper into the Caribbean and pillage the coastlines of Margarita Island, Curaçao, and the entrance to the Lake of Maracaibo (Venezuela).

JUNE 8, 1542. Roberval reaches Newfoundland with the ships *Valentine*, *Sainte Anne*, and *Lèchefraye*, bringing 100 more French colonists to join Cartier at Charlesbourg Royal (Quebec). Instead, he is surprised to meet his subordinate in the Newfoundland harbor of Saint John’s. Cartier had earlier abandoned this advance foothold because of the harshness of the past winter and the hostility from the Iroquois. Cartier refuses Roberval’s order to return to Canada with him, instead continuing toward France with his own survivors.

Undismayed by Cartier’s disobedience, Roberval proceeds to Charlesbourg Royal and reestablishes that outpost, then begins exploring Canada. However, although the population of his community is too numerous to be directly assaulted by the Indians, many of the French settlers are ill prepared to withstand the ensuing winter, and so they suffer cruelly from cold, famine, and disease. The next September (1543), they are retrieved by a rescue mission under Paul d’Austillon, Seigneur de Sauve-

Roberval

Jean-François de La Rocque is believed to have been born around 1500 at Carcassonne. His father was serving at that time as the city’s *connétable* or “governor,” being a well-connected member of the king’s household. Young Jean-François was raised at the royal court in the circle of the crown prince, François d’Angoulême. As they grew older, both young men campaigned together in Italy. They also hunted deer on the La Rocque estates in the Ardennes and Languedoc. When his parents died, Jean-François became Seigneur de Roberval. He also was knighted and made a flag-bearer in the king’s army.

This connection would save Roberval in 1535, when he was temporarily outlawed along with other Protestants. Although François I restored his childhood friend into his good graces by 1540, Roberval had lost his fortune. This financial need seems to have inspired his colonizing venture to Canada. On October 17, 1540, the king authorized him to establish a colony there, with fortified towns and churches to spread “the Holy Catholic faith.” To do so, Roberval was given a subsidy of 45,000 livres. François also allowed him to take criminals from jails to bolster his manpower. Roberval moreover received a royal commission as “viceroys and lieutenant general of Canada” on January 15, 1541.

Yet these measures were not enough. Although his pilot Jacques Cartier left that same May 1541 with a first contingent, Roberval remained in France to raise more money. He sold some of his properties, borrowed funds, and even associated with such piratical rovers as Bidoux de Lartigue. The English ambassador soon complained to François about Roberval’s illegal seizures of English ships, for which the king reproved him. The Spaniards were also uneasy about Roberval’s intentions, fearing a design against their American holdings.

Roberval finally set sail with three ships from La Rochelle on April 16, 1541. Although surprised to find Cartier retreating from Canada, he pressed on to establish his own foothold. He treated his colonists with much severity, and his success was so uncertain that Paul d’Austillon, Seigneur de Sauveterre and captain of the ship *Sainte Anne*, was sent to France that same autumn to ask for the king’s help. François signed an order on January 26, 1543, sanctioning a rescue mission.

After enduring a harsh winter, Roberval and his survivors happily left the next summer. The “gold” and “diamonds” that he carried home also proved worthless, so the expression “as false as Canadian diamonds” became popular. Roberval was given fortification work at Senlis near Paris in 1544, but struggled for the rest of his days against debt. His holdings were mortgaged in 1555, and his *château* threatened with seizure. Five years later, he emerged one night from a Calvinist meeting in Paris, only to be murdered by Catholic extremists at the corner of the Cimetière des Innocents.

terre, and France's North American aspirations will be entirely forsaken for the next 60 years.

MID-JULY 1542. In Europe, tensions once more escalate between France and Spain, the Pyrenees becoming the scene of clashes one month later, followed by open declarations of war by both nations before the end of August.

FEBRUARY 1543. Two French ships and a small auxiliary attack San Germán de Puerto Rico, burning it and making off with four caravels lying in its harbor. A pair of Spanish galleons and two lateen-rigged caravels on the neighboring island of Santo Domingo are manned with 250 volunteers and set out in pursuit under Ginés de Carrión, captain of the galleon *San Cristóbal*. Five days later he returns, having captured the enemy flagship and 40 of its crew, while sinking the smaller French consort.

Despite this victory, San Germán's inhabitants are too frightened to return to their dwellings, preferring instead to relocate their town to Santa María de los Remedios in Guadianilla Bay (modern Guayanilla).

JUNE 16, 1543. *Antillean Sweep.* Five French corsair ships and a smaller consort bearing 800 men assault Venezuela's Margarita Island, then the next month burn the once-rich pearl-fishing town of Nuevo Cádiz on adjoining Cubagua, whose population has already declined to scarcely 10 Spanish inhabitants because of the exhaustion of its pearl beds and the devastation suffered by a destructive hurricane on Christmas Day 1541.

According to some Spanish sources, these raiders are commanded by Roberval ("*Robertval*" or "*Roberto Baal*"), but the French raiders may have borne commissions from him or been intending to visit his Canadian colony on their homeward leg.

JULY 16, 1543. Four of these same large French corsair vessels and a smaller consort arrive undetected before Santa Marta (Colombia), landing between 400 and 500 men the next noon to occupy the port. They remain in possession for seven days, destroying everything of value before retiring with four bronze cannons and other booty.

JULY 24–25, 1543. Under cover of darkness, the French squadron—piloted into Cartagena's bay by a Spanish turncoat embittered at a punishment received from Lt. Gov. Alonso Vejines—deposits 450 raiders

ashore, who then carry this Colombian port with ease in a three-pronged attack. Its newly consecrated bishop, Fr. Francisco de Santamaría y Benavides, and an overawed populace surrender 35,000 pesos in specie, plus another 2,500 from the royal coffers, before the enemy withdraws. The next month, the raiders are anchored off Cape de la Vela, selling their booty to local residents.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1543. A single 20-man vessel detached from this same French squadron pillages a rich Spanish merchantman off Santiago de Cuba, then attempts a disembarkation, only to be repelled by its two-gun battery under Andrés Zamora. The raider emerges from the bay and proceeds westward, intending to reunite with its main force off Isla de Pinos.

The French squadron, meanwhile, seizes five vessels in early October that are anchored off the new Spanish town of Santa María de los Remedios in Guadianilla Bay (modern Guayanilla), although the raiders are prevented from disembarking.

OCTOBER 31, 1543. The reunited, homeward-bound French squadron appears before Havana, disgorging more than 200 men at San Lázaro Inlet. Advancing across open country, the invaders are checked by fire from La Fuerza Fortress. They retreat toward their ships, leaving behind 20 dead. The rovers then depart the Caribbean altogether via the Straits of Florida.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1544. After an imperial army has fought its way to within sight of Paris, the Treaty of Crêpy is signed in Europe, marking an end to this latest round of Franco-Spanish hostilities. Although François I has been constrained by this treaty to recognize Spain's sovereignty in the Caribbean, some fighting will still persist in the New World. Cuba and Puerto Rico, in particular, continue to be harassed by French interlopers.

LATE OCTOBER 1544. Three French ships prowl past San Juan de Puerto Rico, landing at depleted San Germán to pillage and burn the town. Off Cape de la Vela (Colombia), another trio of French interlopers intercepts passing vessels; they also sell contraband items to local Spanish citizens.

1545. Five French corsair vessels and a small auxiliary surprise the new Colombian port town of Río-hacha (constituted only as of February 2), seizing

five Spanish vessels lying in its roadstead. Unable to disembark, the raiders subsequently arrange a truce with its residents, eventually selling them 70 slaves. A similar visit by these same Frenchmen, albeit entirely peaceful, ensues at Santa Marta.

JANUARY 17, 1546. More than 100 French raiders under one “Hallebarde” disembark from a caravel and a smaller vessel. They ransack Baracoa in northeastern Cuba, scattering most of its inhabitants inland. The second of these Huguenot craft—after becoming separated in a storm—proceeds westward to Havana, where it extorts 700 ducats to spare its terrified citizenry’s dwellings.

APRIL 17, 1546. Hallebarde sneaks into Santiago de Cuba under cover of darkness, boarding a Spanish caravel at dawn that has recently arrived from *Tierra Firme* or the “Spanish Main” (modern Venezuela-Colombia). In little more than one hour, he carries this vessel out, with its crew still locked below decks, to loot at his leisure—an action described as “of great daring” by Gov. Antonio de Chávez.

SPRING 1547. Two privately raised Spanish coast-guard caravels capture a French ship off Mona Island.

JULY 25, 1547. Henri II ascends the throne of France.

SEPTEMBER 1547. A French ship approaches Santa Marta (Colombia) but retires when its 16-man boat crew is lured inshore and captured.

LATE MAY 1548. A French corsair vessel is sighted prowling off Santo Domingo.

AUGUST 1548. A French two-master sneaks into the harbor at Santa Marta under cover of darkness, and although crewed by only 40 men, sends a boarding party to seize Pedro Díaz’s merchantman in its roadstead. The next dawn, the rovers threaten to burn this prize if a ransom is not paid from the town. When local garrison commander Luis Manjarrés calls out his militiamen, the French bombard the town’s buildings throughout most of the day, killing two black slaves.

Shortly thereafter, these same attackers seize two Spanish caravels farther east off Cape de la Vela, as the caravels make from La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti) toward Nombre de Dios. Both Spanish craft are robbed and scuttled.

Galleons

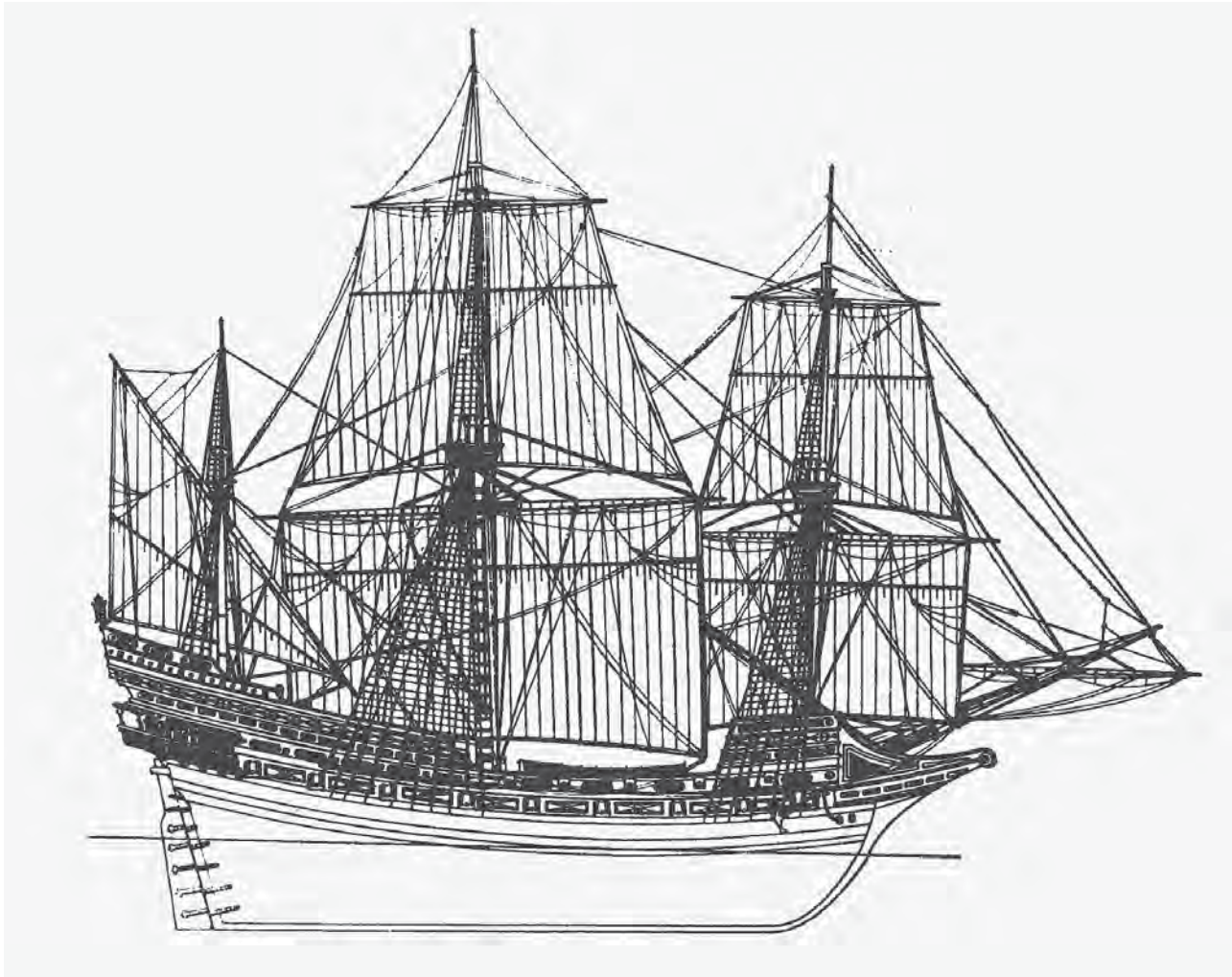
Originally, this name did not refer to a specific type of vessel nor was it confined to ships from Spain. Rather, it was applied to a gradual evolution in 16th-century naval architecture, in which the stubby “round ships” and car-racks of the medieval age were replaced by longer, lower-hulled vessels. The Latin term *galion* had existed for centuries, but it was applied to different configurations in various countries. However, once commercial routes lengthened after the discovery of the New World, shipwrights throughout western Europe began launching “galleons” with more tapered profiles so that they could move more easily across ocean expanses.

No country had a greater incentive than Spain, especially after the conquests of Mexico and Peru during the 1520s and 1530s, which vastly increased the demands of its transatlantic traffic. The 150- to 200-ton vessels in use soon made way for larger ships with pronounced bowsprits, smaller forecastles, and lowered silhouettes. Spain’s development of its *galeones* was greatly boosted when their “captain general of the Ocean Sea,” Adm. Álvaro de Bazán Sr., ordered the construction of a dozen such vessels in 1550 to help defend Spain’s Atlantic approaches. Their design proved to be much better than Mediterranean styles for resisting storms and enemy raiders.

Similar improvements were also being made in yards throughout England, France, Holland, and Italy, but it was the wealthy silver flow from the Americas that financed the emergence of the true Spanish galleons by the early 1580s. In addition to a more seaworthy design, heavier timbering allowed for artillery to be concentrated upon their lower decks, enhancing stability and cargo capacity. These refined vessels’ primary function was to circulate from Seville or Cadiz to Cartagena, Panama, Veracruz, and Havana, then return. Annual departures of such fleets of galleons or *flotas de galeones* became so regular that, to distinguish between them, it became customary in Hispanic countries to refer to convoys bound for Mexico as *flotas*, while those sailing for *Tierra Firme* were called the *galeones*.

NOVEMBER 1548. A trio of French vessels are seen prowling off San Germán de Puerto Rico, Mona Island, and Santo Domingo, allegedly wishing to trade, though the region’s Spanish inhabitants remain too mistrustful to oblige.

AUGUST 1549. A French corsair galliot, propelled by 18 oars per side, falls upon a homeward-bound Spanish convoy off Santo Domingo, cutting out a



A late 16th-century Spanish galleon, as depicted in a modern drawing by Berenguer. Characteristic features include its prominent bowsprit, tiny forecastle, and tapered hull. (Museo Naval, Madrid)

ship laden with sugar and hides, a caravel bearing 150 slaves, plus two smaller island traders.

NOVEMBER 1550. After pillaging a Spanish caravel off Dominica, the 80-man French ship *Sacre* of Bordeaux under Capt. Menjouin de La Cabane and a smaller consort attempt to snap up two stragglers from a nine-ship convoy off Santo Domingo; they are repelled by its warship escort. Unfazed, the rovers then descend upon LaYaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti) and rob a pair of Spanish vessels of 20,000 pesos. They make off with one ship as a prize, eventually sailing to Bayonne to dispose of their booty.

LATE DECEMBER 1551. The 42-year-old French Huguenot captain Guillaume Le Testu of Le Havre, sailing past the Island of Trinidade after exploring Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, clashes with two

Portuguese ships, and his ship sustains heavy damage before winning free and returning to Europe.

APRIL 1552. With hostilities flaring up in Europe between France and Spain, various disembarkations are made by French corsairs on Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, as well as interceptions of four Spanish merchantmen.

JUNE 18, 1552. A French ship becomes becalmed before Nombre de Dios; its 14-man crew is captured.

AUGUST 29, 1552. Three Spanish warships and an auxiliary, manned by 130 men—the coast-guard force for Hispaniola under Cristóbal Colón y Toledo, Columbus's 29-year-old grandson—are lost in a hurricane, along with 16 vessels anchored in Santo Domingo's harbor.

SEPTEMBER 1552. A French corsair ship and smaller consort pillage a Spanish ship off Santo Domingo before retiring to Saona Island. These same Frenchmen then return to Santo Domingo's southeastern shore to make off with a ship recently launched at the Zoco River.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1553. A Spanish caravel serving as a dispatch vessel or *aviso* is taken by French rovers off Mona Island.

MARCH 1553. *Le Clerc's Sweep.* A French squadron from Le Havre comprising the royal warships *Claude* under peg-legged Commo. François le Clerc (alias "Jambe de Bois" or "Pie de Palo"), *Espérance* under Jacques de Sores, and *Aventureux* under Robert Blondel arrive in the Antilles accompanied by three large and four small privateers, plus two Spanish prizes seized at Santa Cruz de la Palma in the Canaries. They bear a total of 800 men with which to raid Spain's West Indian outposts.

San Germán de Puerto Rico, Mona and Saona islands, and Azua are attacked in quick succession before Le Clerc deposits a large landing force on April 29 to sack Monte Cristi on northern Santo Domingo and then La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti), after which the rovers stand back toward Puerto Rico. Spanish residents among the islands feel powerless to resist, for not only are four of these French craft galliots "whose oars ensure none can escape [them]" but half their total complement consists of harquebusiers. Laden with hides, sarsaparilla, and other booty, the French raiders make a final descent upon Santiago de Cuba before exiting the Caribbean in late May.

MARCH 1554. Having reentered the West Indies the previous month, three French ships under Le Clerc and Sores appear before San Juan de Puerto Rico, and on Palm Sunday—March 18—they raid more than three miles inland near San Germán. Afterward, they take up station off Saona Island, intercepting Spanish vessels, then later switch their base of operations to Mona Island.

APRIL 29, 1554. Off Cabo Frio (Brazil), the French ship *Marie Bellotte* of Dieppe captures a Portuguese vessel.

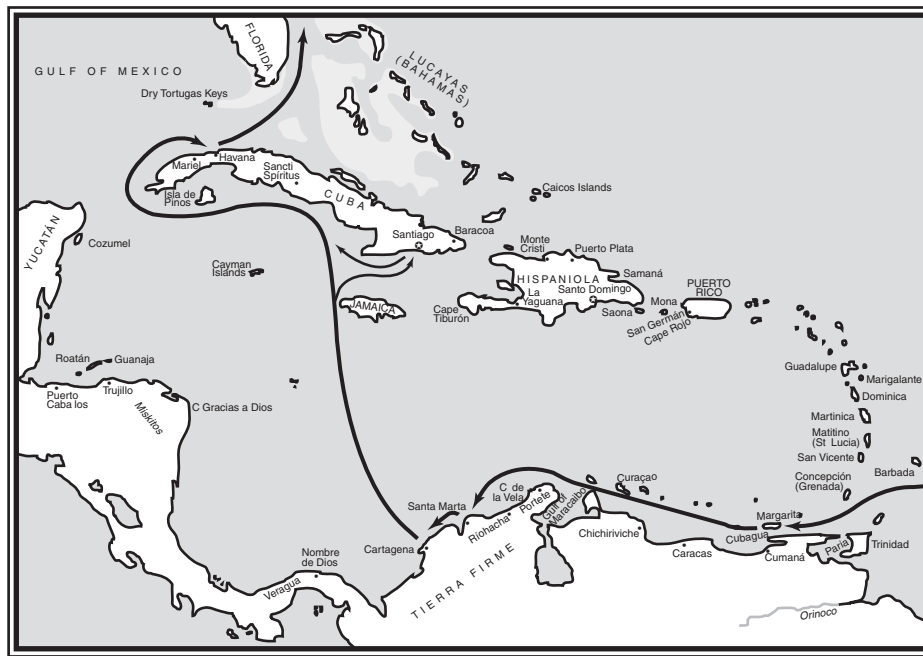
JULY 1, 1554. *Destruction of Santiago de Cuba.* Le Clerc's subordinate, the Huguenot corsair Sores of La Rochelle, leads four ships and four smaller auxil-



Engraving of an early 16th-century warship, by Pieter Brueghel. (Museo Naval, Madrid)

iaries into Santiago de Cuba harbor under cover of darkness and slip 300 men ashore; they fall upon its sleeping residents and occupy the city without resistance. Bishop Fernando de Uranga and a half-dozen other prominent citizens are subsequently held hostage for almost a month and a half, until a ransom of 80,000 pesos can be raised. The French thereupon destroy Santiago's fortress and burn several buildings before retiring on August 16, sparing the church in exchange for all its silver plate.

LATE AUGUST 1554. The French privateers *Barbe* and *Marguerite* under Vincent Bocquet of Dieppe, recently arrived in the West Indies, espy five large merchantmen and nine caravels off San Germán de Puerto Rico who have departed Santo Domingo around August 20 for Spain. Patiently tracking them across the Atlantic for more than 40 days, as far as the Azores, Bocquet finally seizes the caravel *Tres Reyes Magos* of the master Benito García when it becomes becalmed early in October, along with the *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* of Alonso González and the *Santiago* of Diego Marin. The *Santa Catalina* of Francisco Morales Camacho is furthermore ransacked before sinking, while the *María* of Francisco Hernández de León, the *San Andrés* of Alonso Cano, and the *San Juan* of Rodrigo Madera all run aground in the Azores and lose most of their cargoes. The



French sweeps through the Caribbean in 1555.

triumphant rovers return home laden with gold, cochinitilla, and pearls, leaving the shrunken remnants of this Spanish convoy to limp into Cadiz by December 7.

OCTOBER 1554. French blockaders encircle the entrance of Santiago de Cuba.

MARCH 1555. Three French ships disembark 150 men on southern Cuba, who march inland and burn Sancti Spiritus.

JULY 10, 1555. *Sack of Havana.* At dawn, two sails are spotted near this port, piloted by a Spanish renegade. They disgorge several score corsairs a mile and a half away at San Lázaro Inlet, under the Huguenot leader Sores. They advance inland and take Havana's 12-gun Fuerza battery from the rear, burning its wooden door to gain access, and thereby compelling its two-dozen defenders under *alcaide* Juan de Lobera to surrender by sunup of July 12. The French then occupy the town and bring four vessels into its harbor to careen.

While in possession of Havana, Sores demands a ransom of 30,000 pesos, bread, and meat in exchange for sparing its buildings, plus 500 pesos for every Spanish captive that he holds and 100 for each slave. Instead, Gov. Dr. Pérez de Angulo (who has managed to escape into the interior) launches a sur-

prise assault at dawn of July 18 with 35 Spanish, 220 black, and 80 Indian volunteers, only to have this attack repelled; the startled French corsairs slaughter their 30 Spanish prisoners (all except Lobera).

The next morning, a wrathful Sores hangs numerous slaves by their heels at prominent places along Havana's outskirts, using them for target practice in a brutal gesture intended to discourage any further Spanish assaults. His men then level the town and buildings throughout its surrounding countryside up to five miles inland before finally retiring back out to sea on August 5 with the fort's 12 cannons.

AUGUST 1555. French Huguenots land at Santa Marta, sacking and burning its churches.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1555. A boatload of 12 French raiders from Guy Mermi's trio of ships—anchored off Mariel (Cuba)—cut out a Spanish caravel laden with hides.

OCTOBER 4, 1555. Mermi's trio of French ships penetrates Havana's harbor, landing 50 men to occupy its town. Discovering it to be still defenseless since Sores's raid in July, they are followed within a few days by at least a dozen other intruders, who rest their crews and careen their vessels. Foraging parties probe inland, securing some commercial

booty—principally hides—before putting back out to sea some three weeks later.

This same month, a French assault also occurs at Puerto Plata in northern Santo Domingo.

OCTOBER 25, 1555. In Europe, the emperor Charles V abdicates, dividing his territories between his son, who becomes Philip II of Spain and Sicily, and his brother Maximilian, who becomes the new Holy Roman Emperor.

NOVEMBER 10, 1555. *Villegagnon in Brazil.* Two well-armed vessels arrive outside Rio de Janeiro's uninhabited Guanabara Bay (known to the French as Iteronne or Genève), having departed Dieppe on August 14 with a mixed group of 600 Calvinists and Catholics under 45-year-old Nicolas Durand, Seigneur de Villegagnon, knight commander of the Order of Saint John of Malta and vice admiral of Brittany, who is bearing orders from Adm. Gaspar de Châtillon, Comte de Coligny, to found a new settlement in this region to be called *France Australe* or "Southern France" (also *France Antarctique* or "Antarctic France").

His colonists disembark on Ratier (modern Laje) Island, then transfer northwest on November 13 to nearby Sergipe Island, the name of which is in the process of being changed to Villegagnon (modern Villegaignon Island). Atop this island, they erect a redoubt named Fort de Coligny, with a smaller two-gun battery commanding its channel. A town named Henryville is also founded, and a couple of relatively prosperous years ensue, with the settlers planting crops and enjoying peaceable relations with their Tamoio and Tupinambá neighbors.

The Portuguese governor general Duarte da Costa at Salvador (Bahia) is informed early the next year by São Vicente's regional governor Brás Cubas about this French toehold, but the former treats the report dismissively, believing the foreigners' presence to be merely a transitory shore camp set up by rovers. Upon realizing its permanent nature, though, King João III has his ambassador João Pereira Dantas lay protests before the government in Paris and on July 23, 1556, appoints the energetic Mem de Sá to replace the Brazilian governor general. Mem de Sá takes ship from Lisbon in late April 1557 but is slowed by a difficult Atlantic crossing.

The French colonists, in the meantime, have been reinforced on February 26, 1557, by a second expedition of three ships under the flagship *Rosée* that brings an additional 18 cannon and 300 people



Nicolas Durand, Chevalier de Villegagnon. (Library of Congress)

under Villegagnon's nephew Paris Legendre, Sieur de Bois le Compte le Meaux. Religious dissension, however, also arrives with this second contingent, eventually fracturing the colony's harmony and prompting Villegagnon to revert to Catholicism. A group of Calvinist dissidents departs aboard the old ship *Jacques* on January 4, 1558, followed by Villegagnon himself in October 1559—four months before Mem de Sá's first Portuguese descent.

EARLY 1556. A lone French vessel raids Santa Marta, Cabo de la Vela, Puerto Plata, Havana, and Margarita Island.

FEBRUARY 5, 1556. In Europe, a truce—the Treaty of Vaucelles—is arranged between France and Spain, which is meant to endure for five years but promptly begins to break down when the French monarch Henri II sends troops under Henri, Duc de Guise, to Italy that same spring in support of the anti-Spanish machinations of Pope Paul IV.

The Chevalier de Villegagnon

Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon was born at Provins in the Seine-et-Marne region of France sometime in 1510. His father was a local magistrate, who was ennobled a few years later. He died when Nicolas was only 11 years old. Nicolas was already adept at Latin, and his mother sent the young boy that same year to the Hôtel de Auges in Paris. He studied at the religious schools of La Manche and Montaigu in preparation for the University of Paris. John Calvin was among his classmates.

Durand graduated from that university in 1530 with a law degree and was admitted to the bar at Orléans. But his attempt to find a post in the Parlement of Paris failed. As a result, he approached his uncle Philippe Villers de l'Isle-Adam, grand master of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem, and was admitted into that order the next year, which had just been granted the island of Malta by King François I. (Although his proper name was Nicolas Durand, Seigneur de Villegagnon, this knighthood meant that he became more commonly known as "the Chevalier de Villegagnon.")

Tall and athletic, the 21-year-old Villegagnon plunged into military and naval pursuits. In 1534, he served as an observer in the fleet gathered at Mallorca by the emperor Charles V to make an attempt against Tunis or Algiers. Six years later, he was sent to the French ambassador in Venice (incidentally befriendng the poet François Rabelais). Villegagnon was given a letter from the French king to the Turkish sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, and returned to Turin next year with his reply. He also presented François with diagrams of the duke of Milan's forts.

Pleased with his services, the French government included Villegagnon among the 400 knights of Malta attached to Charles V's expedition against Algiers in 1541. Although only an observer, Villegagnon was wounded by a lance thrust into his left arm. While convalescing in Rome, he published a brief account of this campaign in Latin. The next year, he was sent to Budapest to report on a clash between the emperor and the Turks. Villegagnon returned in time to take part in the French defeat of the Milanese at Cerisoles and was put in command of the castle at Ponte Stura until 1547.

That same summer, he was recalled by the new French king Henri II to sweep the Brittany coast of English raiders. Villegagnon then sailed his four galleys in 1548 around Scotland and up the River Clyde to Dumbarton Castle to bring away the six-year-old Mary, Queen of Scots. More sorties ensued against Scotland and Guernsey, until he was sent to Malta in 1551, which was besieged by the Turks. While bringing back word of the order's victory, Villegagnon was briefly held in Cremona Castle by the Austrians.

Released thanks to the emperor, Villegagnon was appointed in September 1552 vice admiral of Brittany, with orders to fortify Brest against the English. While engaged in this work, he heard tales of Brazil, so made a discreet visit to Cabo Frio two summers later. He learned that the Portuguese avoided Guanabara Bay because of its hostile natives, so he decided to plant a colony there. Returning to France, he made a four-hour presentation before Henri and his mistress, Diane de Poitiers. The king agreed late in 1554, granting 11,000 livres toward this project. Villegagnon raised the rest from investors at Dieppe. However, his dream of a Utopian settlement in the New World ended bitterly. He died at Beauvais on January 9, 1571.

SPRING 1556. Capt. Guillaume Mesmin of La Rochelle appears in the Antilles with a large ship and smaller auxiliary, manned by 150 men in total, and seizes a Spanish ship that becomes wrecked on Bermuda during its homeward passage.

SUMMER 1556. A couple of skirmishes occur off Jamaica, as its local Spanish authorities succeed in capturing a few French smugglers who have come to trade.

SPRING 1557. Hispano-French warfare resumes openly in Europe, with an army invading France and defeating the forces of Henri II outside St. Quintin by August 19.

NOVEMBER 17, 1557. On orders from the Crown directed to Chile's governor Jerónimo de Aldunate,

the Spanish seaman Juan Fernández Ladrillero sets sail from the port of Concepción with his ship *San Luis* and the *San Sebastián* under Francisco Cortés de Ojeda to chart the Strait of Magellan. A storm separates the vessels on February 15, 1558, the latter being lost and its crew extemporizing a craft from their wreckage named *San Salvador*, aboard which they regain Valdivia by October 1. Fernández Ladrillero has meanwhile struggled into the strait's western entrance by late July 1558, charting much of its shorelines before reemerging early in March 1559, returning into Valdivia by mid-June.

JANUARY 1558. After a storm-tossed Atlantic voyage, Mem de Sá finally reaches Salvador (Bahia) to assume office as Brazil's new governor general. His first task is to dispatch his son Fernão de Sá to assist Capt. Vasco Fernandes Coutinho at Espírito Santo,

as well as to travel himself to Ilhéus, as both captaincies are in the grip of native unrest.

SPRING 1558. French corsairs renew their West Indian depredations, and the Spanish merchantman *Ascensión* of Capt. Bernaldino Rizo is taken off Saona Island. Four French ships out of Bayonne and Saint-Jean-de-Luz also sack Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras).

JUNE 1558. French vessels appear within Santiago de Cuba's vast harbor, occupying its desolated town

for 10 to 12 days before receiving a meager ransom of 400 pesos, then departing.

EARLY 1559. Seven French corsair vessels under Jean Martin Cotes and Jean Bontemps appear off Santa Marta (Colombia), taking a small amount of booty, against token opposition.

APRIL 3, 1559. In Europe, the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis is signed between Philip II of Spain and Henri II of France, marking an end to the Habsburg-Valois Wars.

PRIVATE WARFARE (1559–1587)

The agreement signed between two Catholic sovereigns at Cateau-Cambrésis does little to restrain the activities of Huguenot corsairs, who continue to visit the New World in pursuit of their own ends. Such independent behavior is further exacerbated by the death three months later of 40-year-old Henri II in a jousting accident, leaving France's central government greatly weakened.

Yet the corsairs' heyday proves short-lived, for in April 1562 a civil war erupts in France between a Catholic faction led by François, Duc de Guise, and the Huguenots under Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé. The resultant 36 years of violence—known collectively as the French Wars of Religion—drain the Huguenot rovers of much of their expansionist vigor, because they must concentrate upon this fratricidal struggle rather than their overseas campaigns.

The resultant decline in French sea power gradually makes way for a rise in English interventions. Throughout the first half of the 16th century, England has remained Spain's ally in its struggles against France, although this relationship begins to sour as the century reaches its midway point. By the late 1550s, English cooperation has dwindled because of Spain's growing might, its championing of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and its steadfast refusal to open its American markets to foreign traders. After Elizabeth I's ascension to the English throne in November 1558, such frictions evolve into open hostility.

APRIL 11, 1559. Off Cartagena, five French privateering ships appear under Jean Martin Cotes and Jean Bontemps, setting 300 harquebusiers ashore who brush aside Cartagena's three-dozen Spanish defenders and overrun the city. The raiders pillage its residences, finally agreeing to spare Cartagena's empty buildings in exchange for 4,000 pesos.

JUNE 11, 1559. *Spain's Floridian Failure.* To establish a permanent outpost to guard its homeward-bound plate fleets, Madrid delegates a 49-year-old Mexican *hacendado* or "estate-owner" named Tristán de Luna y Arellano—veteran of Coronado's 1540 Florida expedition—to found a new settlement in

the Gulf of Mexico. After a preliminary reconnaissance by Guido de Bezares in September 1558, Luna recruits 500 soldiers (mostly from Oaxaca, Zacatecas, and Puebla), plus 240 horses and 1,000 colonists. They depart Veracruz on June 11 of that following summer.

His 13 vessels endure a rough traverse, pausing at Miruelo (modern Tampa Bay) in July to refresh their supplies before proceeding into *Bahía Filipina* (Mobile) by August 14. Two ships are then detached to carry a report toward Spain, while the colonists divide into two contingents to probe inland. While this exploration is being conducted, a hurricane destroys the Spaniards' coastal camp, along with most

of their provisions and ships. News of this disaster reaches Mexico City by September 27, and although relief is quickly sent out, Luna's venture is doomed.

Two sickly settlements are established, one on the coast and the other inland at Santa Cruz de Naniacana, but neither prospers. Disease and want take their toll, until Luna himself falls ill and departs for Mexico in the summer of 1560; he is succeeded by Jorge Cerón. Angel Villafañe is later appointed governor, but his efforts also fail; the survivors disperse to healthier, more prosperous lands.

AUGUST 1559. The rich Spanish caravel *Sanctus Spiritus* of the master Domingo González is looted by a French corsair outside Havana as it arrives from Veracruz.

NOVEMBER 30, 1559. The Portuguese admiral Bartolomeu de Vasconcelos da Cunha reaches Sal-

vador (Bahia) with his flagship *Gavião*, another galleon, and 8 lesser vessels to provide Governor General de Sá with the nucleus for a major military expedition to dislodge the French Huguenot settlement from Rio de Janeiro. Ten or 12 anchored caravels will be incorporated into this fleet, but a shortage of men necessitates additional recruitments en route southward.

1560. French corsairs sack Campeche, Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés), and Trujillo (Honduras). The Spanish in turn capture a 30-man French vessel off Guanaja Island, summarily executing three of its Huguenot crew members, while conveying the remainder as prisoners into Guatemala.

Elsewhere, three Spanish galleons are ransacked, one being the 200-ton merchantman *Santa María* of the master Bartolomé Rodríguez, homeward bound from Honduras.



River battle between the Portuguese and their native allies at right against Brazilian hostiles at left, about 1552, by Hans Staden. (Author's Collection)

JANUARY 16, 1560. *Portuguese Counterstroke.*

The governor general, Mem de Sá, departs his capital of Salvador (Bahia) with the warships and auxiliaries of Admiral Vasconcellos to assault the French settlement at Rio de Janeiro. Additional contingents are picked up at Ilhéus, Porto Seguro, and Espírito Santo before the attackers finally materialize outside Guanabara Bay on February 21 and disembark their forces.

Advancing swiftly against the interlopers' trenches on Villegagnon Island, the governor general's nephew Estácio de Sá—commander of the galley *Conceição*—and Gaspar Leitão, brother of the Brazilian bishop, help surprise the French defenders and easily overrun these positions, aided by the fact that Governor Bois le Compte is exploring inland with his best troops—a company of Scottish Calvinists. However, the impregnable Fort de Coligny resists until more Brazilian volunteers reach Governor General de Sá from São Vicente, allowing him to outflank the fort on the night of March 15 at the head of 120 Portuguese soldiers and 140 Indian auxiliaries under the Temiminó chieftain Martim Afonso Arambóia. The

garrison nonetheless does not capitulate until two days afterward, when 74 surviving Frenchmen and a handful of slaves lay down their weapons; another 42 have also been captured in the environs. The victors thereupon remove all artillery pieces, blow the fortifications, and torch numerous dwellings before departing for São Vicente and Salvador, leaving behind many scattered French residents.

These individuals will reemerge from the interior and build new defenses outside Glória Bay to cover Flamengo Beach and on Paranapuan (modern Governador) Island, with the aid of their Tamoio allies. Eventually, the Huguenots also launch minor counterstrikes against São Paulo and other nearby Portuguese outposts, prompting the governor general to dispatch his nephew Estácio de Sá to Lisbon for greater reinforcements. Villegagnon meanwhile attempts to organize another relief expedition from France the following year, gathering the carrack *Aigle* and seven other vessels at Le Havre; however, because of growing religious dissension within the home country, this force never sets sail to rescue Rio de Janeiro.

The Plate Fleets

In the early days of colonization, Spanish merchantmen sailed for the New World alone or in small groups. As transatlantic traffic grew in volume and wealth, convoys were sometimes formed. The Crown imposed a wartime decree in 1544, ordering that all private departures from Seville be temporarily merged into two annual convoys, each escorted by a pair of royal warships. Six years later, Spain's "captain general of the Ocean Sea," Adm. Álvaro de Bazán, also launched the first 500- to 600-ton royal galleons, which could better ensure valuable cargoes against storms and enemy privateers.

It was to be the vast amounts of bullion emerging from the Americas that would truly shape the plate-fleet system. Sailings were planned to ensure the safe arrival every year of the king's *plata* or "silver," as well as private hoards (which were subject to taxation). Already by the late 1550s, the volume of specie flowing out of Mexico began to soar thanks to a new amalgamation treatment for ores called the *patio* process. Peru soon adopted it as well.

The Crown, as a result, issued a royal decree on July 16, 1561, that started codifying transatlantic traffic. Every spring, two fleets departed separately from Seville; each was led by a pair of royal warships and included two- or three-dozen merchantmen. After skirting West Africa and crossing the ocean on the trade winds, they refreshed water in the Lesser Antilles. One fleet then steered southwest to *Tierra Firme* or the "Spanish Main," touching at Cartagena before anchoring in the Panamanian port of Nombre de Dios, where they were met by Peruvian traders. The other fleet meanwhile sailed northwest past Jamaica, detaching a pair of vessels for Honduras while the main body pressed on into Veracruz.

The merchants unloaded and sold European wares, while buying and loading American produce. Any silver, though, was consigned aboard the two warships. When the royal bullion was brought aboard from Mexico City or Panama City, all trading ceased. Each fleet then set sail for Havana to weather the hurricane season of late summer through autumn within its sheltered anchorage. If no other dangers threatened, they exited through the Straits of Florida late in the year, bound back across the North Atlantic for the Azores and Seville.

In case of peril, they might winter over and then resume their voyage the next spring. In wartime, the Crown additionally assigned battle fleets to escort convoys out from Spain, as well as home from the Azores. Over the next century, Spain's plate fleets followed this same routine almost every year. Although losses occurred due to storms or enemy action, the volume of specie that arrived financed the splendors of Spain's Golden Age.

JULY 1561. Off Havana, a French corsair vessel obliges an arriving Spanish ship to land its cargo nearby, rather than risk losing it in battle.

JULY 8, 1561. Under cover of darkness, three small Huguenot vessels disembark 30 men near Campeche, who then slip into the sleeping town. Its terrified citizenry and garrison flee into the night, but the next morning they realize how few their attackers are so pursue them as they exit the harbor aboard a captured bark laden with booty and 5 women captives. The Spaniards use another bark and two shallops to overtake the Frenchmen, killing 15 and capturing another 5, while the rest swim back out to their waiting ships.

APRIL 30, 1562. At daybreak, an expedition two and a half months out of Le Havre sights Florida near present-day St. Augustine. Two ships and a large sloop bearing 150 Huguenots under Jean Ribaut of Dieppe explore as far north as modern South Carolina, where they erect a stockade named Charlesfort somewhere inside what is today Port Royal Sound, near Parris Island. Ribaut departs on June 11, leaving 26 volunteers behind under Capt. Albert de la Pierria, vowing to return within six months with reinforcements.

Unfortunately, the religious strife encountered upon his regaining Normandy on July 20 prevents Ribaut from keeping this promise, especially after he flees to England in March 1563, where he is detained. At Charlesfort, Ribaut's disgruntled settlers have already murdered de la Pierria and put to sea under Nicolas Barré aboard a crude boat; they are rescued before the end of 1562 by an English bark.

AUTUMN 1562. The 120-ton Spanish merchantman *San Miguel* of the master Vicente Martín is captured by some English privateers while homeward bound from La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti).

APRIL 1563. Having departed Plymouth in October 1562 and touched at Tenerife in the Canaries and Sierra Leone, the 31-year-old merchant John Hawkins arrives off northern Santo Domingo with his 120-ton flagship *Solomon*, the 100-ton *Swallow* under Capt. Thomas Hampton, the 40-ton shallop *Jonas*, and a Portuguese prize. He hopes to sell 300 West African slaves. Despite the Spanish Crown's ban against such trade, the Englishmen are allowed to dispose of their cargo at La Isabela with the con-



Jean Ribaut, by François Clouet. (Library of Congress)

nivance of Lic. Lorenzo Bernáldez, commander of a 120-man cavalry patrol sent to stop them.

Hawkins will return into Plymouth by September with hides, ginger, sugar, and pearls. However, he has also consigned some of the goods that he has received in payment to be delivered at Seville aboard Spanish vessels. This fraud is discovered, and that portion of his merchandise is impounded.

MAY 1, 1563. Estácio de Sá returns to Salvador (Bahia) with a small Portuguese fleet to once again attempt the extirpation of all French residents within Rio de Janeiro Bay.

FEBRUARY 6, 1564. After being joined at Bertioğa (Brazil) by reinforcements under Gov. Belchior de Azevedo of Espírito Santo, as well as by the Temiminó warriors of Chief Martim Afonso Arambóia, two Portuguese galleons bearing 300 soldiers under Estácio de Sá and a host of lesser consorts anchor outside Guanabara Bay. They are attacked almost immediately by flotillas of Tamoio war canoes, so de Sá requests assistance from the Jesuit missionary Fr. Manoel da Nóbrega at São Vicente.

Despite the subsequent capturing of a French ship inside Guanabara Bay by the galley of Paulo Dias Adorno (this prize being placed under the command of Antônio da Costa), the Portuguese are unable to subdue resistance by the Tamoio Indians; de Sá, therefore, orders a withdrawal on March 29. Two days later, Father Nóbrega arrives with his native auxiliaries, only to quickly become surrounded by Tamoios. They are saved when de Sá's battered squadron unexpectedly returns into the bay after encountering heavy weather at sea. Both contingents celebrate Easter Sunday together on beleaguered Villegagnon Island before exiting for São Vicente on April 2.

JUNE 22, 1564. Jean Ribaut's lieutenant, René Goulaine de Laudonnière, returns to Florida with 300 Huguenot settlers aboard the 200-ton *Élisabeth* of Capt. Jean Lucas, the 120-ton *Breton* under Michel Vasseur, and the 80-ton *Faucon* under Pierre Marchant. Three days later, they disembark and begin to build a triangular compound called Fort Caroline at the Saint Johns River mouth (near modern Jacksonville). They then endure a harsh year of disease, mutinies, and starvation. Two shallops are apparently stolen and used for unsuccessful piratical cruises, while the native chieftain Holata Outina attacks a French foraging party on July 27, 1565, killing 2 and wounding 22 others.

EARLY 1565. A Carib war party surprises the town of Santa María de los Remedios de Guadianilla (modern Guayanilla, Puerto Rico), killing 3 residents and carrying off 30 captives, mostly women. The island's governor Francisco Bahamón de Lugo ambushes the retiring raiders, slaying 77 and setting their captives free, while having his horse shot from beneath him and personally receiving two arrow wounds.

JANUARY 22, 1565. *Portuguese Stranglehold.* After marshalling greater strength at São Vicente, Estácio de Sá sets sail with his staff and a band of Tupiniquin warriors aboard his flagship to mount yet another attack against the French holdouts inside Rio de Janeiro's vast bay. Five days later, another five small Portuguese ships and eight large war canoes depart nearby Bertioaga with native contingents raised at São Vicente, Cananéia, Espírito Santo, and Piratininga. They reach Ilha Grande by February 4 and are joined in the approaches to Guanabara Bay by the galley *São João*, another Portuguese ship, and the French prize on February 28. When de Sá's flag-

ship appears the next day, the combined force musters off Ilha Redonda before stemming the entrance into the bay.

Having decided not to penetrate too deeply inside, as on previous occasions, the Portuguese commander disembarks his forces and quickly establishes a highly defensive position that same March 1 behind a stockade on the narrow São João Peninsula, below Pão de Açúcar or "Sugarloaf" Hill. De Sá even formally proclaims this new site as the "City of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro," a name chosen to honor Portugal's eight-year-old monarch Dom Sebastião. Five days later, this position is attacked by a host of Tamoio warriors under Chief Aimbiré, who are repelled. A second assault occurs on March 10 by a French ship leading 48 Tamoio war canoes into battle; they are defeated, and the French ship—trapped inside Guanabara Bay—must surrender three days afterward.

De Sá's strategy becomes apparent when 3 more ships arrive outside from France on April 1 to spearhead an attack that is seconded by 130 Tamoio canoes, only to be repulsed. Unable to either enter or depart Guanabara Bay, the French presence inside will gradually wither from lack of contact. De Sá meanwhile begins issuing land grants and appointing municipal officers among his followers as early as July 1, digging in for a protracted stay.

MARCH 1565. Hawkins returns into the West Indies with the queen's 30-gun, 700-ton flagship *Jesus of Lübeck*, plus the lesser consorts *Solomon*, the 50-ton *Tiger*, the 30-ton *Swallow*, and three small prizes, bearing more than 400 slaves from Sierra Leone. After watering at Dominica, Hawkins is refused trade by the Spaniards at Margarita Island, but then enjoys better fortune upon arriving on April 3 at Borburata (east of Puerto Cabello, Venezuela). Contacting its residents ashore, Hawkins arranges a show of force on April 18 to overawe the local authorities, thereby being allowed to transact business.

MAY 19, 1565. Hawkins enters Ríohacha (Colombia) this Saturday morning, remaining 11 days after employing the same tactic used at Borburata—using a show of force to compel its Crown treasurer Miguel de Castellanos to permit him to sell off his remaining cargo.

AUGUST 3, 1565. While on his homeward leg toward England, Hawkins visits Ribaut's Huguenot settlement at Fort Caroline (modern Jacksonville,



Estácio de Sá departing from Bertioga to assail the French settlement ensconced within Rio de Janeiro Bay, January 1565. (Museu Naval, Rio de Janeiro)

Florida), furnishing its sickly inhabitants with a 50-ton bark, victuals, shoes, and other stores. The English expedition weighs anchor and reaches Padstow by October 20.

AUGUST 5, 1565. The Asturian-born Vice Adm. Diego Flores de Valdés reaches the island of Dominica with three storm-ravaged ships, part of a much larger fleet of 26 ships, 8 auxiliaries, and 2,650 men that departed Spain under his 46-year-old countryman Adm. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Knight of the Order of Santiago, to extirpate and supplant the intrusive French settlement in Florida. After refreshing provisions, Flores de Valdés limps on to San Juan de Puerto Rico, arriving on August 9–10 to find Menéndez de Avilés's battered, 1,000-ton flagship *San Pelayo* and an auxiliary already anchored inside.

The admiral discards the original Spanish plan of rendezvousing at Havana in favor of hastening directly for Florida through the Old Bahama Channel with only 500 soldiers, 200 sailors, and 100 colonists aboard his five ships, plus another ship purchased at San Juan. Despite almost wrecking the *San Pelayo* in these shoal, uncharted waters on the night of August 26–27, Menéndez de Avilés presses on toward his objective.

AUGUST 28, 1565. Ribaut arrives at Fort Caroline from France, bringing out 600 more Huguenot settlers aboard his 32-gun flagship *Trinité*; the 29-gun vice-flagship *Emerillon* under Nicolas d'Ornano (a Corsican nicknamed "Corsette"); the 10-gun *Perle* under the commander in chief's son Jacques Ribaut; the hired Dieppe transports *Levrière* of Vivien

Maillard and the *Emerillon* of Vincent Collas; plus the auxiliary *Épaule de Mouton* or “Leg of Mutton” (a 16th-century type of sail rig). This expedition has been joined during its passage by a privateer ship from La Rochelle under Capt. Jean Du Boys and two small Spanish prizes seized off La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti).

SEPTEMBER 4, 1565. *Ribaut’s Massacre.* At dusk on this Tuesday, Menéndez de Avilés and his vice admiral, Flores de Valdés, stand into the French anchorage at Fort Caroline (Jacksonville, Florida), in a light breeze, with their half-dozen ships. The startled French crews are able to cut their cables and flee out to sea, outrunning the more cumbersome Spanish warships overnight.

Unable to overtake his nimble foes aboard the *San Pelayo*, Menéndez probes Fort Caroline’s fully alerted defenses again the next morning before venturing 35 miles farther south to a harbor that he has previously sighted and christened St. Augustine. He finds three of his ships already in possession of Chief Selay’s thatched-roof Timucuan strong-house ashore, which the Spaniards are fortifying by landing troops and artillery as well as by digging a trench. Two shallops are also detached to fetch cavalry mounts from Santo Domingo, while farther to the north, Ribaut takes the desperate gamble of hastening virtually his entire garrison aboard his four largest ships—which have rejoined him after their nocturnal escapade, Captain Corsette having furthermore reconnoitered Menéndez’s new position—to attempt a seaborne strike. All the able-bodied Huguenots consequently set sail on September 10 and come within sight of St. Augustine the next day, but they are struck by a storm before they can disembark.

Witnessing Ribaut’s distress, the Spanish admiral, once the storm abates, leaves Flores de Valdés in command of his anchored ships and his brother Bartolomé Menéndez in command of a holding force within the extemporized fortification at St. Augustine, while he begins an overland march toward Fort Caroline on September 16 with his 400–500 best fighting men, 200 of them being harquebusiers. On the dark, rainy night of September 19–20, Menéndez’s attack force bursts into Fort Caroline two hours before dawn in three columns, sending its 16 defenders fleeing through the marshes toward their remaining ships. Without suffering a single casualty, the Spaniards butcher 142 hapless French residents and capture another 70 women and children by

evening. Among the 27 survivors who manage to swim out to the anchored vessels *Perle* and *Levrière* are Laudonnière, plus 40 seamen already aboard these ships—including Ribaut’s son. Once the rains stop, the Spaniards call upon them to surrender and open fire when they refuse, so that they must get under way for France by September 25.

Having thus secured the intruder settlement, Menéndez renames it Fort San Mateo or “Saint Matthew” (on whose feast day this lopsided victory has been won), then leaves Capt. Gonzalo de Villarreal as garrison commander with 300 troops. Returning to St. Augustine, the Spanish admiral soon learns from Flores de Valdés that Ribaut has been shipwrecked south of that position, and stranded ashore without food, water, or arms. The Spanish vice admiral has already sortied and retrieved one of the grounded French frigates, after which he sails again with Menéndez on September 28. Over the next couple of weeks, 600 survivors are hunted down and pitilessly exterminated by the Spaniards, Ribaut’s own party of 200 eventually surrendering because of exhaustion on October 10. Their hands tied behind their backs, the Huguenots—save 5 youngsters—have their throats slit at a place later remembered as *Matanzas* (the Spanish word for “killings” or “slaughter”). Menéndez concludes his ruthless campaign by dispatching his vice admiral back to Spain with news of his victory, where Flores de Valdés will be rewarded with a knighthood in the Order of Santiago and marry his commander’s niece, María Menéndez de Avilés.

The admiral meanwhile departs for Havana on October 30 with three ships and the bulk of his men, leaving a small garrison behind at St. Augustine. Two days later, he finds another 150 French survivors from a damaged ship entrenched on a beach near Cape Canaveral, who surrender on condition that their lives will be spared. (Shipped toward Havana aboard the *San Pelayo*, these prisoners overcome their guards and seize Menéndez’s flagship, carrying it across the Atlantic to Denmark.) The admiral continues down the Florida Peninsula on foot, reaching the Indian village of Ays by November 4, where he erects a wooden stockade named Fort Santa Lucía and installs a garrison before finally proceeding across to Havana, with only 50 soldiers and 20 French captives, to secure further reinforcements for his Florida outposts.

LATE 1565. A galleon conveying Havana’s retiring governor Diego de Mazariegos back toward Spain

is intercepted opposite Mariel by a pair of French corsair galleys under captains Fornoux and Lacroix. A hefty ransom demand is sent into the Cuban capital, but its new governor—Adm. Francisco García Osorio de Sandoval—prolongs these negotiations until Capt. Pedro Menéndez Márquez (nephew of Ribaut's slayer) can sortie in December 1565 and take these corsairs by surprise, killing 15 and freeing their captives while bringing another 50 back into Havana as prisoners to work upon its fortifications.

EARLY JANUARY 1566. *Foundation of Santa Elena.*

Two ships and 200 men under the Asturian-born Capt. Esteban de las Alas, part of Menéndez de Avilés's original colonizing fleet out of Spain, reach Havana after recuperating at La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti) and capturing a Portuguese smuggler ship off southern Cuba. A royal dispatch vessel soon arrives as well, bearing a report that more French Huguenots are rumored to be preparing to reestablish a foothold north of Florida. King Philip II, therefore, has authorized the dispatch of another Spanish fleet under Adm. Sancho de Archiniega or Arciniega with reinforcements for Menéndez and all other Caribbean garrisons.

Galvanized by this news, Menéndez departs Havana on February 10 with a small flotilla to properly reconnoiter the Atlantic shoreline and adopt immediate countermeasures to protect his fledgling colony. Upon regaining St. Augustine and San Mateo, though, he finds their unhappy garrisons in an open state of mutiny, having even commandeered vessels to sail away. He therefore must allow 100 disgruntled soldiers to emigrate to Santo Domingo, while also sending de las Alas back to Havana with five ships for supplies.

Once de las Alas rejoins him, Menéndez and de las Alas continue up the Atlantic coast with three ships and 150 men, on April 1 meeting Guale, an elderly chieftain who controls the lower half of modern Georgia's shoreline. The Spanish admiral leaves his nephew Alonso Menéndez Márquez and five Spaniards among these tribesmen, while conveying away two emissaries for peace talks. A couple of weeks later, the flotilla reaches the shoreline controlled by Chief Orista, with whom Menéndez de Avilés establishes peaceful relations and leaves 110 men under de las Alas to build a new 6-gun stockade named Fort San Salvador, inland from Santa Elena Point on present-day Parris Island (South Carolina) near the Huguenots' former site.

Upon regaining Guale, the Spanish admiral also

persuades his nephew to remain among these Indians to help with their indoctrination before continuing himself toward St. Augustine. (De las Alas's garrison soon begins to desert, and when the first supply ship reaches the isolated outpost of Santa Elena in early June from Cuba, most of his men mutiny, tying him up before sailing away and leaving him with only 25 loyal soldiers. The youthful Alonso Menéndez Márquez will also die that same August in Georgia, but the Spaniards will nonetheless erect small fortified outposts on what would later become known as St. Catherine's and Cumberland islands.)

Menéndez de Avilés, meanwhile, returns into St. Augustine only to discover that its stockade has been burned during his absence by a native attack led by Chief Saturiba, who is also preventing any Spaniards from venturing inland. The admiral therefore orders a new fort to be commenced on a more defensible site before sailing for Havana aboard a small craft to seek assistance.

JUNE 3, 1566. Spanish admiral Sancho de Archiniega arrives at Dominica aboard his 480-ton flagship *Tres Reyes*, accompanied by 13 ships, 2 caravels, and a shallop bearing 1,500 troops destined as reinforcements for the Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Florida garrisons.

JUNE 26, 1566. Menéndez de Avilés returns into Havana aboard a single small craft, reporting that he has spotted 22 enemy sail in the Bahama Channel while returning from his reconnaissance.

EARLY JULY 1566. Capt. Juan Pardo reaches the depleted Santa Elena outpost (South Carolina) with two vessels and bearing an additional 250–300 troops and provisions. As a result of this influx, a larger stockade named Fort San Felipe will be erected.

SUMMER 1566. The Spanish ship *Santa Catalina* of Juan de Parras spots a sail near the Colorados Islands north of Cuba and gives chase. It proves to be the *Nazarena*, a raider with a Portuguese captain and mixed French–English–Portuguese crew, who beach their vessel in Matanzas Bay and flee inland into the Yumurí Valley, only to be captured and carried into Havana along with their refloated ship.

AUGUST 24, 1566. The Portuguese admiral Cris-tóvão Cardoso de Barros reaches Salvador (Bahia) from Lisbon with three galleons to form the nucleus

of an expedition to be led by the governor general Mem de Sá to eradicate the last French settlers isolated inside Rio de Janeiro's bay.

OCTOBER 1566. Having returned to resupply St. Augustine with three privately raised ships from

Philip II

Philip was born in the city of Valladolid on May 21, 1527. The eldest son of Charles V and Queen Isabella of Portugal, he was educated by tutors in Spain. They gave him a good grounding in history and politics but left him weak in languages. As early as 1542, the 15-year-old Philip served as Regent whenever his father left Spain. The next year, the young prince married his 16-year-old cousin, Maria Manuela of Portugal. Tragically, she died on July 12, 1545, four days after giving birth to their son, Don Carlos.

From 1548 to 1551, Philip traveled extensively in Italy, the Netherlands, and Germany, although without learning much about their customs or languages. He married Queen Mary I of England in January 1554, the same year in which he also succeeded his father as king of Naples and duke of Milan. Overwhelmed by the many problems challenging his reign, the emperor had chosen to retire from public life into a monastery. Philip, therefore, inherited his other titles in an orderly succession: he became duke of Burgundy (ruler of the Netherlands) after Charles abdicated on October 25, 1555. He then became king of Spain and Sicily as of January 16, 1556, and ruler of Franche Comté by the next month.

He remained in the Netherlands even when his English wife, Mary, died in November 1558. The next August, however, Philip II moved to Spain (the country of his birth and where he stayed until his death) and married the French princess Elizabeth of Valois in 1560, and the next year he chose Madrid as Spain's capital. In 1563, Philip II began erecting the massive El Escorial monastery as his palace. Small, aloof, austere, and melancholy, Philip II was also deeply religious.

But he would use Spain's might judiciously in championing Catholic causes, for Philip II was very aware of his royal obligations. He spent long hours reading and annotating reports from his vast empire. Ruthless decisions troubled his conscience, and he needed reassurance from his confessors. His reign marked the peak of Spanish power. But the scope of its many commitments around the world inevitably drained away resources, and the first signs of decay also appeared. Despite a painful and debilitating illness, Philip II worked bravely and uncomplainingly until his death on September 13, 1598.

Havana, then explored up the Saint John's River and reinforced all his Florida outposts, Menéndez de Avilés sorties with six of Admiral de Archiniega's warships, a frigate, and a pinnace to bolster the king's Caribbean garrisons against foreign interlopers. He consequently deposits 150 soldiers and some artillery to help fortify the city of Santo Domingo, 100 and some guns at San Juan de Puerto Rico, 50 at Puerto Plata in northern Hispaniola, plus a few more at Santiago de Cuba before capturing five rich prizes at nearby Manzanillo—the seaport of Bayamo—and reentering Havana in January 1567 to deposit another 200 soldiers and six artillery pieces.

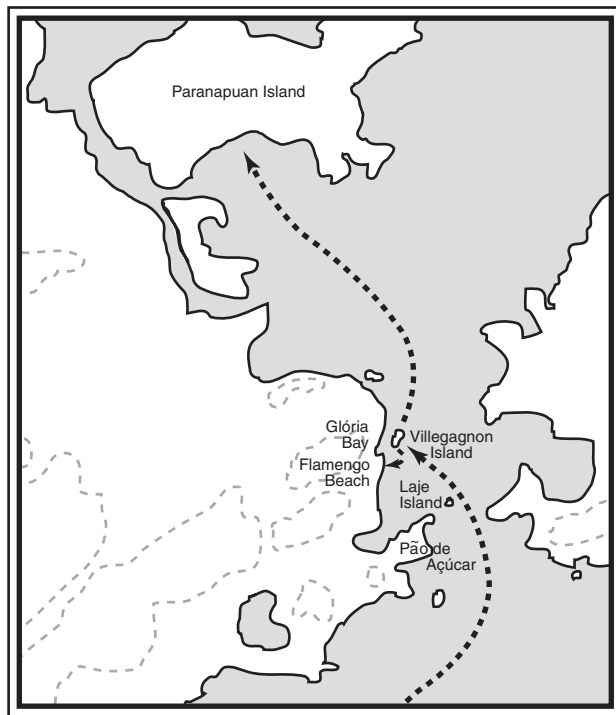
NOVEMBER 10, 1566. Captain Pardo ventures inland with 125 men from the advance Spanish outpost of Santa Elena (South Carolina), hoping to discover an overland route all the way to Mexico but never penetrating beyond the Appalachian Mountains.

JANUARY 18, 1567. *Portuguese Reclamation of Rio.* In Brazil, Governor General Mem de Sá leads a final expedition from his capital of Salvador (Bahia) to eliminate the French Huguenot settlement at Rio de Janeiro. Going aboard the recently arrived squadron of Cristóvão de Barros, he sails first to Espírito Santo to recruit a contingent of native auxiliaries under Chief Martim Afonso Araribóia, then pauses at São Vicente (Santos) for further reinforcements.

Arriving before Rio by January 18 with 11 ships, the governor general enters and joins the Portuguese contingent already occupying Villegagnon Island and other points under his nephew Estácio de Sá. The combined Portuguese force then falls upon the outnumbered French two days later, easily overrunning their defensive positions at Uruçu Mirim (modern Flamengo Beach)—which is held by only 11 Frenchmen and a handful of Tamoio warriors—as well as winning nearby Parapucú or Parapuan (modern Governador Island) after three days of more tenacious opposition.

De Sá consummates his victory by refortifying Rio's entrance and appointing his nephew—who is badly wounded by an arrow in the face during the Uruçu Mirim assault—as the town's new governor. Estácio de Sá subsequently dies of his injury on February 20 and is succeeded by another of the governor general's nephews, Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides.

SPRING 1567. The 140-ton English slaving ships *Paul* under the master James Hampton, the 100-ton



Portuguese counteroffensive against French settlements inside Rio de Janeiro Bay.

Solomon under James Raunce, the 40-ton *Pascha* under Robert Bolton, and a smaller consort arrive at Margarita Island (Venezuela). Although nominally under the orders of John Lovell, these vessels secretly belong to William and John Hawkins, whose distant kinsman Francis Drake is also serving aboard as an ordinary seaman.

MARCH 1567. Pedro Menéndez Márquez installs a fortified mission at Tekesta, at the mouth of the Miami River in southeastern Florida, by garrisoning 30 troops within a stockaded compound under the Jesuit priest Francisco Villareal. Native hostility will soon necessitate the withdrawal of the priest and 18 surviving soldiers, although the return of a Christianized Tekestan chieftain from Spain the next year will temporarily smooth relations.

MAY 8, 1567. At daybreak, the French privateer Bontemps appears outside Ríohacha (Colombia) with four large ships bearing West African slaves. The Spaniards send their noncombatants inland and mass upon its beach, while a boat arrives ashore requesting permission to trade. Treasurer de Castellanos agrees to discuss this proposal with other local leaders and reply the next day.

At dawn the boat returns, but de Castellanos rejects the offer. Bontemps clears for action, begins a bombardment, then dispatches three armed boatloads ashore, who are unable to disembark because of Spanish defiance. After four hours, Bontemps recalls his boats and again suggests a trade. Once more rebuffed, he sails away that same afternoon to surprise nearby Santa Marta on the morning of May 10, holding a rich merchantman in its roadstead for ransom.

MAY 17 (WHITSUNDAY OR PENTECOST), 1567. Lovell's four English slavers appear outside Ríohacha, having already traded peaceably with the Spaniards at Margarita and Curaçao—although also having united with Bontemps to skirmish with the authorities at Borburata. Entering Ríohacha's harbor, Lovell anchors on Monday, May 18, and requests permission to trade, being rejected by de Castellanos.

After a week of smuggling a few pieces ashore, the Englishmen depart on Saturday, May 23, leaving behind 92 slaves for which they receive no payment. Lovell subsequently touches Santo Domingo before returning into Plymouth by late September.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1567. At dawn, Coro (Venezuela) is surprised by Nicolas Valier's French privateering squadron, his Huguenot followers desecrating its church and committing other excesses. Bishop Pedro de Agreda barely escapes capture, although his deacon is taken prisoner. (It is believed that this same French raider also ransacked Margarita Island shortly beforehand.)

LATE MARCH 1568. Having departed Plymouth on October 2, 1567, Hawkins arrives at Dominica on his third slaving voyage with the hired queen's ships *Jesus of Lübeck* under Capt. Robert Barrett of Saltash and the master William Saunders, as well as the 300-ton *Minion* under Capt. John Hampton and the master John Garret. The rest of this formation is comprised of Hawkins's own 150-ton *William and John* under Capt. Thomas Bolton and the master James Raunce, and the 100-ton *Swallow*, the 50-ton *Judith*, and the 33-ton *Angel*. The English are furthermore accompanied by a pair of French privateering craft under Capitaine Planes, as well as an 8-gun, 150-ton Portuguese caravel that Planes has seized off West Africa's Cape Blanco. (It will become incorporated into Hawkins's squadron under the name *Grace of God*, to be commanded by Drake). They bear a total of 400 crew members, plus 500 slaves.

Revolt of the Netherlands

The 17 provinces of the Low Countries that Philip II inherited as duke of Burgundy were rich and complex. Each enjoyed many ancient liberties, which made any attempt at unified rule difficult. When Philip II left in August 1559 for Spain, he named his half-sister Margaret of Austria as regent. Soon, orders began arriving from Madrid that the government of the Netherlands should be centralized around Brussels. Although wealthy in commerce, industry, banking, and fishing, Philip II felt that the Low Countries were not contributing enough to his empire's needs.

In July 1563, a group of northern noblemen led by Willem "the Silent," prince of Orange, resigned from the regional Council of State to protest against these changes. Spanish imposition of strict Catholicism also offended local sentiments. When Orange and other aristocrats appealed to Philip II for religious toleration, he instead insisted on even greater repression in October 1565. As a result, 200 members of an armed group known as "the Compromise" rode into Brussels the next April 5 to complain. One of Margaret's advisors dismissed them as *Gueux* or "Beggars," adding to their anger.

Economic problems fed a series of urban riots that same August 1566, which damaged many Church properties in Antwerp, Amsterdam, Ghent, and more. Unable to contend against such widespread unrest, Margaret called off all religious measures until funds could reach her from Spain the next February. But Philip II also decided to act in April 1567 by ordering that his 59-year-old general, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alva, lead a punitive sweep to restore order. This hard-bitten veteran gathered 9,000 Spanish troops from Milan and marched them across Europe into Brussels by August.

Margaret resigned, while Alva terrorized the populace. A tribunal nicknamed the "Council of Blood" was established, trying and executing thousands of people. Ironically, many victims would be Catholic loyalists. Spanish agents interfered with local government, eliminating privileges and imposing new taxes. Over the winter of 1567–1568, however, the exiled Willem of Orange and other northern noblemen organized an armed resistance. The first clashes occurred in April and May 1568, sparking 80 years of hostilities. What started as an aristocratic revolt grew into a national struggle for independence. With great skill and tenacity, the Dutch—led by privateers known as the "Sea Beggars"—not only won but also emerged by the next century as the greatest maritime power in the world.

Early in April 1568, they call upon Margarita Island (Venezuela), peaceably selling trade items and slaves to its Spanish residents over the next eight days.

APRIL 14, 1568. Hawkins proceeds to Borburata (near Puerto Cabellos, Venezuela) and trades with its Spanish inhabitants, while careening his ships. He also sends a detachment inland to the town of Valencia, as well as sending the *William and John*, the *Grace of God*, and the *Swallow* toward Curaçao for provisions, plus the *Judith* and the *Angel* under Drake to Río hacha as an advance party to contact its authorities. Once his main body has refreshed, Hawkins weighs anchor for the latter place on June 1.

MID-APRIL 1568. Shortly before dawn, 400 native warriors under Chief Saturiba fight their way into Fort San Mateo (Jacksonville, Florida), after spring floods have washed away part of its stockade. The Spanish garrison under Captain Villarroel repels this assault during fierce hand-to-hand combat, 1 defender being killed and 3 wounded. Florida's acting governor, Esteban de las Alas, sends a company of 50 soldiers from St. Augustine to reinforce this beleaguered outpost.

APRIL 23, 1568. *Gourges's Revenge.* This Friday, de las Alas spies the Gascon rover Dominique de Gourges passing by St. Augustine's harbor entrance with 2 ships, a smaller consort, and 2 prizes, bearing a total of 180 Huguenot privateers. Suspecting that they intend to surprise the 120-man garrison at Fort San Mateo (Jacksonville, Florida), the Spanish governor dispatches a warning overland.

Before it can arrive, however, the rovers steal ashore near the Saint John's River mouth, surprising two unwary Spanish blockhouses on Alimaconi Island the next dawn and securing 30 captives. A pair of Spaniards runs into Fort San Mateo to raise the alarm, causing widespread panic and desertion. By the time the invaders actually appear outside its stockade, only 7 soldiers remain to help Captain Villarroel defend it, all of whom decamp inland after a token exchange of shots. With the Huguenots now in possession of the town, Villarroel gathers up as many of his men as he can find and attempts to flee southward to St. Augustine under cover of darkness, only to suffer 30 killed and 38 captured once Saturiba's warriors discover and bedevil their flight. Then, to avenge the massacre of Ribaut's followers,

Gourges puts all his Spanish prisoners to death, before sailing away for France on May 3.

JUNE 4, 1568. Drake arrives opposite Ríohacha (Colombia) and sends a boat inshore to request permission to water. Its local official, de Castellanos, orders his three-gun battery to open fire, and after a protracted exchange, Drake retires out of range, instituting a close blockade.

JUNE 8, 1568. Four French ships arrive off Rio de Janeiro, only to find its Huguenot colony eradicated by the Portuguese and Villegagnon Island occupied (see “January 18, 1567” entry). When the French attempt to disembark, they are attacked by local contingents under Gov. Salvador Correia de Sá and his subordinate Martim Afonso Araribóia, who chase the trespassers back out to sea as far west as Cabo Frio, where one of the interloper ships is boarded and overwhelmed by its Portuguese pursuers.

JUNE 9, 1568. This evening, Hawkins’s main squadron rejoins Drake off Ríohacha and slips 200 men ashore a mile away the next noon. They defeat a Spanish company drawn up to bar their path, then occupy the town. On June 15, Hawkins sends a detachment—led by a runaway Spanish slave—on a nocturnal march deep into the jungle; the detachment seizes Ríohacha’s hidden treasures and non-combatants. The English then compel de Castellanos to halt all resistance and permit trading.

JULY 10, 1568. Hawkins’s squadron departs Ríohacha (Colombia) and comes within sight of Santa Marta at dusk. Setting a message ashore, he meets with its governor the next morning, who agrees to allow trade—allegedly after a mock battle is staged so that the Spaniard might maintain appearances with his superiors back in Madrid. The English then remain in this harbor for a few days.

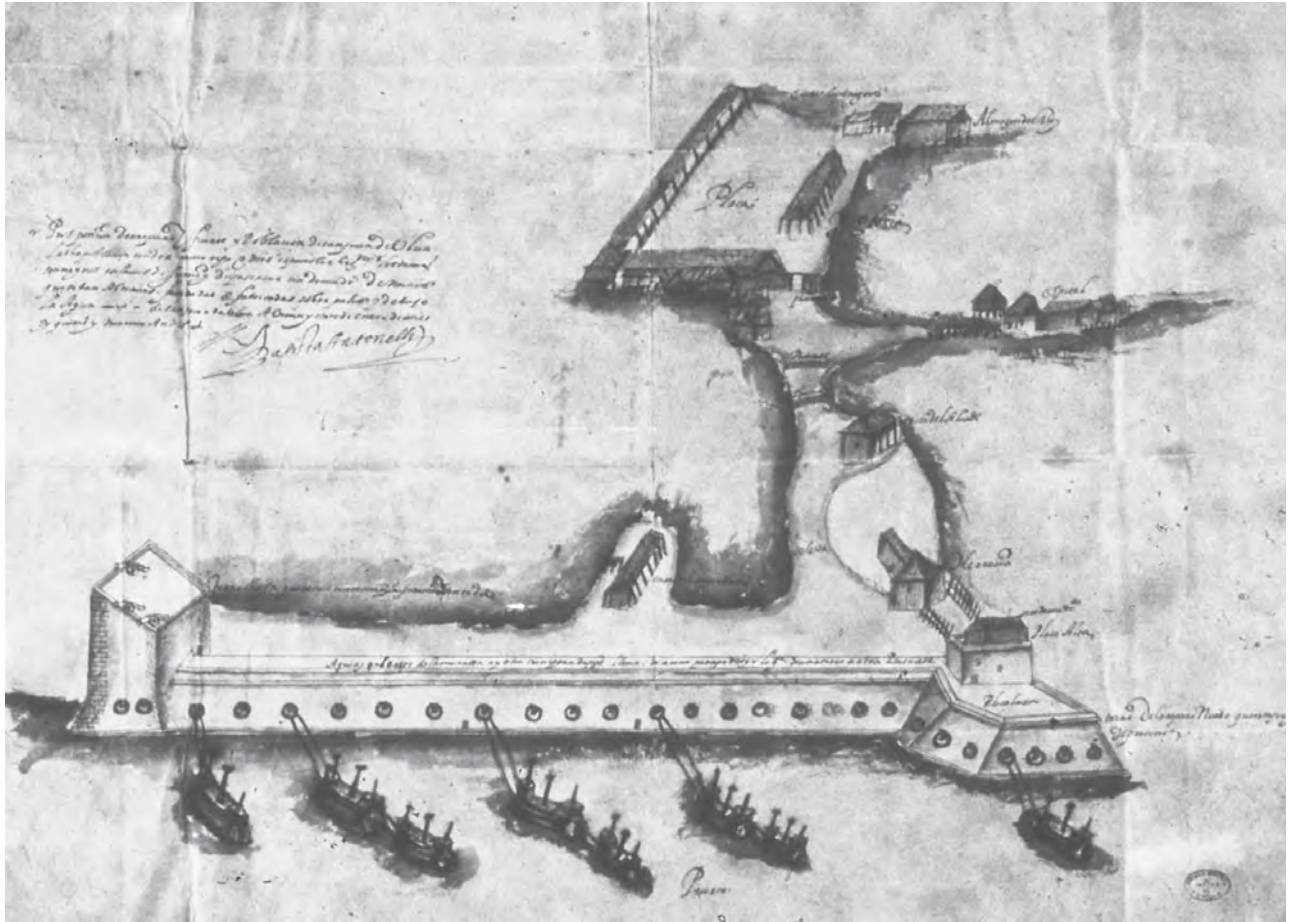
JULY 16, 1568. Hawkins arrives outside Cartagena (Colombia). After his request for trade is rebuffed by Gov. Martín de Salas, the *Minion* bombards Cartagena’s defenses from long range, while boats are sent into the bay to scrounge for provisions. Everything taken is scrupulously paid for with barter goods in hopes of encouraging further trade, but Hawkins is nonetheless compelled to quit Cartagena empty-handed by July 24.

He then scuttles his Portuguese prize and allows one of his French consorts to part company and

prowl the West Indies, while laying in a northerly course across the Caribbean with his eight remaining vessels. After sighting Isla de Pinos, they are engulfed in a hurricane while attempting to round western Cuba; the *William and John* becomes separated and eventually returns alone to Ireland. The storm abates on September 11 to reveal Hawkins off the Triángulos Reef, deep within the Gulf of Mexico. Intercepting one of a pair of passing Spanish coasters under Francisco Maldonado, the English learn that the only place to leeward where they might repair is the island of San Juan de Ulúa, near Veracruz. Hawkins’s squadron limps toward that haven, capturing two other outward-bound Mexican vessels to preclude any alarm being raised.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1568. *Hawkins at San Juan de Ulúa.* At dusk, Hawkins’s 10 English vessels anchor within sight of this Spanish island fortress, its lookouts mistaking his squadron for advance elements of the annual plate fleet, which is daily expected from Spain. The next morning, Hawkins gets under way with false colors, luring San Juan de Ulúa’s pilot boat close enough to capture all its welcoming dignitaries. The English then pass the island batteries—which are busily firing salutes—to moor directly beneath its walls, before garrison commander Antonio Delgadillo realizes that they are foreign intruders. Having thus secured San Juan de Ulúa, Hawkins sends a message to the mainland authorities in distant Veracruz, explaining his action and promising to depart once his repairs are complete.

At sunrise of September 17, though, Adm. Francisco Luján’s flagship *San Pedro* appears outside San Juan de Ulúa, escorting a half-dozen galleons. His second-in-command, Juan de Ubilla, soon brings another five up over the horizon, with his vice-flag *Santa Clara*. Among their passengers is the new viceroy designate for New Spain, Martín Enríquez de Almanza, who has been sent to restore Crown rule in Mexico City after an attempted usurpation by Martín Cortés, son of the famous conquistador. A boat dispatched by Delgadillo warns these latest arrivals of Hawkins’s occupation. Shortly thereafter, the English commander delegates Delgadillo to relay his terms for permitting this plate fleet to enter: the Spaniards must agree to let Hawkins refit in peace, or he will dispute their entrance. Short of food and water and on a dangerously lee shore, Luján and Enríquez have no choice but to comply—although harboring little intent of honoring this extortionate demand.



Late 16th-century drawing of San Juan de Ulúa by the royal engineer Bautista Antonelli. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

Contrary winds prevent their entrance until September 21, but once the two fleets are moored side by side within their crowded berths, Spanish troops are slipped under cover of darkness aboard Diego Felipe's dismasted hulk *San Salvador*, which lies nearest the English vessels. At 10:00 a.m. on September 23, a suspicious Hawkins opens fire against this hulk, and most of his ships get under way. Taken by surprise, as they had not planned on attacking until one hour later, the Spaniards nonetheless react well by overrunning the Englishmen left on the island, thus regaining control over its batteries. In a day-long exchange, all the English vessels are either destroyed or captured except for the *Minion* and Drake's tiny *Judith*, which escape out to sea via the perilous eastern channel to anchor overnight off Sacrificios Island. They leave behind several score dead or captured comrades, plus the sunken *Santa Clara*.

Drake sails directly for England that same night, leaving Hawkins with more than 200 survivors crammed aboard the *Minion*. The latter creeps as far

north as Pánuco by October 8, where—with little food or water—he allows 114 men to surrender to the Spaniards, while resupplying the *Minion* as best he can, then setting sail eight days later for Europe with the remaining 100 men. A nightmarish voyage ensues, perhaps as few as 15 crew members reaching England alive. This incident at San Juan de Ulúa becomes a rallying cry for all Englishmen, who regard the broken pledge and sneak attack an example of Spanish perfidy.

1569. French corsairs sack and burn the coastal town of Santa María de los Remedios de Guadianilla on Puerto Rico, prompting a majority of its inhabitants to relocate again into the Santa Marta Hills and create a new inland town called Nueva Salamanca or San Germán el Nuevo.

SPRING 1570. Drake returns into the West Indies with the small ships *Dragon* and *Swan*—little being known about his activities on this cruise.

AUGUST 13, 1570. Having decided to reduce the perpetually starved Spanish outposts along the Florida coast to just 50-man garrisons at St. Augustine, San Mateo (modern Jacksonville), San Pedro (Georgia), and Santa Elena (Parris Island, South Carolina), acting governor de las Alas sets sail from this latter port with 120 extra soldiers, who are to be repatriated to Cadiz.

1571. Drake again ventures into the Caribbean, this time with the *Swan* alone, pillaging several rich Spanish barks off Chagres (Panama) before returning to Plymouth.

That same year, the French rover Jean Bontemps lands on Curaçao with 70 men and is confronted in a driving rainstorm by its principal Spanish landowner Antonio Barbudo, who exploits the invaders' temporary lack of firepower to inflict a stinging defeat. Bontemps dies of an arrow wound in his throat, and his head is carried into Santo Domingo as a trophy.

EARLY APRIL 1572. As Adm. Esteban de las Alas arrives off Margarita Island (Venezuela) with a small transatlantic treasure fleet bound for Cartagena (Colombia) and Nombre de Dios (Panama), his flagship is engaged by two French privateers, who break off at nightfall.

JUNE 28, 1572. Drake, having returned into the West Indies with Hawkins's 70-ton, 47-man *Pascha* and the 25-ton, 26-man *Swan* under his brother John Drake, comes within sight of the island of Guadeloupe, landing the next day on the south shore of Dominica to refresh provisions. Resuming their voyage on July 1, they pass Santa Marta (Colombia) to put into "Port Pheasant" (Zapzurro Cove) 11 days afterward, 35 leagues west of Tolú. There they find a message nailed to a tree on July 7 by Capt. John Garret of Plymouth, warning that the Spaniards have recently visited this place. Francis Drake nonetheless erects a moated redoubt ashore and instructs his carpenters to begin assembling the three small pinnaces named *Lion*, *Bear*, and *Minion*, brought disassembled from England for inshore raids.

On July 13, a 30-man bark from the Isle of Wight also enters the bay under Capt. James Raunce and master John Overly, accompanied by two Spanish prizes: a caravel intercepted the previous day while sailing from Seville as a dispatch vessel toward Nombre de Dios (Panama), plus a shallop with oars taken off Cabo Blanco. One week later, Drake and Raunce

get under way with their entire flotilla, steering for Isla de Pinos.

JULY 22, 1572. The English expedition under Drake and Raunce seize two Spanish coastal frigates out of Nombre de Dios, which have arrived at Isla de Pinos three days previously to load with lumber. Their black slave laborers are well treated and freed, furnishing Drake with fresh intelligence. Leaving Raunce in charge of the four English ships with anchor watches, Drake combines 53 of his own men with 20 of Raunce's and sets out aboard the shallop and three pinnaces to raid Nombre de Dios. By sunset of July 28, they come within sight of their intended target.

JULY 29, 1572. *Drake at Nombre de Dios.* By the light of a rising moon, the English rovers row stealthily into the roadstead at 3:00 a.m., only to be espied by lookouts aboard an anchored 60-ton Spanish merchantman. Drake nevertheless succeeds in steering his own boat around the Spanish vessel, so that his raiders are able to disembark and seize the six-gun shore battery without opposition. The noise made by their dismounting of its ordinance, though, rouses the nearby townspeople, who begin to muster before the governor's residence in the main square, summoned by the pealing of the church bell and the beating of drums.

Drake leaves a dozen men to guard his beached pinnaces, checks a promontory just to the east to ensure that no guns are installed there, then sends his brother with 36-year-old John Oxenham and 16 others to circle into Nombre de Dios proper, while he leads the remainder noisily up its main street. Upon charging into its main square, the English are greeted with "a jolly hot volley of shot," yet succeed in scattering the hastily assembled militia. Before they can fully secure the town and loot the treasury, however, a rainstorm bursts and Drake faints from a wound which he has received, so his men retreat with him to the pinnaces, boarding the anchored Spanish merchantman as they exit the port at daybreak and sail to nearby Bastimentos to recuperate.

AUGUST 1, 1572. Drake's raiders rejoin their anchored ships, and six days later Raunce quits their joint enterprise. With only his two original ships and three pinnaces, Drake steals into the approaches of Cartagena (Colombia) by the evening of August 13 and cuts out an anchored 240-ton merchantman overnight. The next day, he also intercepts two

arriving coastal frigates, bearing news of his Nombre de Dios attack.

Not having sufficient men for all his vessels, Drake, on August 15, orders one prize burned and the *Swan* scuttled, before standing away for Darién (Panama) to establish a secure base camp nicknamed “Port Plenty” in the remote Gulf of San Blas. From there, he roams the Spanish Main in his pinnaces as far east as the Magdalena River, while his brother befriends the Cimarrons or rebel black slaves living along the Panamanian coast.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1572. Having agreed to unite with the Cimarrons in future attacks against the Spaniards, Drake shifts his flotilla to a new anchorage and begins building a fort before departing on October 7 to hover outside Cartagena once more. Ten days later, his 24-man pinnace and Oxenham’s 18-man pinnace intercept a 50-ton Spanish bark as it approaches from Santo Domingo, releasing its 10 seamen and 5 slaves ashore. On the afternoon of October 20, a 58-ton and a 12-ton frigate are seized as they depart for Santo Domingo, their crews also being freed.

The Spaniards arm two frigates and emerge from Cartagena at dawn of October 22, obliging Drake to scuttle his two prizes, but not to forsake his blockade. Operating inside the vast bay, an arriving frigate runs itself aground five days afterward rather than be taken by the Englishmen, but a host of cavalrymen ashore prevent Drake from pillaging the beached vessel. Moreover, the defenders send an armed shallop on November 2 to try to chase the rovers out of their harbor, exchanging shots for a couple of hours before retiring. Drake nevertheless departs the next day for the mouth of the Magdalena River to resupply, as his provisions are almost spent.

NOVEMBER 5, 1572. Disappointed to find all coastal inhabitants and herds withdrawn inland from the mouth of the Magdalena River on orders from the Spanish authorities, Drake and his rovers intercept an arriving frigate, which is empty. After reaching the outskirts of Santa Marta a week later, the English pinnaces are driven from their anchorage by Spanish snipers hidden along the rocky shoreline. Despite inclement weather, Drake decides to forge still farther east to Curaçao, but upon standing out from the coast, the weary Englishmen seize a 90-ton Spanish vessel laden with victuals. Water and more provisions are obtained when they anchor in a small bay the next day, November 13, releasing

their prisoners. A couple of days later, Drake detaches Oxenham’s pinnace *Minion* to sail directly back and advise his Panamanian base of his imminent return, while he scours the Main with his own pinnace and prize.

NOVEMBER 27, 1572. Drake regains his Panamanian shore establishment, only to discover that his brother John has been slain during his absence in an unsuccessful attempt to board a passing Spanish frigate on October 9. Although saddened, Francis Drake decides to wait until the Spaniards begin bringing their silver bullion overland early the next year in anticipation of the arrival of their annual plate fleet. Another of his brethren, Joseph Drake, succumbs to fever during the ensuing month.

JANUARY 30, 1573. Informed by his Cimarron allies that the Spanish plate fleet has entered Nombre de Dios, Francis Drake sends the pinnace *Lion* to reconnoiter, which confirms this report when it intercepts a frigate out of Tolú.

FEBRUARY 3, 1573. This Shrove Tuesday, the English captain leaves his Panamanian base camp in charge of Ellis Hixom or Hickson to march through the jungle with Oxenham, 16 of the healthiest rovers, and 30 Cimarrons to waylay one of the Spanish mule trains conveying silver to Nombre de Dios. On February 11, Chief Pedro shows Drake a hilltop tree, from whose tip he can see both the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. (Drake is so moved, that he beseeches God “to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea.”)

Drawing very near to Panama City by February 14, the raiders send a disguised Cimarron into the city, who returns at evening with news that the treasurer of Lima is to travel in the cool of night toward the Venta de Cruces way station with a 14-mule train bearing many riches. The raiders therefore hasten ahead to lay in ambush along both sides of the trail, but a drunken rover named Robert Pike shows himself to a passing Spanish rider, who carries a warning to the Peruvian treasurer to halt. Despite capturing a couple of other mule trains, the ambushers secure almost no booty before fighting their way through Venta de Cruces and escaping into the jungle.

By February 22, the disappointed raiders rejoin their companions near the base camp. Undaunted, Drake patrols shortly thereafter westward to Veragua aboard the pinnace *Minion*, capturing a Spanish frigate from Nicaragua with a Genoese pilot before

Isthmus of Panama

Although the narrowest span between the Caribbean Sea and Pacific Ocean, the Isthmus of Panama represented a formidable barrier. Convoys sailing out from Spain had to anchor at Nombre de Dios to discharge passengers and cargoes. People and light merchandise traveled overland by mule train, taking five or six days to complete a crossing. Heavier goods were ferried 50 miles westward along the coast by hired boat to the port of Chagres. They then were lightered another 44 miles up the snaking Chagres River to a way station called Venta de Cruces. The last 18 tortuous miles up Obispo Valley, over the continental divide and down the Río Grande Valley into Panama City, was completed by pack animals. Such trips could take three weeks or more to complete. If droughts dried up the river course, extra portages meant even slower progress.

South American produce, passengers, and bullion were brought back in the opposite direction, after which a commercial fair was held at Nombre de Dios, and the galleons finally weighed anchor. A system soon evolved whereby Spanish merchants avoided living in the torrid climate at Nombre de Dios during its *tiempo muerto* or “dead time”—before a plate fleet arrived in the spring. Instead, they lived more comfortably, and warehoused their goods more safely, in Panama City. Early each year, they began preshipping bulk items via the Chagres River to have an inventory on hand at Nombre de Dios. This route was two to three times less expensive than mule trains, despite being monopolized by a handful of boat owners. Heavier South American produce followed once the Peruvian silver convoy appeared, its royal bullion temporarily housed at Panama City.

Once a dispatch vessel brought word that a plate fleet had reached Cartagena (Colombia), trans-isthmian traffic began to accelerate. The 1,000–2,000 mules engaged in the *trajín*—literally “haulage”—were fully committed to shuttling private bullion and other high-value items directly overland to Nombre de Dios. Once the plate fleet dropped anchor there, Chagres boats began ferrying the first purchased Spanish goods along the coast and upriver to Venta de Cruces. Trading at Nombre de Dios ceased once the king’s Peruvian silver and dispatches were brought from Panama City, at which point the galleons left.

With business at an end, the Panamanian mule teams—consisting on average of 30 mules and nine teamsters apiece—resumed servicing the bulk river traffic out of the Cruces way station, as local and South American traders brought their purchased goods back upriver. If it was too late in the year, such shipments could be held up by strong countercurrents in the river, which occurred every June through December during the rainy season (especially along the final four-and-a-half mile stretch between Gorgona and Venta de Cruces). Once the Peruvian convoy cleared Panama City for its homeward voyage to Callao, a sleepy calm descended on the Isthmus, until the next spring.

returning to camp on March 19. Oxenham has meanwhile roamed eastward with the *Bear* and captured a brand-new frigate laden with provisions out of Tolú (the *Lion* being scuttled for lack of men).

MARCH 21, 1573. Drake arms his new prize, celebrates Easter the next day, then ventures to sea on March 23 with his new vessel and the *Bear*. Two days afterward, they encounter the 70-man, 80-ton French ship of the Huguenot rover Guillaume Le Testu of Havre, with whom they exchange gifts and receive a report of the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre and other news from Europe.

Drake believes that this reinforcement will permit another attempt against the Spanish silver trains; Le Testu concurs. The Cimarrons are therefore contacted, and a rendezvous is agreed to at the San Francisco River mouth.

MARCH 31, 1573. *Drake’s Seizure of the Silver Train.* Twenty rovers under Drake, as well as a like

number of Frenchmen under Le Testu, land from the English prize and two pinnaces at the San Francisco River mouth and are met by a group of Cimarron allies. Advancing together through the jungle, they silently position themselves beside the trail and, on the morning of April 1, ambush three large mule trains bearing a combined total of almost 30 tons of silver. The 45-man Spanish escort is scattered by gunfire, but during this exchange, Le Testu is “sore wounded with hail-shot in the belly.”

So much bullion has fallen to the raiders that they must bury some 15 tons in hidden spots before retiring into the jungle two hours later, hastening to escape from their Spanish pursuers with the remainder. The badly wounded Le Testu is left to rest with two of his men, while Drake leads the main body on to the San Francisco rendezvous by April 3, being alarmed to find seven Spanish pinnaces anchored offshore rather than his own vessels. He nevertheless extemporizes a raft, setting out onto the open sea with three brave companions and finding

the *Bear* and the *Minion* by nightfall. The next day, the raiding party is rescued, and the treasure is evenly split between its English and French contingents before they regain their base camp.

There, Drake releases all his Spanish captives aboard the *Pascha* and parts company with the French, after which Oxenham, Thomas Sherwell, and 10 other Englishmen return to the ambush site in mid-April with 16 Cimarrons. There they discover that Le Testu and one of his men were taken within a half hour by the Spaniards, who have also dug up most of the buried treasure. Oxenham's party, nonetheless, rescues the other lost Frenchman, as well as finds 13 silver bars and a few quoits of gold, before rejoining Drake.

LATE APRIL 1573. Drake sails to the Magdalena River mouth to lay in provisions before departing his Panamanian base camp for Cuba, slaughtering and preserving some 250 turtles while resting at Cape San Antonio for his transatlantic crossing. His passage proves remarkably swift, Drake and his 30 remaining men reaching their home port of Plymouth within 23 days, on Sunday, August 9.

JUNE 1574. Learning that the English privateer John Noble is making captures with a 4-gun, 30-man ship off Escudo de Veraguas Island (Panama), Gov. Pedro Godinez Osorio orders 30 Spanish harquebusiers out of Nombre de Dios aboard a "rowing frigate." Together with a brigantine and launch out of Concepción de Veragua, the force traps the interloper and kills or executes all its crew members except for 2 young boys, who are condemned to the galleys.

DECEMBER 14, 1574. The 20-gun, 120-man French privateer ship of Captain Silvestre attacks Concepción de Veragua (Panama). Disappointed by its scant booty but informed by runaway slaves or *cimarrones* of other potentially rich Spanish targets, Silvestre detaches a pair of smaller auxiliaries two days later to assault Chagres, farther to the east, and the Desaguadero or "Mouth" of Nicaragua's San Juan River to the northwest.

Three Spanish barks are seized at this latter port, and its town is occupied for three months. From there, the rovers—now reinforced by Gilbert Horsley's 32 recently arrived English adventurers, who are aboard a 7-gun ship—attempt to ascend the river and surprise Granada, instead intercepting some Spanish frigates traveling downstream.

MARCH 15, 1575. Silvestre's and Horsley's frigates set 40 harquebusiers ashore at dawn, attempting to surprise Concepción de Veragua (Panama). Instead, the raiders are discovered on its beach and repelled, after which their vessels bombard the town for the rest of the day.

APRIL 2, 1575. Horsley anchors behind Cape Honduras and, at evening, sends a boat party nine miles south to raid Trujillo. Its defenders are alerted just past midnight, but the Englishmen nevertheless make off with an anchored Spanish frigate the next dawn, steering west. Lt. Gov. Diego López sends a shallop toward Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras) with a warning, but Horsley's rovers intercept it 60 miles away that same afternoon of April 3, along with the coaster of Juan Antonio. The Spanish merchantmen of Martín Monte and Vicencio Garullo enjoy better success, however, beating off an attack by these same rovers opposite Triunfo de la Cruz.

The Englishmen then return past Trujillo on the evening of Tuesday, April 5, before continuing east toward Cape Camarón, and eventually regaining Plymouth by June.

AUGUST 27, 1575. The Portuguese admiral Cardoso de Barros departs from Rio de Janeiro with a small expedition to destroy the shore bases being established by French and English trespassers amid the friendly natives at Cabo Frio.

1576. French corsairs raid Santa María de Guadianilla (modern Guayanilla, Puerto Rico), capturing a large number of women. The rovers are then overtaken in a rainstorm before regaining their boats, suffering a considerable number killed plus losing their captives.

JUNE 1576. Spanish admiral Cristóbal de Eraso enters the Caribbean with a plate-fleet escort, scattering seven Franco-English corsair vessels off Margarita Island (Venezuela), one of which scuttles itself rather than face capture.

LATE JUNE 1576. After departing England on April 19 and traversing the Lesser Antilles, Drake's former subordinate, Capt. John Oxenham, reaches the Spanish Main west of Cartagena with his 11-gun, 57-man, 100-ton frigate. Concealing it along this shoreline, he then strikes west-southwestward

aboard a captured Spanish frigate and two pinnaces to intercept coastal traffic visiting the annual plate-fleet fair at Nombre de Dios (Panama).

AUGUST 1576. The Bristol merchant Andrew Barker reaches the Antillean island of Trinidad with 70 men aboard the barks *Ragged Staff* and *Bear* under William Cox to seek revenge for the detention of his factors and impoundment of his goods by the Spanish inquisitors at Tenerife. After refreshing provisions for six days, the Englishmen pillage a small Spanish ship off Margarita Island (Venezuela), then take on water at Curaçao—suffering 14 men injured at this latter place from an ambush.

AUGUST 26, 1576. The English explorer Martin Frobisher claims modern Frobisher Bay (Canada) for Elizabeth I.

LATE SUMMER 1576. Beset by hostile natives, who have slain at least 30 Spanish soldiers during recent raids, the surviving garrison and civilians of Santa Elena (South Carolina) decide to abandon their fort and town. While waiting aboard their ships to cross the bar and quit Port Royal Sound,

they can see their stockade and homes erupt in flames. Most of the Spanish men will subsequently be landed at St. Augustine, while the women and children are conveyed on to Havana.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1576. Oxenham transfers his English frigate and two Spanish prizes with 18 prisoners to Pinos Island (north of Acla, Panama), leaving a 40-man anchor watch aboard while exploring inland with 12 men, guided by black *cimarrón* allies. During his two-week absence, Oxenham's vessels are surprised and captured by a Spanish frigate and brigantine bearing 20 soldiers out of Nombre de Dios. All his men except a young French page escape ashore.

LATE JANUARY 1577. *Oxenham in the Pacific.* After building a 24-oar launch, Oxenham rafts down the Chucunaque and Tuira rivers (eastern Panama) with 50 Englishmen and 10 *cimarrón* allies to gain the Gulf of San Miguel. His expedition then falls upon the offshore Pearl Islands by February 20 (Ash Wednesday), pillaging them over the next three weeks, as well as intercepting Spanish coastal traffic between Peru and Panama.

Learning of this threat from two escapees who reach Panama by canoe on March 6, Gov. Dr. Gabriel

Queen Elizabeth I

Elizabeth was born on September 7, 1533, the daughter of King Henry VIII and his second wife, Anne Boleyn. When she was less than three years old, her father divorced her mother, who was then beheaded. By way of this brutal end, Elizabeth was temporarily rendered illegitimate and therefore removed from the line of succession. She nevertheless received a good education, excelling at languages and music. Once her half-brother Edward was born to Jane Seymour, Henry restored Elizabeth as third in line to the throne in his will of December 1546.

Shortly after Henry's death, the married Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley, tried to seduce the 15-year-old Elizabeth, for which he was executed. A convinced Protestant, she was viewed with suspicion after her older Catholic sister Mary ascended the throne in the summer of 1553. Early the next year, Elizabeth was even jailed for two months in the Tower of London, in the wake of Wyatt's Rebellion. After her release, she lived at Hatfield Palace under the protection of Mary's new husband, Philip II of Spain. Although not a Catholic, he preferred Elizabeth as England's heiress over Mary, Queen of Scots, who had close ties to France.

Tall and red-haired, Elizabeth grew into a smart and determined princess. When her unpopular sister Mary died in November 1558, she succeeded without trouble. Crowned at Westminster Abbey the next January 15, it was expected that the 25-year-old queen would soon marry. Yet any union with a European monarch would draw a weakened England into foreign wars, while suitable English noblemen were all members of rival factions.

Her uncertain past left her wary and calculating; Elizabeth therefore proceeded cautiously. Yet she was every inch a queen, sharp-witted and demanding, and had inherited her father's domineering ways. She had a great sense of duty. In choosing a council, she kept its numbers small and select, with representation from different interests. She conducted foreign policy prudently as well, buying time for England to recover its stability and strength of purpose. A clash against Spain, the world's greatest power, had grown inevitable over the last quarter-century, and when that showdown finally came, the Virgin Queen did not flinch.

de Loarte prepares his defenses, dissuading Oxenham from trying a surprise attack the next evening. As the English withdraw toward the Pearl Islands, they seize a rich bark arriving from Guayaquil, so they return into the Gulf of San Miguel with considerable booty. Meanwhile, de Loarte dispatches a 200-man counterexpedition under Pedro de Ortega Valencia aboard a half-dozen boats on March 13 to hunt down the intruders.

This Spanish contingent meets the rich Peruvian galleon *Miguel Angel*, a 50-man detachment guiding it safely into Panama by March 28. De Ortega in the meantime continues his search for the retiring Englishmen, while Vice Adm. Miguel de Eraso (Don Cristóbal's son) detaches two frigates from his plate fleet at Nombre de Dios—plus a Panamanian coast-guard frigate and brigantine—to cut off Oxenham's retreat on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus. De Eraso also personally leads 30 harquebusiers to reinforce Panama City.

After ascending the Tuira River for eight days, until his vessels can go no farther because of shallow water, de Ortega proceeds afoot along the Chucunaque's banks with 60 soldiers. At 10:00 a.m. on April 2, after another four-day march, he overtakes 30 Englishmen and 80 Cimarrons eating near the "Piñas" confluence (possibly the modern Tupisca or Chico River), slaying nine Englishmen and capturing four—a wounded sailor and 3 boys—plus scattering the rest into the jungle. Oxenham's 12-man party is also attacked two days later at the village of "Catalina" (possibly modern Yavisa), winning free after suffering 3 killed in an hour-long defense of their extemporized fort. The 4 English captives are then carried back to Panama by April 18, along with the bulk of their supplies and booty.

In May 1577, 40 Spanish soldiers under Capt. Luis García de Melo travel from Panama City to Nombre de Dios with two English captives to destroy Oxenham's launches, which are hidden underwater on the north coast. Instead, Adm. Cristóbal de Eraso appropriates these prisoners, delegating Gabriel de Vera's 80-man royal warship to carry out this mission. Eventually, both Spanish contingents unite and raise the prizes together, after which García de Melo rampages south through *cimarrón* territory with 60 soldiers in a punitive sweep, emerging into the Gulf of San Miguel, while de Vera gains Cartagena.

Deprived of all means of escape, the English survivors remain in mid-isthmus until late August, when they are surprised by another 120 Peruvian

troops in two search columns under recently arrived Diego de Frías Trejo, who seizes Oxenham and 8 of his followers. Other captures follow in mid-December 1577 and early February 1578, until 13 Englishmen are executed in Panama by April. Oxenham with 4 others are executed in Lima (Peru) some time afterward.

SPRING 1577. The Biscayan renegade Pedro de la Cruz raids Chagres and the coastline of Veragua (northwestern Panama) with 80 Huguenot followers, establishing a base camp offshore.

APRIL 1577. After being pursued off Cartagena by Vice Adm. Miguel de Eraso's galleon and two frigates, Barker captures another Spanish frigate three days later off Tolú (Colombia), reputedly casting 28 soldiers overboard and holding an important passenger—Judge Juan Rodríguez de Mora—for ransom before being chased again by de Eraso. He escapes toward Nombre de Dios (Panama).

AUGUST 1, 1577. Having pillaged the coast of Veragua (Panama), scuttled the *Ragged Staff* in favor of a captured Spanish frigate, then coasted up eastern Honduras, Barker reaches Roatán Island. Two days later, his second-in-command, Cox, mutinies, setting Barker ashore with a few loyal hands.

Less than two weeks afterward, López quits the mainland port of Trujillo with a demi-galley and brigantine to rid this island of interlopers. Disembarking stealthily on its north coast, he leads 23 Spaniards in a dawn attack on Saturday, August 17, against the 30 Englishmen then ashore, killing Barker and a dozen others. The 30 men aboard Cox's ships open fire, covering their survivors' retreat, before retiring to another island three miles away. López then carries the heads and hands of the 13 dead Englishmen back into Trujillo.

OCTOBER 1577. Florida's new governor Pedro Menéndez Márquez arrives with a small expedition to reestablish the Spanish outpost at Santa Elena, abandoned the previous year. A prefabricated stockade is disembarked and assembled within six days on what is today the southern tip of Parris Island (South Carolina), becoming known as Fort San Marcos. Its 53-man garrison will successfully deter attacks by the surrounding Indian nomads. As the threat of hostilities gradually diminish, the Spanish civilian population grows over the next three years to some 400 residents, inhabiting some 60 houses.

JANUARY 1578. Two French corsair vessels occupy Manzanillo (Cuba), dispatching two boatloads of marauders up its Cauto River toward Bayamo. Its governor, Lic. Diego de Santiestéban, ambushes these raiders with 30 harquebusiers as they come upriver, inflicting heavy losses and sinking both boats.

LATE FEBRUARY 1578. After one of his two small vessels has capsized off Cape San Antonio (western Cuba), drowning 14 crew members, Cox returns to Honduras with 35 men for one final raid. Despite carrying Trujillo in a nocturnal assault, the English boats are then chased off by superior Spanish forces, suffering 1 killed and 7 captured—of whom almost all are subsequently executed, only a young cabin boy being spared.

APRIL 5, 1578. Francis Drake appears near Porto Alegre (Brazil) from West Africa on a secret and ostensibly peaceful mission to round the Strait of Magellan, with 164 men aboard five vessels, and explore the Pacific coast of South America for England. (His sixth ship rejoins on April 14 at the Cape Saint Mary rendezvous.) Drake also brings along the Portuguese pilot Nuño da Silva, captured amid the



Sir Francis Drake, as he appeared in 1591. He was slightly more than five feet tall. (Library of Congress)

Francis Drake

This great mariner was born in the parish of Crowndale, a mile southwest of Tavistock in Devonshire, England. The exact date is unknown, but it may have occurred around February or March 1541. He was the eldest of 12 children born to Edmund Drake, a tenant farmer working part of his parents' 180 acres of land, leased from the Earl of Bedford. During a Catholic outburst in 1549, the family was forced to flee.

Young Francis apparently was left at the household of their wealthier kinsmen in Plymouth, the Hawkins family, until his family could relocate. Edmund Drake moved on to the seaport of Chatham, at the mouth of the Thames, to become a Protestant preacher among its sailors. His reunited family lived in poverty aboard a laid-up ship. His son Francis remained an ardent Protestant throughout his life.

While barely a teenager, Francis went to sea under the elderly master of a small trading vessel. Drake learned seamanship in voyages from Chatham to the North Sea and into the Bay of Biscay. His old captain later willed the little ship to Drake, at the age of 20. In 1564, Drake sold this vessel to ship out from Plymouth as an ordinary seaman on the second slaving voyage to the West Indies of his second cousin, John Hawkins.

Drake distinguished himself on the third voyage by sailing home the *Judith* after the San Juan de Ulúa battle of September 1568. The next year, he married a Cornish woman named Mary Newman and returned into the Caribbean by 1570 to raid. After several strikes, he regained Plymouth with a fortune from the Panamanian silver train in August 1573. His enhanced status from this exploit secured backing for Drake's next venture, his voyage around the world. At the peak of his powers, Drake was described by the captured Portuguese pilot Nuno da Silva before the Mexican Inquisition in May 1579 as "low in stature, thick-set, and very robust. He has a fine countenance, is ruddy of complexion, and has a fine beard."

Drake returned rich and famous to be knighted by Queen Elizabeth I in April 1581. He bought Buckland Abbey, an estate halfway between his childhood home of Tavistock and Plymouth. The next year, he also was appointed mayor of Plymouth. After his first wife, Mary, died in 1583, he married Elizabeth Sydenham two years later. She was 20 years his junior and the daughter of the influential Devonshire magnate, Sir George Sydenham. Eager backers and volunteers flocked to support Drake's West Indian foray in 1585 and the Cadiz raid two years later.

Drake had no children; his lands in Devonshire, therefore, were inherited by his brother Thomas. An annual celebration has been held ever since, called the "Fishing Feast," to commemorate Drake's bringing fresh water into Plymouth.

Cape Verde Islands, who is familiar with South American waters.

DRAKE'S FLEET

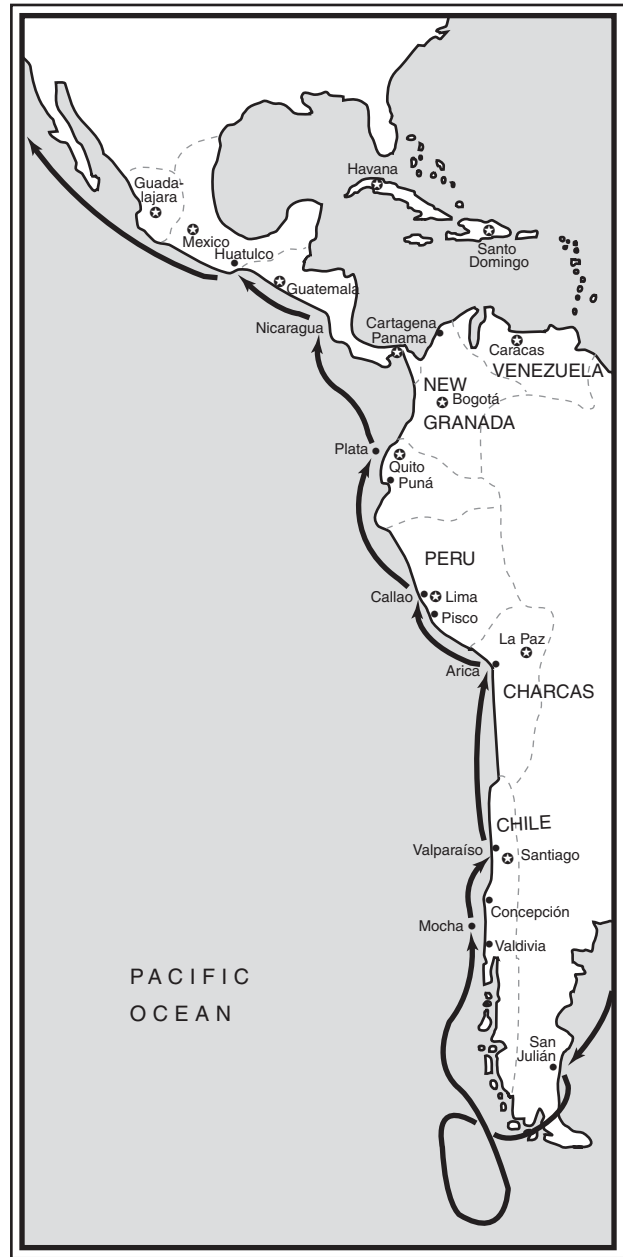
Ship Name	Guns	Tons	Commander
<i>Pelican</i>	18	150	Drake
<i>Elizabeth</i>	16	80	John Winter
<i>Marigold</i>	10	30	John Thomas
<i>Swan</i>	—	50	—
<i>Benedict</i>	—	40	—

After four months spent exploring Brazil and Argentina as far south as San Julián—plus executing his subordinate Thomas Doughty for mutiny on July 2—Drake replenishes his supplies and sets sail on August 17 with only the *Pelican*, the *Elizabeth* (now under Capt. John Winter), and the *Marigold*, standing into the eastern entrance of the Strait of Magellan three days later.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1578. *Drake in the Pacific.* Favored by good weather, Drake's squadron traverses the Strait of Magellan in 14 days, emerging into Spain's closed Pacific waters—only to be greeted by storms, which sink the *Marigold* with all 31 hands on the night of September 30 and oblige the *Elizabeth* to turn back on October 11. Although he is driven as far as 57° south latitude by October 20, Drake claws his way northward to Mocha Island by November 25. Upon attempting to go ashore, however, his 11-man boat crew is attacked by local tribesmen, who kill 2 Englishmen, capture another pair, and wound Drake with an arrow below his right eye.

DECEMBER 4–5, 1578. Overnight, Drake enters the harbor at Valparaíso and seizes the 120-ton anchored ship of Hernando Lamero, who plunges into the water and swims ashore, leaving behind seven crewmen and three slaves. His vessel is laden for departure to Peru with wine and 24,000 pesos in gold, plus charts of the Pacific coast to be used by his Greek-born pilot, Juan Griego.

Drake also ventures ashore and sacks the abandoned, impoverished hamlet of Valparaíso, looting its adobe warehouse and even its thatched-roof church, before weighing anchor on December 8. After pausing at 30° south latitude in the vain hope of having his two missing consorts rejoin, Drake loses a man when his 14-man watering party is attacked by the Spanish residents of Coquimbo in Herradura Bay near La Serena. He finally resumes his northerly heading on January 19, 1579.



Drake's cruise up the Pacific coast of Spanish America.

FEBRUARY 5, 1579. Drake arrives off Arica (Chile) and the next day boards three unmanned barks anchored in its harbor. He burns one and makes off with another owned by Felipe Corso as well as secures 37 bars of silver.

FEBRUARY 13, 1579. Drake's *Pelican*—renamed *Golden Hind* since gaining the Pacific in honor of one of the expedition's financial backers, Sir Christopher Hatton—enters the harbor at Callao, boarding and pillaging about a dozen vessels lying in its roadstead before cutting their cables so that they

drift ashore and are destroyed. Having learned from some captive Spaniards that the merchantman *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* (nicknamed *Cacafuego*) has recently departed northwestward for Paita and Panama, bearing a valuable cargo of silver, Drake instantly sets off in pursuit.

MARCH 1, 1579. After taking a few minor prizes, Drake overhauls the unsuspecting *Cacafuego* near Cape San Francisco (south of Punta Galera, Ecuador), drawing along both sides of this lumbering, unarmed galleon at 9:00 p.m. with his *Golden Hind* and a large pinnace and challenging its master, San Juan de Antón, to lower his flag. The Spaniard refuses, but his ship is nonetheless quickly subdued after only three shots are fired. Reversing course to what is today Plata or “Silver” Island, Drake transfers 360,000 pesos in gold and silver aboard his flagship before releasing the *Cacafuego*.

APRIL 4, 1579. Off Nicaragua, Drake captures the bark of Francisco de Zárate, securing two veteran pilots of transpacific crossings aboard the Acapulco-

Manila galleons—along with their charts—as well as stripping it of a few chests of Chinese porcelains and silks.

APRIL 13, 1579. Drake enters the port of Huatulco (alternate spelling, “Guatulco,” Mexico) so unexpectedly that he captures the town judge sitting inside his courtroom, holding him hostage while ransacking the few dwellings for water and food supplies. He also steals the town’s church bell before releasing all the Spanish captives, along with da Silva. The *Golden Hind* continues northwestward, perhaps reaching as high as 42° north latitude before reversing course, eventually careening outside San Francisco harbor—presumably in Drake’s Bay—from June 17 to July 23. The English dub this region “Nova Albion” and leave behind a commemorative plaque, which has never been found. By late July, the *Golden Hind* quits the Americas, sailing toward Mindanao.

OCTOBER 11, 1579. Believing Drake might retrace his course into the Atlantic via the Strait of

Manila Galleons

Ever since Columbus’s time, Spaniards had dreamed of tapping the riches of the Orient. Once Mexico was conquered, such a project was revived. In November 1564, an expedition under Miguel López de Legaspi struck out across the Pacific wastes from Puerto de la Navidad (near modern Manzanillo). His galleon *San Pedro* returned by October 1, 1565, piloted by Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta. It brought word that the expedition had established a precarious foothold in what soon became known as the Philippine Islands, in honor of King Philip II. The Mexican authorities were under Crown orders to sustain this outpost with men and funds.

The first scheduled galleon to arrive back in Acapulco from Asia was the *San Juan* of the master Rodrigo de la Isla, which entered the Mexican bay in November 1567. Because of the troubles in conveying equipment and provisions down from the viceregal capital over 200 miles of precipitous Sierra Madre del Sur mountain trails, this vessel did not clear port for its return passage until 14 months later. However, regular transpacific traffic soon sprang up, because the fledgling Philippine colony was utterly dependent on its annual subsidies from the treasury in Mexico City as well as this flow of supplies.

Settlers at Manila also were allowed space in the cargo holds to export Asian goods. To maximize their profits, they crammed the galleons with luxury wares, including spices, Chinese silks, and ivories. Such products commanded fantastic prices in silver-rich Mexico. A system soon evolved in which two pairs of vessels—each consisting of a galleon flagship and a smaller *patache* or auxiliary—took turns sailing between Manila and Acapulco. Departures from the Philippines normally occurred in summer, with vessels touching at the Marianas before continuing along the North Pacific currents to emerge off uninhabited California by Christmas. Coasting southeastward, a courier known as the *gentilhombre de los pliegos* or “gentleman of the dispatches” was set ashore near Cabo Corrientes to hasten toward Mexico City with news of the galleon’s imminent arrival at Acapulco. A great commercial fair was then held over in that port several weeks.

Eventually, the refurbished vessels received their Mexican passengers, mostly conscripted soldiers and convicts. Wooden chests containing hundreds of thousands of silver pesos then arrived from the viceregal mint, signaling an imminent departure. With the addition of the traders’ profits, galleons routinely departed with millions aboard. Ideally, they set sail southward in late March or early April to catch the prevailing winds and currents that wafted them back across the Pacific. And because of the absence of hostile ships along their remote route, they often cruised unarmed. As a result, enemy seamen dreamed of meeting one of these rich, easy prizes on the high seas.

Magellan, Peru's viceroy Francisco de Toledo dispatches two ships southward from Callao: the flagship *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* under 47-year-old Capt. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa and the vice-flagship *San Francisco* of Juan de Villalobos, each armed with two guns and a combined total of 112 men. After a protracted reconnaissance, they arrive off the strait's western mouth, and Sarmiento de Gamboa steps ashore on Friday, December 11, to ensure that no English garrison has been left behind and to begin mapping the entire length of the strait, with the aid of the Sevillian pilot Antón de Pablos, for potential fortification. (An avid mathematician and astronomer, Sarmiento de Gamboa has been twice previously charged by the Inquisition in Peru for—among other things—averring that “when it is midday in Lima, it is already night in Spain,” which is regarded as heresy.)

JANUARY 21, 1580. Inside the Strait of Magellan, Sarmiento de Gamboa loses contact with Villalobos's *San Francisco* during a storm that drives the *San Francisco* far south before it regains Valdivia (Chile) in mid-February; it then returns toward Peru. Sarmiento de Gamboa's *Esperanza* meanwhile emerges into the South Atlantic on February 24, sailing across to Africa, where he and his emaciated crew capture a French privateer. Reaching Cape Verde by May 23, the Azores on July 18, and Spain by August 19, Sarmiento de Gamboa joins the royal court at Badajoz and advises Philip II on how best to fortify and colonize this vital waterway to prevent future incursions into the Pacific.

JANUARY 31, 1580. In Europe, the death of the epileptic cardinal-king, Henry of Portugal, leaves Philip II of Spain as the nearest claimant to this throne. His succession is disputed by the Portuguese people. Philip II recalls 72-year-old Gen. Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba, from enforced retirement; he crosses the frontier between both nations at the head of an army late in June. Aided by a Spanish fleet under 54-year-old Adm. Alvaro de Bazán, Marqués de Santa Cruz, Alba wins a smashing victory at Alcántara and compels Lisbon to surrender by August 25.

Philip II is officially proclaimed Portugal's king by the Cortes (Portuguese parliament) on April 15, 1581, thereby adding a million subjects, a strong fleet, and more overseas possessions to his already vast empire. (Despite minor resistance headed by a rival claimant—the Prior Dom Antônio de Crato—

Portugal will remain under Spanish domination until December 1640, when it revolts and regains its independence.

MAY 29, 1580. On this Sunday, feast day of the Most Holy Trinity on the Church calendar, the veteran conquistador Juan de Garay returns 1,000 miles back down the Paraguay River from Asunción and Santa Fe with 64 mixed-heritage mestizo families aboard his caravel *San Cristóbal de Buena Ventura*, plus two brigantines and a flotilla of canoes. He anchors in the muddy, shallow waters at the Riachuelo River mouth to reclaim Buenos Aires as a Spanish settlement. Over the next few days, his followers will reconnoiter the landscape before selecting a new site, three-quarters of a mile northwest of its original ruins and atop one of the few pieces of high ground on an otherwise flat alluvial plain, to afford some protection against floods or attacks. It also lies adjacent to a *pozo* or “deep-water anchorage” suitable for receiving small ocean-going vessels.

By June 11, sufficient space is cleared to formally assign lots and constitute a new community, dubbed the *Ciudad de la Santísima Trinidad y Puerto de Santa María de Buenos Aires* or “City of the Most Holy Trinity and Port of Saint Mary of the Fair Breezes.” Blocks are to radiate out from a central square (modern Plaza de Mayo), which is to be lined with a fort, church, and municipal hall, while outlying plots are assigned to each of the founding families to plant crops, as well as pasturelands for *quintas* or “farms” to graze livestock. Soon, some of these 300 inhabitants will begin to quit this primitive outpost in discouragement, yet enough remain to ensure its survival.

MARCH 24, 1582. *Sarmiento's Counterexpedition.* After an initial departure from Cadiz is turned back on account of a storm that costs some 800 lives, Sarmiento de Gamboa—now governor designate for the Strait of Magellan—reaches Rio de Janeiro with a depleted fleet under the veteran admiral Diego Flores de Valdés, Knight of the Order of Santiago (see “September 4, 1565” entry), and Vice Adm. Diego de la Rivera.

The expedition consists of the 700-ton galleass *San Cristóbal* as flagship under Capt. Juan de Garay; the 500-ton vice-flagships *San Juan Bautista* under Alonso de las Alas and *San Esteban de Arriola* under Juan Gutiérrez de Palomar; the 1,100-ton, French-built *Jesús María* under Juan de Aguirre; the 450-ton *María de Jesús* of Gutierre de Solís; the 400-ton *Concepción* under Gregorio de las Alas, *Sancti Spiritus*

under Villaviciosa Unzueta, *María* under Francisco de Nevares, *Trinidad* under Martín de Zubieta, *Santa Marta* under Gonzalo Meléndez, and an unknown Galician ship under Martín de Quirós; the 360-ton *San Nicolás* under Captain Vargas; the 300-ton *Santa Catalina* (alias “*Corza*”) under Diego de Olavarri; the 260-ton *Santa María de San Vicente* under Hernando Morejón and *San Esteban* under Esteban de las Alas; the 230-ton *Santa María de Begonia* under Pedro de Elguino or Aquino; the 180-ton, Peruvian-built *Nuestra Señora de Esperanza* under Pedro Esteban de las Alas; plus the 80-ton frigates *María Magdalena* under Diego de Ovalle, *Santa Isabel* under Suero Queipo, and *Santa Catalina* under Francisco de Cuellar.

Their 672 sailors and 1,330 soldiers are accompanied by 670 settlers destined for southern Chile under Gov. Alonso de Sotomayor y Andía, Marqués de Villahermosa, plus another 206 workmen to fortify the strait. However, 153 men have succumbed during this second transatlantic crossing, while another 200 are ferried ashore sick, and Sarmiento de Gamboa and Admiral Flores are openly feuding.

AUGUST 12, 1582. The Spanish galley *Leona* and galliot *Santiago* reach the West Indian island of Dominica under Ruy Díaz de Mendoza, Knight of the Order of Saint John, to take up station six days later as coast-guard vessels operating out of Santo Domingo.

NOVEMBER 2, 1582. After a miserable layover in Rio de Janeiro, during which Sarmiento de Gamboa and Admiral Flores have another falling-out, their expedition resumes its voyage to colonize the Strait of Magellan. *Santa María de San Vicente* is left behind as useless, and on the night of November 29–30—after several days of heavy weather—Gutiérrez de Palomar’s *San Esteban* sinks with 300–350 hands off the mouth of the River Plate estuary. Flores thereupon reverses course to struggle back to Santa Catarina Island (Brazil) to regroup. The *Santa Marta* runs aground and becomes lost at Port Don Rodrigo (near modern Santa María Point), while the store-ship *San Nicolás* will be abandoned as a derelict.

DECEMBER 11, 1582. An English squadron under Edward Fenton appears off Brazil, at roughly 28° south latitude, consisting of the 400-ton flagship *Leicester* (formerly the galleon *Bear*) under Capt. William Hawkins Jr., a nephew of Sir Francis Drake; the 300-ton vice-flagship *Edward Bonaventure* under Luke Ward; the 40-ton bark *Francis* under John

Drake, another of Sir Francis’s nephews; and the 50-ton small frigate or pinnace *Elizabeth* of Thomas Skevington.

Having reached Sierra Leone in West Africa too late in the season to round the Cape of Good Hope for the Moluccas, Fenton has instead chosen to traverse the Atlantic so as to enter the Pacific and emulate Sir Francis Drake’s exploits before eventually gaining China. However, he first hopes to refresh provisions and effect repairs, so he steers northward and, on the morning of December 16, materializes outside the small port city of Santos, flying false colors to discreetly establish contacts ashore among the Portuguese inhabitants. He finds a welcome ally in a compatriot and former ship’s gunner named John Withall, who is now managing the local mill.

Adoption of the Modern Calendar

By the late 1500s, European scholars realized that their old Julian calendar—so named in honor of its ancient Roman reviser, Julius Caesar—no longer coincided with the seasons or new moons, being 10 days out of sync. Therefore, after lengthy studies by the Neapolitan astronomer Aloysius Lilius and many others, Pope Gregory XIII issued a bull on February 24, 1582, declaring that a new calendar was to be introduced. The day following the feast of Saint Francis on October 4, rather than being reckoned as October 5, instead became designated as October 15, to restore all subsequent equinoxes to their proper cycle.

This change was adopted throughout most of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and their American colonies on this date, and in France two months afterward—calendars there passed from December 9 to December 20, 1582—while the Netherlands and Germany introduced it as of 1583. Protestant England, though—being opposed to any hint of Catholic suzerainty—refused to comply. Consequently, for the 170 years from 1582 through 1752 their “Old Style” Julian calendars lagged at least 10 days behind the “New Style” Gregorian calendars used by the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Portuguese. Sometimes, international treaties and correspondence even bore a double date, such as “December 12/22, 1635,” so as to be properly observed by different nations.

It was not until the English finally, in September 1752, accepted the modern Gregorian calendar, still in use today, that all major European powers were once more synchronized. For purposes of this book, all dates are given in Gregorian Style, unless specifically marked “(O.S.)” for “Old Style.”

On the morning of December 17, Withall hastens aboard the anchored English vessels to warn them that the suspicious Portuguese authorities have sent their noncombatants inland and mustered their militia. Fenton, therefore, stands back out of the bay. The next day, he intercepts the 46-ton bark *Nuestra Señora de Piedad* under the Argentine settler Alonso Francisco de Vera y Aragón, bound from Rio de Janeiro for the River Plate with a score of Franciscan missionaries freshly arrived from Spain under Fr. Juan de Rivadeneira. The English strip this prize of its pilot, Juan Pinto, wine, church bells, and correspondence, as well as learn of Sarmiento de Gamboa's recent departure to fortify the Strait of Magellan. Therefore, when the rovers release the *Piedad* three days later and continue southward on December 22, they are prey to uncertainty.

DECEMBER 31, 1582. Unsure of being able to win past Sarmiento de Gamboa's purported new settlement in the Strait of Magellan, Fenton reverses course this evening and returns north toward the Brazilian bay of São Vicente, hoping to temporarily find sanctuary. That same night, John Drake's 18-man *Francis* parts company, eventually becoming wrecked, with Drake himself marooned for 15 months amid the Charrúa Indians of the River Plate before finally escaping to the tiny Spanish settlement at Buenos Aires.

JANUARY 7, 1583. Having left his three largest ships with 600 men at Santa Catarina Island (Brazil) to return north toward São Vicente and Rio de Janeiro in quest of Fenton, Admiral Flores strikes out southward once more with Sarmiento de Gamboa's colonists, their fleet now reduced to only nine vessels. They hope to finally install an outpost within the Strait of Magellan. Three vessels bearing 700–800 men are directed to break off on January 17 for Buenos Aires to search for the English intruders. Sotomayor's Chilean colonists are then deposited to travel overland, leaving only five Spanish ships to proceed to the eastern mouth of the strait with Flores and Sarmiento.

JANUARY 26, 1583. After wrecking the galleon *Santa Catalina* or "*Corza*" on a sandbank in the River Plate estuary, Sotomayor anchors off San Gabriel Island (Uruguay) with his two surviving ships. He then proceeds in a small boat to Buenos Aires to request help from Gov. Juan de Garay. Sotomayor's expedition will be assisted up the Paraná River as

far as Santa Fe, where an encampment is installed under his brother Luis de Sotomayor, in anticipation of proceeding to Mendoza to traverse the Andes. However, so many prefer deserting into Buenos Aires that the Chilean enterprise is effectively doomed to failure.

JANUARY 30, 1583. Fenton returns into São Vicente Bay (Brazil) with the *Leicester*, the *Edward Bonaventure*, and the *Elizabeth*, hospitably entertaining the wealthiest Portuguese residents from nearby Santos—José Adorno, Estevan Raposo, and Paulo de Vera—aboard his ships and sending presents to the regional *Capitão-mor* or Capt. Gen. Jerônimo Leitão, which are sent back unopened.

FEBRUARY 1, 1583. Flores appears off the eastern entrance of the Strait of Magellan with his five vessels, bearing Sarmiento's shrunken contingent. Discouraged by its contrary winds and daunting shoreline, the Spanish naval commander—after failing to effect a disembarkation despite repeated attempts—instead reverses course 16 days later and steers north for Brazil, over Sarmiento's heated protests.

FEBRUARY 3, 1583. *Fenton at São Vicente.* At 4:00 p.m., the Spanish galleons *San Juan Bautista*, *Concepción*, and *Santa María de Begonia* appear outside this bay, having been detached from Flores's fleet at Santa Catarina Island to return under Commo. Andrés de Elguino or Aquino, bearing the many sick and injured from Sarmiento's expedition (see "January 7, 1583" entry). Having stumbled upon the English intruders—of whom the Spaniards are aware because of the released bark *Piedad* (see "December 11, 1582" entry) as well as a message sent by the Portuguese coastal watchers at Monte Serrate—Elguino clears for battle and stands in at 11:00 p.m., bearing down upon the anchored English trio and initiating a moonlit exchange that lasts until 4:00 a.m., when a rainstorm interrupts the battle.

The dawn of February 4 reveals the *Begonia* sunk in shallow water, the attackers having suffered 32 killed and many wounded, as opposed to 8 Englishmen slain and 20 injured. Elguino's remaining pair of galleons nonetheless defend themselves vigorously when action resumes at 10:00 a.m., until Fenton finally breaks off the fight and stands out to sea four hours later.

Ward's *Edward Bonaventure* eventually becomes separated from its consorts on February 8, sailing alone and touching at Fernando de Noronha Island

before reaching England in May, while Fenton visits Salvador before regaining Ireland by June. His actions off Santos prompt King Philip II to authorize the construction in 1584 of Fort Santo Amador da Barra Grande at Góes Beach on Guarujá Island to protect against future incursions into São Vicente Bay.

FEBRUARY 27, 1583. Flores and his squadron rejoin Elguino's battle-scarred *San Juan Bautista* and *Concepción* at São Vicente (Brazil), learning of the destruction of the *Begonia* by Fenton. To strengthen Santos's harbor defenses, the Spanish admiral helps erect a redoubt named Fort San Antonio to guard its entrance, installing a 100-man garrison before his departure with Sarmiento de Gamboa's followers.

MAY 9, 1583. Flores reenters the bay at Rio de Janeiro, where his morale is further dampened when he learns that two of the three ships that he has earlier detached for Buenos Aires with Sotomayor have also been wrecked. Even the presence at Rio de Janeiro of Adm. Diego de Alcega or Alzaga with four additional caravels—bearing supplies and reinforcements for a colony that the Crown already believes established in the strait—cannot revive his spirits.

JUNE 2, 1583. Having delegated Vice Adm. Diego de la Rivera and the 34-year-old, Asturian-born Commo. Gregorio de las Alas to remain at Rio de Janeiro with six ships and 538 men to mount a second attempt at establishing Sarmiento de Gamboa's colony in the Strait of Magellan, Admiral Flores sails northward for Salvador (Bahia) with his flagship *San Cristóbal*, the *San Juan Bautista*, the *Concepción*, the frigate *Santa Isabel*, and Alcega's galleons *Santa María* and *Santa Cruz*.

JUNE 3, 1583. After reconnoitering and bartering their way up the Brazilian coast, an English expedition appears off Margarita Island (Venezuela) under William and Richard Hawkins, pausing for a few weeks to gather pearls from their 300-ton flagship *Primrose*, 180-ton vice-flagship *Minion*, 100-ton bark *Hastings*, two 100-ton ships owned by Sir Francis Drake, an 80-ton pinnace, plus one other smaller consort. Despite such peaceful conduct, this formation also bears a privateering commission from Dom Antônio de Crato—pretender to the Portuguese throne (see “January 31, 1580” entry)—to attack Spanish interests.

JULY 5, 1583. While working its way inshore to anchor overnight nine miles west of La Isabela on northern Hispaniola, the Spanish galliot *Santiago* of Capt. Diego Osorio strikes a shoal an hour and a half after darkness and breaks up, although its crew and several hundred slaves are all rescued the next day by Ruy Díaz's consort *Leona*.

JULY 13, 1583. Admiral Flores reaches the city of Salvador (Bahia, Brazil) from Rio de Janeiro, detaching his second-in-command, Alcega, toward Spain with the galleon *Santa Cruz*, while laying his other five warships up in ordinary.

JULY 20, 1583. Before dawn, slave oarsmen mutiny aboard the coast-guard galley *Leona*, anchored for the night off Cape Engaño (eastern Santo Domingo), and kill Commo. Ruy Díaz and three loyal hands, as well as wounding a dozen more Spaniards, before reversing course northwestward with the commandeered vessel.

Led by the convict Pedro de Vargas and numerous French prisoners, the mutineers attempt to stand into Puerto Plata the next day, only to be discouraged by its alerted defenses under Capt. Pedro Rengifo de Angulo. Instead, 60 armed rebels go ashore at La Isabela, slaughtering beef cattle; they release their captives before steering toward Bayahá. There, they lure its unsuspecting Crown official aboard, then destroy its harbor castle and pillage the town along with its outlying district for four days before departing toward La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti), with a prize in tow.

JULY 22, 1583. William and Richard Hawkins appear off Puerto Vargas (near modern Guayanilla in western Puerto Rico), anchoring so as to repair one of their vessels. They take on wood and water before departing by the morning of July 30 for the Mona Passage, in company with three other recently arrived English ships. While reembarking, one of their shore parties is ambushed by a half-dozen Spaniards under Diego Rodríguez de Castellanos, who captures two interlopers and puts them to death.

AUGUST 1, 1583. After being repelled at La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti)—its mutinous crew suffering one killed and another seriously injured—the rebel galley *Leona* anchors 25 miles farther west at Guava (Petit Goâve) to begin gathering provisions

so that Vargas's followers might burn their prize and sail the captive ship brought from Bayahá toward Europe. On August 9, they also intercept a second merchantman arriving from the Spanish Main, incorporating it into their flotilla.

The next day, Captain Osorio reaches La Yaguana after a forced march overland to attempt to recapture the galley. Outnumbered, he fails to persuade the local militia to help; instead, he visits the mutineers' 50-man fortified camp at Guava on August 13 to offer pardons to anyone willing to surrender. The rebels become divided, shifting the galley to La Yaguana on August 20 while retaining their camp and two other vessels at Guava.

Eventually, the *Leona* departs north on August 26, pausing at Atibonico (modern Artibonite) two days later to rustle cattle, then proceeding to Guanahibes (modern Gonaïves) on September 6 to rejoin its two companion ships. Some 90 mutineers then go aboard the latter to sail for France, having marooned another 60 unwilling colleagues ashore. Osorio arrives the evening of September 7 and recaptures the stripped galley before it can be burned by its 50 remaining crew members, but he is otherwise powerless to pursue the escaping pair out to Tortuga Island, or into the Atlantic.

AUGUST 15, 1583. Humphrey Gilbert lays claim to Newfoundland (Canada) for Elizabeth I of England.

DECEMBER 8, 1583. Sarmiento and the Spanish vice admiral de la Rivera depart Rio de Janeiro with the galleons *Santa María de Castro* and *Trinidad*, as well as the frigates *Santa Catalina*, *María Magdalena*, and *María de Villaviciosa*, to again attempt to create an outpost in the Strait of Magellan. Sarmiento de Gamboa recognizes that his colonists are setting sail with their "morale flattened and in great fear." After two months of battling contrary winds, they sight the waterway on February 1, 1584, feast day of the Purification on the Church calendar.

Three days later, 245 people—116 soldiers, 48 sailors, 58 colonists, 13 women, and 10 children—struggle ashore in the lee of Cape Once Mil Vírgenes near its eastern entrance, wrecking the galleon *Trinidad* in the process. After sketching out an initial fort dubbed La Purificación, Sarmiento considers its placement too windswept and so relocates his settlement on February 11 to another nearby site, which he names Nombre de Jesús and where he installs his artillery. He is now supported by only

the *Santa María de Castro*, de la Rivera having retired for Brazil with the frigates because of the ceaseless storms. Undaunted, Sarmiento de Gamboa leads 94 of his healthiest men on a 200-mile trek, suffering 1 killed and 10 wounded in skirmishes against Patagonian natives before establishing another outpost called Rey don Felipe at the narrowest point of the strait, which he arms with eight guns and supplies with provisions ferried aboard the *Santa María de Castro*.

Repressing a mutiny by beheading its four ring-leaders, Sarmiento de Gamboa maintains his foothold through sheer strength of will, despite the 15 continuous days of snow that threaten his wretched colonists. On May 25, 1584, he goes aboard the *Santa María de Castro* at Rey don Felipe to once again visit his original eastern encampment at Nombre de Jesús, but a fierce winter storm sweeps him past it the next day and out into the South Atlantic. After vainly beating about for 20 days, the *Santa María* stands away from the strait, reaching Santos on June 29 and Rio de Janeiro by July 7.

JANUARY 1584. In London, Elizabeth expels Spain's ambassador Bernardino de Mendoza for his role in the Throckmorton assassination plot against her, effectively severing diplomatic relations between the nations.

JANUARY 3, 1584. Antonio de Berrio leads a Spanish expedition eastward down the Casanare and Meta rivers in central Venezuela in quest of Manoa, the legendary city of El Dorado or "The Golden Man." Before reaching the Atures River, however, the exhausted Spaniards are compelled to turn back.

MARCH 1, 1584. *French Paraíba.* The Spanish admiral Flores quits the anchorage of Salvador in Baía de Todos os Santos (Brazil), sailing north toward Pernambuco (Recife) to await the arrival of a Portuguese expedition of 100 cavalymen, 300 infantrymen, and 3,000 native auxiliaries who are marching overland under Felipe de Moura to expel some French trespassers from Paraíba Bay.

After numerous delays, Flores circles round from Pernambuco with his five galleons, appearing before the Paraíba River mouth. One French vessel escapes past his warships out to sea, but Spanish boat parties discover another four careening three or four miles inside. The largest—200 tons—is captured, although 150 Frenchmen torch the other

three and the dwellings on land before disappearing upriver with their Potiguar allies. To prevent any return, the victors, in May, establish Fort São Felipe upon this site—its town later being dubbed “Filipeia” in honor of Philip II—and garrison it with Portuguese governor Fructuoso Barbosa’s 50 Brazilian militiamen, plus a company of 110 Spanish harquebusiers under Captain Castrejón.

However, an attempt to advance farther upriver is defeated by the Potiguar, with the death of 40 Hispano-Portuguese and 400 native allies, the survivors being chased back to within range of Fort São Felipe’s guns.

JUNE 10, 1584. In France, the death of the king’s younger brother François, Duc d’Anjou, leaves the Huguenot prince Henri de Navarre next in line for the throne of the childless Henri III, prompting the revival of the Catholic League as an oppositionist force under Henri, Duc de Guise. The latter secretly signs the Treaty of Joinville with Spain in December of this same year, with Philip promising to aid his coreligionists in supporting Charles, Cardinal de Bourbon, as a rival claimant against the Protestant contender Henri de Navarre; whereas Elizabeth of England backs the Huguenot cause.

JANUARY 13, 1585. Having lost his flagship *Santa María de Castro*, Sarmiento de Gamboa instead dispatches a 40-ton relief bark from Pernambuco (Brazil) for his starving Spanish colonists in the Strait of Magellan. This ship is also wrecked, so Sarmiento de Gamboa follows with a 50-ton vessel, only to turn back into Rio de Janeiro because of foul weather. There, he represses a mutiny by its demoralized crew with his sword—killing one sailor and wounding others—when they refuse to put to sea again.

Desperate to obtain assistance for his isolated outpost, Sarmiento sets sail in June 1585 for Spain aboard a Portuguese caravel to beseech Philip II’s assistance, but he is intercepted off Tercera in the Azores on August 11 by three of Sir Walter Raleigh’s privateers and held captive in England until late October 1586. Released after an interview with Elizabeth I, he enters France and is again seized that same December by Huguenots, who will hold him until he is finally ransomed for 6,000 ducats and four fine horses in August 1590.

MARCH 1585. In France, the eighth “War of Religion” erupts between the Huguenot faction led by

Henri de Navarre, the Catholic League under Henri, Duc de Guise, and royalist forces under King Henri III (thus becoming known as the “War of the Three Henries”). For the next four and a half years, the nation will be wracked by strife, with foreign mercenaries joining in on all sides.

MAY 17, 1585. The 42-year-old adventurer Sir Richard Grenville reaches Dominica with his 160-ton flagship *Tiger* and a smaller consort, plus several Spanish prizes. He is part of a seven-ship convoy bearing colonists for Raleigh’s projected new colony at Roanoke (North Carolina).

Three days later, Grenville approaches Las Boquillas—30 miles east of modern Guayanilla in southern Puerto Rico, dubbed “Mosquito Bay” by the English—setting 400 men ashore on May 25 to build a temporary fort and a pinnacle. Four days later, he is rejoined by his 50-ton consort *Elizabeth* under Capt. Thomas Cavendish, then departs on the morning of June 3 after burning his fort and the surrounding countryside.

Grenville’s second-in-command, Ralph Lane, lands 20 men from his 140-ton *Roebuck* at Cape Rojo on June 6 to poach salt, despite the presence of several Spanish cavalry patrols. Lane pauses next off Mona Island, intercepting a passing Spanish bark on the evening of June 8 and a frigate the next morning. He holds both so as to extort fresh food, water, and mounts from the residents of nearby San Germán before steering northwestward.

JUNE 11, 1585. Grenville and Cavendish’s five ships and prizes reach La Isabela (northern Hispaniola), receiving such a friendly welcome from its local Spanish officials and those of nearby Puerto Plata that they remain until June 17 before continuing their voyage toward North America.

JUNE 26, 1585 (O.S.). Grenville reaches Wococon Inlet, somewhere near modern Ocracoke Inlet on North Carolina’s Outer Banks. Three days later, his flagship *Tiger* runs aground, losing most of the supplies that it carries. The English nonetheless come ashore and establish the small Roanoke colony in Raleigh’s name, under the direction of Ralph Lane. Grenville sets sail on August 25 (O.S.), returning into Plymouth in England by September 18 (O.S.).

JULY 1585. In Europe, Henri III of France signs the Treaty of Nemours, aligning himself with the Catholic League and its Spanish backers.

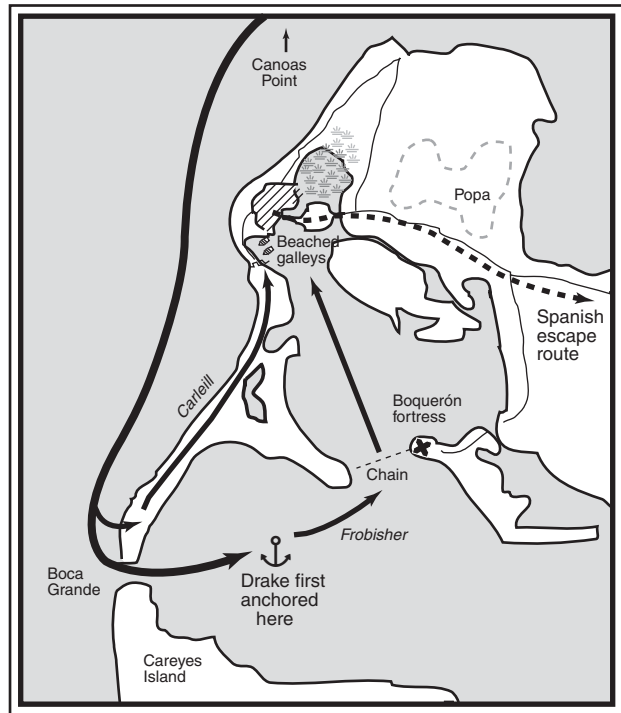
AUGUST 20, 1585. Elizabeth I signs the Treaty of Nonsuch, committing England to send 6,000 troops under her favorite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, to aid the Protestant Dutch in their revolt against Spain this same December.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1585. While homeward-bound from Virginia toward England, Grenville's *Tiger* intercepts the 300-ton Spanish ship *Santa María de San Vicente* of the master Alonso de Cornieles near Bermuda, a rich prize that is sailed into Plymouth on October 28.

JANUARY 10, 1586. *Sack of Santo Domingo.* At 8:00 a.m., Drake resumes his West Indian depredations by materializing off Hispaniola with 23 vessels, including two on loan from Queen Elizabeth—his 600-ton flagship *Elizabeth Bonaventure* and the 250-ton *Aid*—plus Martin Frobisher's private merchantman *Primrose* serving as fleet vice-flagship, and the 400-ton galleons *Leicester*, *Tiger*, *Minion*, and *Swallow*; his whole fleet bears 2,300 men. Having captured a Spanish bark with a Greek pilot, Drake learns that the best disembarkation point is 10 miles west of the city of Santo Domingo at the Jaina River mouth, so he proceeds there this same evening to begin landing 800 troops under Christopher Carleill.

The next day, Drake's fleet menaces Santo Domingo's seaward defenses, precipitating the Spaniards into scuttling two ships in a vain attempt to block up its harbor entrance. When Carleill's small army unexpectedly approaches overland at noon, Spanish will collapses, leading to a wholesale flight of its tiny garrison, led by the governor Lic. Cristóbal de Ovalle. The English seize and hold Santo Domingo for a month, during which time they pillage the city. They then begin torching its buildings so as to extort ransoms from its inhabitants who are hiding in the interior; they eventually raise 25,000 ducats, and Drake departs on February 11.

FEBRUARY 19, 1586. *Drake at Cartagena.* As the English fleet gathers before this port, plainly visible from Santo Domingo Beach (also known as *Playa Grande* or "Big Beach"), Gov. Pedro Fernández de Bustos—having had ample warning of their approach—orders all civilians evacuated inland. He meanwhile masses 54 riders, 450 harquebusiers, 100 spearmen, 20 armed black slaves, plus 400 Indian archers to defend the city; furthermore, out in its harbor lie two well-acquainted galleys, recently arrived from Spain under the veteran commander



Drake's assault on Cartagena.

Pedro Vique Manrique. Still, rumors as to the unprecedented size and armament of this enemy fleet sap the defenders' morale.

Drake leads his 23 ships directly into Cartagena's outer harbor, landing 600 men under Carleill this same evening. While they march northward, Frobisher with his pinnaces probes the Boquerón fortress held by Pedro Mexía de Mirabal after nightfall, until being obliged to withdraw. The next morning, Carleill's column pushes past a line of trenches, spreading panic through Cartagena's garrison. Vique's galleys are run ashore, their crews abandoning ship as the slaves revolt. By February 21, all resistance ceases. Only 7 or 8 Spaniards lose their lives during this fighting, as opposed to 30 Englishmen. The hapless city is thereupon ransacked, its vacant buildings being ransomed by Bishop Juan de Montalvo and other leading citizens for 107,000 ducats—against which Drake extends a receipt. With sickness weakening his men, he remains until May 4 before setting sail for Cuba.

(Madrid will hasten out a battle fleet of 20 ships and 4,500 men this same year under Adm. Alvaro Flores de Quiñones to help resurrect the devastated city; 2 new coast-guard galleys are also received, with a combined complement of 233 troops and 384 slaves.)

APRIL 10, 1586. The French corsair Captain Richard approaches the vicinity of Bayamo in southern Cuba with two vessels, intending to sell the merchant frigate of Hernando Casanova—which he holds captive—back to the Spaniards. Apparently unaware of the heightened alert caused by Drake’s presence in West Indian waters, Richard is surprised by Cuban militiamen under Capt. Alvaro Pérez de Maya, who kills eight Frenchmen and captures numerous others (including Richard, along with his flagship) while liberating the Spanish frigate. Only the second French vessel, commanded by Richard’s son, succeeds in escaping, his father being carried into Bayamo to face execution.

APRIL 30, 1586. In Roanoke (North Carolina), the death of the local *werowance* or chieftain Ensensore soon leads to hostilities between the natives and its surviving English colonists under Lane.

MAY 21, 1586. Richard’s ship returns to Santiago de Cuba with three other French corsair vessels to avenge his father’s capture. Two of them deposit 80 rovers at Juragua Beach, who fight their way inland against local Cuban militiamen under Capt. Gómez Patiño. Meanwhile, the other pair of French ships penetrate Santiago’s roadstead and disembark men who torch the town’s main church, plus several lesser buildings. Unable to carry the entire town, though, the French are driven off by Spanish reinforcements from Bayamo under Capt. Hernán Manrique de Rojas, who allegedly kill 50 invaders and wound another 30.

MAY 29, 1586. Drake’s fleet bypasses Havana, watched by more than 1,000 militiamen marshaled ashore under Gov. Gabriel de Luján. The English are shadowed until they pass Matanzas and steer northward into the Straits of Florida.

JUNE 6, 1586. *Annihilation of St. Augustine.* This evening, Drake’s 23 large ships and 19 lesser consorts anchor off the entry into St. Augustine Bay. Apprised from the beacon station maintained at its mouth, Gov. Pedro Menéndez Márquez musters 80 troops inside Fort San Juan del Pinillo, a 14-gun redoubt of cedar logs directly opposite the entry channel, while sending the town’s 200–250 non-combatants fleeing inland by boat.

More than a thousand British rovers forge ashore the next day under Drake and General Carleill, advancing across the half-mile breadth of Santa Anastasia Island to install a battery amid the dunes near

Fort San Juan by nightfall. Outnumbered and distrustful of their native vassals, who had begun pillaging empty Spanish homes, the defenders abandon their stronghold once British boat parties steal across the harbor under cover of darkness; both the empty fort and town are taken without opposition by June 8.

When the invaders withdraw four days later, they systematically sack and torch the town, even chopping down its fruit trees, while Fort San Juan is stripped of its artillery and everything else of value before being set ablaze. Menéndez Márquez and his fellow colonists return out of their hiding places to find smoldering ruins; they are left with nothing more than six hogsheads of flour, a little powder, plus “the clothes we stood in.” A boat is immediately sent to Havana to beg for help.

Meanwhile, the English admiral continues northward up the coast to ravage the Spanish outpost of Santa Elena on Parris Island (South Carolina); however, he cannot spot its entrance at Port Royal Sound, so he proceeds instead to visit Raleigh’s fledgling colony at Roanoke (North Carolina).

JUNE 19, 1586. Drake pauses at Roanoke, offering its distressed settlers the 70-ton bark *Francis* and two pinnaces, along with food and equipment. Unfortunately, a storm disperses the English fleet shortly thereafter, the *Francis* and numerous boats being lost. Discouraged, the 109 remaining colonists opt to return to England with Drake, abandoning their settlement by June 28. (Approximately one week later, a 100-ton relief ship sent out by Raleigh arrives, followed 10 days later by three more ships under Grenville, who leaves 15 men behind as a second holding party upon departing.)

After touching at Newfoundland, Drake returns into Portsmouth by early August, having lost 750 men during his New World campaign—three-quarters due to disease. Despite having seized a considerable amount of booty, it does not cover his expedition’s costs.

NOVEMBER 4, 1586. Cavendish appears off Brazil from West Africa with his 140-ton flagship *Desire*, the 60-ton *Content*, and the 40-ton bark *Hugh Gallant*, now manned by slightly more than 100 men. Like Drake and Fenton before him, it is his intent to round the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific and raid Spain’s American empire before crossing to Asia. One week later, his squadron anchors off São Sebastião Island, east of Santos, refreshing provisions until December 3.

Thomas Cavendish

Thomas Cavendish is believed to have been born at Grimston Hall, near the port of Harwich in Suffolk, England. His birth date is uncertain, but records indicate that he was baptized on September 19, 1560, at Trimley St. Martin, near Ipswich. The son of a prosperous gentleman, he inherited the family fortune at the age of 12 upon his father's death. In 1575, the teenage Thomas was enrolled in Corpus Christi College at Cambridge University, but he left two years later without a degree. He then moved to London, spending lavishly as a courtier of Queen Elizabeth I. In 1584, he was elected to Parliament for the seat of Shaftesbury in Devon.

His fortune now considerably depleted, Cavendish hoped to recuperate it at sea. He bought the 50-ton *Elizabeth* in 1585 to take part in Sir Richard Grenville's colonizing expedition to Virginia. On regaining England that autumn, Cavendish decided to copy Sir Francis Drake's famous feat of sailing around the world. He built the *Desire* as his flagship and set sail from London with two smaller consorts and a total of 123 men on June 10, 1586 (O.S.).

After a brief stop at his home port of Harwich, Cavendish put into Plymouth and then struck out on his epic voyage by July 21, 1586 (O.S.). Five days later, his trio skirmished against five Biscayan vessels off Cape Finisterre. The vessels *Desire*, *Content*, and *Hugh Gallant* continued past the Canary Islands and reached Sierra Leone by August 21 (O.S.). Here, Cavendish seized a Portuguese ship and tried to burn a native village. He then set sail across the South Atlantic in September, bound for Brazil.

Over the ensuing year, Cavendish penetrated the Strait of Magellan and swept the Spanish American coastline as far north as Baja California. His Pacific incursion climaxed with the capture of the Manila galleon *Santa Ana* in November 1587, after which Cavendish steered westward across the ocean. He reached the Philippines by January 15, 1588 (O.S.), and departed Indonesia for South Africa two months later. Rounding the Cape of Good Hope by March 19 (O.S.), he passed St. Helena three months later and sighted the English coast again on September 3 (O.S.).

Cavendish entered Plymouth one week later to a hero's welcome, the second English commander to circle the globe. Legend has it that his sailors arrived dressed in silks, with damasks and cloth of gold for sails. Rich and famous because of this exploit, he lived splendidly and soon squandered his second fortune as well. Necessity obliged him to try another voyage, departing Plymouth in August 1591 for Brazil. Luck at last deserted him—fierce storms prevented him from entering the Pacific. Cavendish died aboard his flagship on May 20, 1592 (O.S.), and was cast into the sea.



Thomas Cavendish, painted upon his return from circumnavigating the globe. His body is wrapped with pearl ropes and hundreds more are sewn to his cloak and tunic as part of the booty which he has captured off Spanish America. (Longleat House)

DECEMBER 27, 1586. Cavendish's formation pauses in a large uninhabited bay—dubbed “Port Desire” (modern Puerto Deseado, Argentina) in honor of his flagship—before resuming its southerly course toward the Strait of Magellan. A few days later, the English rescue several “poore starved Spanyards” who are walking northward from Sarmiento's failed settlement of Nombre de Jesús (see “December 8, 1583” entry) and learn that only a total of 23 defenders still remain alive; they are rescued once the English enter the eastern entrance of that waterway on January 7, 1587.

JANUARY 11, 1587. *Cavendish in the Pacific.* Penetrating deeper into the Strait of Magellan, Cavendish's three English vessels reach Sarmiento's ruined western settlement of Rey don Felipe by January 19—dubbing it “Port Famine” upon finding only cadavers inside its huts—and remove six buried cannons. The rovers then emerge into the South Pacific by March 5, steering north for Mocha Island, which they sight 19 days later. Cavendish disembarks farther to its north at Santa María with 80

heavily armed men, only to be peaceably received by the local inhabitants.

JANUARY 20, 1587. An English squadron arrives off the River Plate from Sierra Leone—dispatched by George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland—consisting of the 130-man, 260-ton flagship *Red Dragon* under Robert Withrington; the 70-man, 130-ton bark *Clifford* under Christopher Lister; as well as the *Roe* under Captain Hawes and the pinnace *Dorothy*, on loan from Raleigh.

They capture a pair of small Portuguese slavers that same day, then—although intending to round the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific like Drake, Fenton, and Cavendish before them—decide to reverse course northward on March 6 so as to attack Brazil.

APRIL 1587. In central Venezuela, de Berrio leads a second Spanish expedition eastward across the Casanare and Meta plains, searching for Manoa—home of the legendary El Dorado. Despite reaching the eastern shores of the Orinoco River, his column

is obliged to turn back one year later because of weakness and ill health.

APRIL 9, 1587. Cavendish's three vessels put into Quintero Bay, north of Valparaíso (Chile), and one of their shore parties is ambushed two days later by the local Spaniards, who kill seven Englishmen and a Spanish interpreter as well as capturing another nine rovers. Still, the interlopers linger until April 15 before standing back out into the Pacific.

APRIL 21, 1587. *Salvador.* Withrington and Lister's small English squadron enters Baía de Todos os Santos (Salvador, Brazil), despite fire from its batteries and the eight ships and one caravel anchored inside. Four of these vessels are cut out by the raiders on the moonlit night of April 23–24, a 24-gun, 250-ton Flushing providing most of the opposition.

After riding out a storm, Withrington and Lister take their prizes nine days later to a bay northwest of Baía, where their shore parties are repeatedly attacked by several hundred local militiamen on both May 12 and 16. Tiring of their subsequent blockade

Drake at Cadiz

Although war was not yet openly declared between England and Spain in the spring of 1587, tensions were mounting. Elizabeth and her advisors had grown worried over the past winter about the large number of ships and stockpiles being massed in Spanish ports. It was said that these were intended for a campaign against England, even though the exact details were not yet revealed.

The more aggressive English counselors suggested a preemptive strike. The queen guardedly agreed, so Drake was unleashed from Plymouth with 27 vessels on April 12, 1587. His secret instructions were to “impeach the provisions of Spain.” Although his flagship *Elizabeth Bonaventure* and three others were royal warships, his expedition was designated as a privateering venture.

Drake's fleet appeared outside Cadiz by April 29, 1587. With typical boldness and skill, Drake sailed directly inside the harbor late that same afternoon. Its surprised defenders replied ineffectually, while the English swarmed down on 37 anchored vessels. Boarding parties stripped many of these vessels before torching them. The raiders remained inside Cadiz Bay for the next two days and nights; the only effective opposition was offered by a dozen Spanish galleys. Yet Drake wrote the following to a Protestant friend a few days later: “We sunk two of them and one great argosy, and still avoided them, with very small hurt.”

When the English fleet slipped out of the harbor on the morning of May 2, 1587, they left behind 23 destroyed ships and carried off four prizes. The shocked Spaniards immediately cancelled that year's plate fleet for Mexico, fearing that Drake intended to make another West Indian sweep. Instead, his fleet prowled between Lisbon and Cape Saint Vincent for a month, intercepting every ship they met. (In the process, Drake estimated that he also destroyed 1,600 to 1,700 tons of seasoned barrel staves. These would have been enough to make barrels for 25,000 to 30,000 tons of water or provisions. Their loss caused serious shortfalls in the Invincible Armada of the next year.)

On June 1, 1587, Drake stood away for the Azores. Although he failed to meet an unwary, homeward-bound plate fleet, he did catch a great prize: The Portuguese carrack *São Felipe*—bound from Goa in the Far East toward Lisbon—was taken. Its exotic cargo was valued at £114,000, of which the queen received more than £40,000 and Drake, £14,000. More importantly, his Cadiz raid did not immediately trigger a war. When asked about it later, he said that it was merely “singeing the beard” of the king of Spain.

of Baía, the English finally sail away on June 1 and, after seizing several more inconsequential prizes off the coast, lay in a course for England by August 3—reaching home on September 29 (O.S.) with scant profit.

MAY 3, 1587. Cavendish captures a large Spanish ship and four barks at Arica (Chile), sacking and burning all except one, which is incorporated into his squadron and renamed *George*—its seizure having occurred on Saint George's Day (April 23, O.S.). He resumes his progression northwestward two days later.

MAY 14, 1587. Cavendish reaches Pisco (Peru), intercepting two Spanish merchantmen three days later, which he pillages and burns. The English then descend upon Paita at dawn of May 29, capturing a bark in its harbor. They set 60 men ashore to occupy the town, whose 300 inhabitants have fled inland. When the latter refuse to raise any ransoms, the rovers set the dwellings ablaze before sailing northward.

JUNE 12, 1587. While resting his crews and careening his vessels at Machola on Puná Island (Ecuador), 15 or 16 of Cavendish's men are surprised by several score Spaniards and Indians out of Guayaquil under Capt. Juan de Galarza, who kill 5 or 6 Englishmen and carry 2 or 3 more off as prisoners. In retaliation, Cavendish orders all of Puná's buildings, ships, and crops burned before departing on June 21.

JUNE 29, 1587. The 120-ton flagship *Lion* reaches Dominica from England, accompanied by a flyboat and pinnace bearing 150–160 new settlers under the governor designate John White for Raleigh's colony at Roanoke (North Carolina). Three days later, they go ashore at Saint Croix to refresh and, by July 8, sight Puerto Rico, which they skirt without incident before proceeding northwest toward the Caicos Islands and their final destination.

AUGUST 2, 1587. White's expedition reaches Roanoke, setting him ashore with 40 armed men who find no trace of the 15 men left behind that previous year (see "June 19, 1586" entry). Nevertheless, all 120 remaining settlers disembark and are joined two days later by their flyboat under Edward Spicer, which had become separated from the main party. White returns to England shortly thereafter aboard the latter vessel to hasten out fresh provisions and

reinforcements that following spring (although unexpectedly prevented by the Armada embargo).

AUGUST 7, 1587. Cavendish surprises Huatulco (Mexico), looting it over the course of a week before setting its dwellings ablaze, along with a merchantman in the harbor, then departing.

AUGUST 16, 1587. As a result of Drake's devastating attack the previous year against St. Augustine (Florida) and his subsequent sweep up the Atlantic Seaboard, Pedro Menéndez Márques reaches the advance Spanish outpost of Santa Elena on what is today Parris Island (South Carolina). He has Crown orders for its Fort San Marcos and town to be abandoned so as to reconcentrate all Spanish settlers farther to the south. By the end of this same month, Santa Elena's garrison, artillery, supplies, and civilians are taken aboard the ships *San Juan* and *San Pedro*; the buildings are torched before they depart for St. Augustine.

AUGUST 24, 1587. Puerto de la Navidad (west of Manzanillo, Mexico) is visited by Cavendish, who imprisons its Spanish lookout, then torches a pair of 200-ton ships being built in its yards. Compostela is sighted by September 18, and Mazatlán is sighted nine days later, after which the Englishmen cross to the southwestern tip of Baja California to await the annual Manila galleon.

NOVEMBER 14, 1587. This morning, Cavendish's lookouts spot a large ship approaching out of the northwest, which proves to be the 700-ton Philippine galleon *Santa Ana* of Capt. Tomás de Alzola. The *Desire* and the *Content* chase it until noon, at which time they come within range and open fire. The galleon has no guns mounted—never expecting to encounter enemies upon this lonely route—nonetheless, it repels the first two English boarding attempts before finally being pounded into submission. Approximately a dozen Spaniards are killed during these exchanges, along with two Englishmen.

Cavendish works his prize back to Cabo San Lucas by November 16, depositing 180 captives ashore while looting the *Santa Ana* nearby. Eventually, 40 tons of the richest Asian goods are transshipped before the raiders torch the galleon; they strike out westward across the Pacific on November 30.

Meanwhile, the Spanish survivors build a raft from their ship's wreckage, paddling to summon help from Santiago (Colima). They are rescued and carried into Acapulco by December 7.

ELIZABETHAN WARS (1588–1603)

By the spring of 1588, frictions between Philip and Elizabeth become so intense that hostilities blaze forth openly. The “Invincible Armada”—130 Spanish ships bearing 2,400 guns, plus 22,000 sailors and soldiers—appears off southwestern England on July 29, bent upon running up the Channel to transfer the veteran army of Alejandro Farnesio, Duque de Parma, out of the Low Countries to invade Kent. Persistent English counterattacks and lack of proper Spanish coordination, plus heavy weather, doom this enterprise—less than two-thirds of its vessels and half its men ever reach home again.

Although all of England’s seamen are initially concentrated in home waters to resist this menace, victory soon permits them to switch over to the offensive. During the course of the ensuing 15 years of conflict, an average of 100–200 privateering ventures will set sail every year, bringing in £150,000–£200,000 per annum in prizes. While most of these expeditions operate in the North Atlantic, a number also raid Spain’s New World empire.

LATE JUNE 1588. The English privateer ships *Drake*, *Examiner*, *Hope*, and *Chance*—raised by the merchant John Watts and dispatched out of London early in March prior to the Armada scare—hover in the Old Bahama Channel for two weeks, vainly hoping to intercept Spanish ships arriving at Havana. After scanty results, the *Drake* steers toward the Azores, while the latter three vessels visit Newfoundland, then set a course for England by mid-August with a single French prize.

LATE APRIL 1589. The 70-ton, 40-man privateer *Black Dog* of Capt. William Michelson appears off Hispaniola, driving a Spanish frigate ashore and pillaging it before doing the same to another coaster. Michelson subsequently roams southern Cuba as far west as Cape San Antonio, looting several more vessels before parting company on May 14 with 10 men aboard a captured Spanish frigate to reconnoiter the approaches to Havana. He joins three other English ships there in mounting a blockade, which intercepts two Spanish merchantmen arriving from the Canaries. One runs aground and is partially stripped before troops can push out from shore and drive the rovers away.

Meanwhile, the *Black Dog* under its pilot Roger Kingson and the master William Mace weighs anchor from Cape San Antonio on May 18 to chase a passing Spanish ship of 120 tons, bearing a cargo of wrought iron and wine. Contrary winds and currents carry the privateers and their prize into the Gulf of Mexico, where they attack a large Spanish merchantman loading in Campeche’s harbor 20

days later. This assault is beaten off, but when Kingson and Mace attempt to extort a ransom of 5,000 ducats to depart, they are lured aboard by the Spaniards and stabbed, Mace managing to swim away with two or three others. The *Black Dog* then captures another wine-bearing Spanish ship while returning toward Cuba, and although unable to find Michelson, eventually returns into Plymouth by September 20 with three Spanish prizes.

AUGUST 2, 1589. At Saint Cloud (France), King Henri III—now openly backing the Protestant cause—is assassinated by the fanatical young Dominican friar Jacques Clément, thus clearing the way for the Huguenot champion Henri de Navarre to claim the throne. Fighting escalates as Catholic forces redouble their efforts to impede his succession.

SEPTEMBER 1589. *Chidley’s Failure.* The 120-ton, 90-man *Robin* (formerly *Delight*) of Capt. Andrew Merrick and the master Robert Burnet arrives off Brazil from Cape Blanco (West Africa), having become separated from an English expedition intended to round the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific. The expedition’s 24-year-old leader, John Chidley, sights South America shortly thereafter, with his 300-ton, 180-man flagship *Wildman* (ex-*Susan*) under Master John Ellis; the 340-ton, 140-man *White Lion* (ex-*Elizabeth Bonaventure*) under Capt. Thomas Polwhele and the master Benjamin Wood; the 15-ton pinnace *Wildman’s Club* (ex-*Susan’s Handmaid*) under Capt. Richard Glover; plus another similar-sized pinnace.

Sickness is ravaging his crews, though; Chidley himself dies on November 16 near the equator, followed by Polwhele. Demoralized, Wood deserts with the *White Lion*, returning into Weymouth by the end of January 1590, while the *Wildman* and the *Wildman's Club* make for the West Indian island of Trinidad to recuperate before recrossing the Atlantic.

Only the *Robin* succeeds in gaining Puerto Deseado (Argentina), from where it attempts to enter the Strait of Magellan on January 10, 1590. A 15-man boat party is lost off “Penguin Island,” and another 5 Englishmen are slaughtered near the derelict Spanish outpost of Rey don Felipe by Patagonian natives. By February 22, the disheartened survivors refuse to go any farther, so the *Robin* reverses course out of the Strait two days later, sailing back up Brazil toward Europe and eventually being wrecked off Cherbourg (France).

MARCH 19, 1590. De Berrio heads east down the Casanare River in central Venezuela with a third Spanish expedition, determined to explore the Orinoco and discover the legendary city of El Dorado. One year later, he reaches the Caroní confluence, leaving a garrison six miles downstream at Carapana (opposite Tórtola Island in modern Morequito Province) before reaching the Atlantic coast and visiting the offshore island of Trinidad on September 1, 1591. He then proceeds westward to Margarita for reinforcements.

MAY 5, 1590. The 6-gun, 30-man, 60-ton bark *Young*, captained by William Irish (a 29-year-old gentleman of the retinue of Sir George Carey, later Lord Hunsdon), arrives off southern Puerto Rico, then 10 days later captures a 40-ton Spanish merchantman bound from Santo Domingo toward Havana with sugar and hides. Irish subsequently unites with the ship *Falcon's Flight* off Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti), capturing another Spanish vessel before steering north toward Newfoundland, accompanied by his first prize.

MAY 10, 1590. A privateering expedition, which was raised by the London merchant John Watts Sr. and consists of the 22-gun, 160-ton flagship *Hopewell* (alias *Harry and John*) under Capt. Abraham Cocke, the 160-ton *Little John* under Christopher Newport, and the 35-ton pinnace *John Evangelist* under William Lane, reaches Dominica. Two days later, the flagship and pinnace steer northwestward for Puerto Rico, leaving *Little John* temporarily off Dominica

to intercept arriving Spanish vessels, before all three rendezvous at Saona Island.

MAY 29, 1590. Cocke's reunited trio of vessels blockade the southern coast of Santo Domingo for two weeks, capturing the 60-ton Spanish merchantman *Trinidad*, plus two smaller island frigates on June 17 and 24, respectively.

JULY 12, 1590. *Cape Tiburón.* This morning off southwestern Haiti, Cocke's formation is joined by Edward Spicer's 80-ton *Moonlight* (also called *Mary Terlaney*) and the 30-ton pinnace *Conclude* of Joseph Harris (alias “Master Harps”). Around noon, 14 Spanish sail approach out of the east, being five days out of Santo Domingo and bound toward the plate-fleet assembly point at Havana, escorted by Capt. Vicente González's galleon. Most of this Spanish convoy scatters southwestward, pursued until nightfall by the eight English privateers, who take a single small prize.

The next dawn, the *Hopewell*, the *Moonlight*, and the *Conclude* find the 350-ton, 9-gun Spanish vice-flagship *Buen Jesús* of Capt. Manuel Fernández Correa and the master Leonardo Doria anchored nearby, securing it after a stout four-hour resistance, during which 4 of the 68-man Spanish crew are killed and 6 wounded by long-range fire. Meanwhile, the *Little John* and the *John Evangelist* chase González's main body toward Jamaica, exchanging broadsides with his flagship and driving two merchantmen aground before its surviving six or seven Spanish vessels safely reach Santiago de la Vega (modern Kingston). English boat parties then refloat both beached vessels, one of which sinks; the other is sailed northwest toward Cape Corrientes (western Cuba) when Newport's triumphant pair of privateers quit Jamaica's coastline on the morning of July 14.

JULY 18, 1590. Toward sunset, Newport's *Little John* and *John Evangelist* sight three Spanish merchantmen off Los Órganos Keys west of Havana, which prove to be stragglers from Commo. Rodrigo de Rada's Mexican convoy that had entered the Cuban capital five days previously. The English open fire in the darkness, compelling one of this trio to reverse course toward Veracruz.

The next morning, the rovers close in upon the remaining pair: the master Miguel de Acosta's *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* and Juan de Borda's 60-ton pinnace *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria*. The Spaniards lash their vessels together, and after a long-range artillery exchange, the English fight their way aboard

the *Victoria*. In hand-to-hand combat, Newport has his right arm struck off, while 5 of his men are killed and 16 wounded, before the Spanish can be driven from this vessel. The victors thereupon discover that the *Victoria* is badly holed, and it sinks within 15 minutes. The *Rosario* meanwhile retreats inshore, suffering 2 killed and 8 injured, before running aground at the western end of Los Órganos, allowing its crew to escape ashore.

JULY 21, 1590. Cocke arrives off Cape San Antonio (southwestern Cuba) with the *Hopewell*, the *Moonlight*, the *Conclude*, and his prize *Buen Jesús*, only to become becalmed and thus watch impotently as the Cartagena treasure fleet of Adm. Juan de Uribe Apallua passes by farther out at sea, entering Havana safely on July 29.

AUGUST 4, 1590. Cocke's squadron enters Matanzas and blockades Havana for a few days before the *Hopewell* and the *Moonlight* proceed toward Virginia to search for Raleigh's lost colonists. The *Conclude* and the *Buen Jesús* strike out across the Atlantic directly toward England.

AUGUST 16, 1590. While at Notre Dame Bay in northern Newfoundland with his captive Spanish consort, Irish's bark *Young* is attacked by 7 French fishing ships and 15 pinnaces of the Catholic League under Jean Blondel, his prize being wrested away after a long struggle.

MAY 13, 1591. To cover the anticipated arrival from Veracruz of the homeward-bound plate fleet of Antonio Navarro de Prado, plus the Tierra Firme fleet out of Cartagena under Pedro Méndez Marques, Adm. Diego de la Rivera sorties from Havana with seven galleons, two galleys, and two pinnaces bearing 2,000 men, sweeping English rovers from Cuba's western approaches.

LATE MAY 1591. The 150-ton Spanish merchantman *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* of the master Francisco González is captured off La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti) by the 60-ton *Margaret* of one-armed Capt. Christopher Newport and the master Cuthbert Grippe, the 50-ton *Prudence* of Capt. John Brough and the master Thomas Harding, the 120-ton *Centaur* of Capt. William Lane and the master John Gall, the 80-ton *Pegasus* of Capt. Stephen Michell and the master Abicocke Perry, and the 150-ton *Little John* of Capt. Michael Geare and

the master William Bendes, as well as the pinnace *Fifth Part*.

The first pair and the latter foursome have only recently, and separately, arrived in the West Indies, meeting and agreeing to unite forces for attacks against the Spaniards. The *Rosario*'s crew is released, their vessel being pillaged.

JUNE 9, 1591. Having earlier become separated from Lane's quartet of English privateers, the 200-ton *Hopewell* (alias *Harry and John*) of Capt. William Craston and the master George Kennell meets up, between Saint Kitts and Puerto Rico, with the 130-ton bark *Burr* of Capt. William Irish, the 35-ton *Swallow* of Capt. Ralph Lee and the master Anthony Daniel, and the 30-ton *Content* of Capt. Nicholas Lisle and the master William King. The latter have been sent by Sir George Carey to raid Spanish targets in the Caribbean, so steer westward together with the *Hopewell* for Cuba.

JUNE 23, 1591. *Corrientes.* At 5:00 a.m., the *Burr*, the *Hopewell*, the *Swallow*, and the *Content* arrive between Capes Corrientes and San Antonio off southwestern Cuba, sighting six sail. Believing that these might be treasure ships from Cartagena, the English close, only to discover this force to be Admiral de la Rivera's 700-ton flagship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, Vice Adm. Aparicio de Arteaga's 650-ton *Magdalena*, two other large galleons, plus a pair of galleys, bent upon giving battle.

A long-range exchange erupts at 7:00 a.m. and lasts over the next three hours, after which the English formation scatters. The *Burr* explodes from a fire in her magazine, and Captain Irish and 16 survivors are rescued by the *Swallow*. The 100-ton galleys *San Agustín* and *Brava* chase the smaller English vessels into the shallows before the latter finally slip away at nightfall.

JUNE 29, 1591. The *Hopewell* and the *Swallow* return to Cape Corrientes (Cuba), finding de la Rivera gone. Instead, they meet and unite with the vessels *Centaur*, *Pegasus*, *Little John*, *Prudence*, *Fifth Part*, and Capt. John Oker's *Lion* out of Southampton. Three days later, while part of this formation is watering inshore, the *Pegasus* and the *Centaur* intercept the passing 150-ton Spanish merchantmen *Santa Catalina* of the master Martín Francisco de Armendáriz and the 100-ton *Gift of God*, while the *Lion* and the *Swallow* take another prize, all three being bound from Santo Domingo toward Havana.

The English then agree on July 5 to sail together with their prizes until they are past the Cuban capital. After reaching Matanzas, the *Prudence* and the *Lion* continue up the Old Bahama Channel toward England five days later with the prizes, while the vessels *Centaur*, *Pegasus*, *Hopewell*, *Little John*, *Swallow*, and *Fifth Part* reverse course to take up station west of Havana and await incoming ships.

JULY 15, 1591. Early this morning, the English privateers *Pegasus* and *Little John* intercept the 300-ton Spanish merchantman *San Juan* of the master Agustín de Paz, as it approaches Havana from Veracruz. The latter vessel is pillaged and burned, and another four smaller coasters are also captured by other ships in this squadron as they arrive from Santo Domingo.

Early the next day, the first elements of the main Spanish convoy arrive from Mexico under Admiral Navarro, and because the 240-ton merchantman *Santa Trinidad* of the master Alonso Hidalgo is far ahead, away from the protection of the galleons, it is taken at 1:00 p.m. by the *Centaur* and the *Little John*. It proves such a rich prize that the rovers decide to quit their watch outside Havana and sail for home before the rest of the Spanish plate fleet sorties on its homeward leg.

DECEMBER 24, 1591. After enduring difficulties from calms during his transatlantic crossing to Brazil, Cavendish nears the city of Santos with his 400-ton galleon *Dudley* (formerly *Leicester*), the 240-ton *Roebuck* under John Cocke, the 140-ton *Desire* under John Davis or Davys, and the “Black pinnace” under Capt. Toby Stafford (a bark called *Dainty* under Captain Parker having previously turned back). Taking advantage of the Christmas Eve celebrations being observed by the unwary Portuguese defenders, as well as the rainy night, the *Roebuck*, the *Desire*, and the pinnace succeed in stealing across the bar guarded by Fort Santo Amaro and materialize off the city of Santos by the next dawn.

Taken by surprise, the tiny citadel of Nossa Senhora do Monte Serrate, which covers the landing spot at Enguaguaçu Beach, is obliged to surrender without firing a shot, after which the English occupy the city; Cavendish arrives on December 26 with his other pair of vessels. Seven or 8 prominent citizens are seized as hostages against the good behavior of the 300 Portuguese inhabitants. The raiders will spend the next month and a half anchored off Santos before finally weighing anchor in late

January 1592 to attempt another penetration through the Strait of Magellan into the South Pacific.

MARCH 28, 1592. After being battered by a storm off the River Plate estuary, Cavendish reaches “Port Desire” (modern Puerto Deseado, Argentina) and is reunited with his scattered squadron.

APRIL 14, 1592. *Newport’s Sweep.* Christopher Newport arrives from the Canaries at Dominica with his 150-ton flagship *Golden Dragon* under the master Robert Keble, the 70-ton *Prudence* under Capt. Hugh Merrick and the master John Paul, the 50-ton flyboat *Margaret* under Capt. Robert Thread and the master James Bragge, and the 30-ton pinnace *Virgin* under Capt. Henry Kedgell and the master Cuthbert Grippe. Despite only commanding 200 men, the English privateer commander intends to use this force for more than seaborne interceptions—his aim being to make amphibious descents as well as to conquer and hold a place such as La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti) as an advance English base.

After refreshing provisions, the rovers seize a 300-ton Portuguese slaver bound for Cartagena, diverting it to San Juan de Puerto Rico, where they land two wealthy prisoners on April 18 to raise funds to buy the slaves. Tired of waiting, however, Newport coasts westward to Aguada, selling his captives and scuttling his prize before standing away for Mona Island.

APRIL 18, 1592. After recuperating at Port Desire, Cavendish makes a late-season attempt to enter the Strait of Magellan into the South Pacific with his flagship *Dudley*, the *Roebuck*, the *Desire*, and the pinnace *Black*. Fierce winter weather and contrary winds oblige him to reverse course one month later. While sailing back toward Port Desire, Cavendish changes his mind again and veers around, losing contact with his other vessels. He dies on May 20 (O.S.), after accusing his subordinate Davis of desertion. But Davis actually leads the *Desire* and the pinnace *Black* into the agreed rendezvous at Port Desire by the night of May 21–22 (O.S.).

Cavendish’s *Dudley* and Cocke’s *Roebuck* meanwhile return northward alone to São Vicente Bay (Brazil). Upon arriving, they are unable to traverse its bar past the alerted fortress, and a 25-man English boat party is attacked and repelled with losses by the local Portuguese militia forces. The *Dudley* and the *Roebuck* proceed farther east-northeast to

Christopher Newport

This Elizabethan rover was born sometime in 1560 and was baptized on December 29, 1561, at St. Nicholas Church in the English seaport of Harwich. He was given the same name as his father, who was a local shipmaster. Young Christopher went to sea as a boy and, in 1581, jumped ship at Bahia (Brazil) from the *Minion* of London after a dispute with Capt. Stephen Hare. Four years later, Newport returned to England and lived at Limehouse, a hamlet of Stepney in Middlesex. On October 19, 1584 (O.S.), he married Katherine Procter.

Growing tension with Spain revived his seafaring career. In April 1587, Newport served as master's mate aboard John Watts's *Drake* in the raid against Cadiz. Two years later, he was master of Robert Cobb's *Margaret* of London. Newport made his first independent Caribbean cruise as a privateer captain in 1590 aboard Watts's *Little John*. He lost his right arm while storming *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* off the Cuban coast that same July.

Unfazed, Newport took Ellen Ade as his second wife on January 29, 1591 (O.S.). He also sailed that same year on a Barbary trading voyage and back into the Caribbean to raid. As of 1592, he prowled aboard the *Golden Dragon* of Cobb's partner, John More, enjoying even greater success. That same August, Newport was one of six commanders under Sir John Burgh who captured the 32-gun, 1,600-ton Portuguese carrack *Madre de Deus* after a hard-fought battle off the Azores. Newport would be chosen to sail it to Dartmouth. Upon arriving, it was found to contain 500 tons of exotic spices, silks, gems, and treasure, making it one of the richest prizes ever taken.

Until 1595, Newport continued to sail ships owned by London merchants. But his circumstances changed after he was married for a third time on October 1, 1595 (O.S.), to Elizabeth Glanfield, a London goldsmith's daughter. Such resources allowed Newport to fit out the powerful privateer *Neptune* as one-sixth owner and raid the West Indies repeatedly until 1603. Even when peace with Spain was restored the next year, Newport continued to visit the Caribbean. In 1605, he presented the new king, James I, with two young crocodiles and a wild boar that he had brought from Hispaniola.

Newport's fame as a veteran New World sailor led to his appointment as "one of the principal masters of the Royal Navy" in January 1606. On December 10 of that same year, he was hired to command the colonizing expedition to Virginia. Nine days later, Newport set sail with his flagship *Susan Constant*, accompanied by the *Godspeed* and the *Discovery*. After helping to establish Jamestown, he returned to England and brought out reinforcements on four more occasions. On his third voyage in 1609, he was wrecked on Bermuda.

Newport then entered the service of the East India Company in 1612 and made his first voyage to Persia the next year. On his third Far Eastern voyage, he died at Bantam on the island of Java in late August 1617.

Espirito Santo, where they suffer 55 men killed or captured in an attempted capture of two anchored ships. That same night, the *Roebuck's* master, Robert Tharleton, parts company with the *Dudley* and lays in a course for England, while the latter returns southwestward in one last desperate bid to refit. The *Dudley* again meets with hostility off São Sebastião Island, maroons some sick crew members, and then steers for England.

Davis will remain and make three more attempts to penetrate the Strait of Magellan, exploring the Falkland Islands before finally staggering into Ireland on June 11, 1593 (O.S.), with only 15 crewmen still alive.

APRIL 20, 1592. After raiding the Canary Islands during their transatlantic passage, a pair of English ships—the 26-gun, 200-ton, 100-man *Salomon* of Capt. William King and the master John Wildes and the 6-gun, 35-ton, 26-man *Jane Bonaventure* of Capt.

William Richards and the master James Perryman—reach Dominica. Having refreshed their provisions, these rovers thereupon seize a 100-ton slaver with 270 blacks from Guinea (West Africa), which they carry to Puerto Rico. Arriving off its capital of San Juan, a 70-ton English merchant prize is cut out from its harbor during a nocturnal penetration, after which most of the slaves are sold on the western half of the island.

The recaptured 70-ton merchantman is then scuttled, and the 100-ton slaver is detached for England under the prize master George Simson. King subsequently visits Mona and Saona islands, Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti), Jamaica, Grand Cayman, Cape Corrientes, and the Tortuga Keys off Florida, intercepting a handful of small coastal craft.

APRIL 25, 1592. After touching at Mona and Saona islands, plus intercepting three small Spanish coasters, Newport makes a nocturnal descent upon

Ocoa (in the modern Dominican Republic). Its inhabitants, having sighted his ships at dusk, disappear inland, so little booty is found either in the town or aboard the two frigates in its harbor.

MAY 1592. De Berrio's lieutenant Domingo de Vera Ibargüen (or Ibargoyen) reaches the Antillean island of Trinidad with a Spanish contingent from Margarita, founding an inland settlement called San José de Oruña by May 19. De Berrio arrives some time later, delegating de Vera to continue exploring up the Orinoco on the mainland for El Dorado, while he rebuffs attempts by the rival Spanish governor Francisco de Vides of Cumaná to lay claim to Trinidad.

MAY 3, 1592. Having rounded Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti) and anchored off Grande Gonâve Island, Newport transfers 150 men into his boats and then strikes out to surprise La Yaguana (modern Léogâne) on the mainland. Two hours before sunrise of May 27, the English steal upon this harbor, only to be detected by a 35-ton frigate anchored offshore, which raises the alarm. Two of the 110 invaders are consequently killed fighting their way ashore. The party is further delayed by 150 Spanish riders who—despite seeing their governor slain—stampede a herd of cattle in the rovers' direction before retreating inland with all their goods. Thus frustrated in his hopes of subduing the garrison and securely holding the town, Newport sets fire to its 150 empty buildings before rejoining his ships and sailing away for Honduras.

MAY 19, 1592. Newport's squadron intercepts a Spanish coaster outside the Honduran port of Trujillo, then sends boat parties inside its harbor to attack another three or four anchored vessels, despite fire from its batteries.

MAY 25, 1592. Newport makes a descent upon Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras), occupying the town without opposition, as its inhabitants have fled inland upon learning of the raiders' approach. Its 200 empty buildings are pillaged until the next evening, after which the English reembark and reverse course eastward.

They subsequently sight a 200-ton Spanish merchantman anchored offshore, which is set ablaze and abandoned by its crew before the English can board.

JUNE 4, 1592. After refreshing provisions on Trinidad Island following their transatlantic crossing, an

English expedition comprising the 120-ton *Challenger* of Capt. Benjamin Wood and its master, John Tomlyn, the 100-ton *Mineral* of Capt. Richard Vassour and its master, Richard Cawson, the 90-ton *Pilgrim* of Capt. Thomas Coche and its master, William Elsemore, and the 50-ton *Flight* (formerly the French *Florissant*) of Capt. Thomas Turner and its master, Robert Abraham reaches Margarita Island (Venezuela). They coast westward and touch at Cape de la Vela, Ríohacha (Colombia), and Santa Marta without taking any prizes. Eventually, the *Mineral* and the *Flight* lose contact during a storm.

JUNE 16, 1592. Newport's three privateering vessels make a second assault upon Trujillo (Honduras), only to be repelled by its now fully alerted defenses. A storm then scatters the English squadron and its prizes, so each commander makes his best way toward England, by circling Cuba and touching at Florida.

JUNE 22, 1592. Wood's *Challenger* and *Pilgrim* meet the 50-ton privateer *Moonshine* of Capt. John Myddelton and the master John Hore off Hicacos Point, northeast of Cartagena (Colombia), accompanied by a 30-ton Spanish prize under Robert Barrett (alias "Frost"). Together, these rovers attempt to capture a beached frigate that same day, but they suffer numerous men drowned or killed during a Spanish counterattack, plus another 13 captured—including Barrett. The English thereupon stand away for Cuba.

EARLY JULY 1592. King's pair of privateers appears outside Havana, being fired upon for an hour by its batteries, then chased away westward an hour later by the galleys *San Agustín* and *Brava* ("having 27 banks on a side," according to an English eyewitness). The rovers then coast to Cabañas, which they pillage before besting the pursuing galleys in a three-hour, long-range exchange on June 11.

JULY 15, 1592. King's *Salomon* and *Jane Bonaventure* are joined 20 miles north of Cabañas (Cuba) by Wood's *Challenger*, *Pilgrim*, *Mineral*, and—perhaps—*Flight*; Lane's *Centaur*, *Affection*, and *Little John* (having returned for another West Indian campaign; see "July 15, 1591" entry); Henry Roberts's 140-ton *Exchange* out of Bristol; plus Capt. George Kennell and the master Thomas Smith's 60-ton bark *Randall* (alias *Canter*). Together they run down and pillage a 50-ton Spanish ship, whose crew flees ashore, then steer toward Havana to mount a close blockade.

JULY 23, 1592. When news of the impending imposition of an *alcabala* or “sales tax” reaches Quito (Ecuador), popular outrage coalesces around a spokesman, Alonso Moreno Bellido. His incarceration on orders from the audiencia president Dr. Manuel Barros de San Millán on September 28 is breached by an angry mob of citizens and garrison soldiers, so the Peruvian viceroy García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete, dispatches 60 troops under Capt. Pedro de Arana from Callao to Guayaquil, to advance up into the Andes and quell this rebellion.

Excitement grips Quito upon this expedition’s approach that December. Moreno Bellido is murdered, and a mob hunts down and imprisons the audiencia president in retaliation. After negotiations via the royal *visitador* or “inspector” Esteban Marañón, an agreement is finally reached by March 1593, whereby the city accepts the new tax and peacefully receives Arana’s troops in exchange for a general pardon; yet when this force enters on April 10, it conducts a dozen summary executions by the next dawn.

JULY 28, 1592. This morning, the English privateers blockading Havana sight a vessel approaching out of the west, which they pursue. It proves to be a 60-ton merchantman arriving from Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras), which puts into Chorrera Inlet—three miles short of the Cuban capital—in a desperate bid to gain sanctuary.

As nine privateer pinnaces close in upon this prey, 50 Spanish harquebusiers and musketeers under Capt. Francisco de Rojas race from Havana along the beach to its rescue, seconded by the galleys *San Agustín* and *Brava* under Capt. Cristóbal Pantoja. These troops succeed in fending off the English encroachments with long-range volleys until 4:00 p.m., by which time all valuables have been removed from the ship. The raiders then carry off the empty vessel, sending it toward England under the prize master, Lawrence Cocke.

AUGUST 1592. After refitting the *Desire* and the pinnacle *Black* at Port Desire (Argentina), plus suppressing a mutiny, Davis makes a second attempt to round the Strait of Magellan. The pinnacle is lost with all hands, and the *Desire* eventually returns to its original starting place.

JUNE 1593. The 31-gun ship *Edward Bonaventure* of Capt. James Lancaster, homeward bound after a trading venture to the Far East, reaches the Gulf of Paria in eastern Venezuela, where the captain hopes

to refresh provisions before continuing his Atlantic voyage. After pausing for eight days, the English sail northwest toward Mona Island to refit.

AUGUST 1593. An English expedition raised by the Earl of Cumberland sights Saint Lucia. The expedition comprises the 70-man, 120-ton *Anthony* of Capt. James Langton, the 55-man, 100-ton *Pilgrim* of Capt. Francis Slingsby, and the 12-ton pinnacle *Discovery*. They refresh provisions on Martinique for three days and capture the Portuguese caravel of Domingo Díaz before steering toward Margarita Island (Venezuela), where one night, 38 men are set ashore on its eastern coast to raid its pearl fisheries. They succeed in overrunning the town of El Macanao and receive 2,000 ducats to spare its buildings; they reembark five days later and coast westward.

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1593. After several months exploring Guiana and Trinidad for Raleigh, Sir John Burgh arrives off Margarita Island (Venezuela) with his 300-ton flagship *Roebuck* under its master, John Bedford, the 150-ton *Golden Dragon* under Capt. Christopher Newport and its master, Andrew Shillinge, the 100-ton *Prudence* under Capt. Thomas Wally and its master, Thomas Warne, and the 50-ton *Virgin* under Capt. Henry Kedgell and its master, Cuthbert Grippe.

Burgh—a 31-year-old veteran of military campaigns in the Low Countries—disembarks 100 men before dawn at Pueblo del Mar, striking inland to occupy the island’s principal town of Asunción. However, he is ambushed en route by Gov. Juan Sarmiento de Villandrado, who (on alert ever since Langton’s August raid) has mustered a militia force at nearby Pampatar just to repel such attacks. The grassland is ignited behind these latest invaders, so they are obliged to retreat to their boats; they suffer 16 casualties.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1593. This Saturday afternoon, Langton’s three English privateers appear off Punta de Araya (Venezuela) with their small Portuguese prize, refraining from a disembarkation because of the Spanish militiamen gathered farther south at Cumaná under Lt. Gov. Francisco Gutiérrez Flores. The next morning, Langton attempts leading a boat party inside Cariaco Gulf to raid Ostias, but he is intercepted by a *piragua* bearing 20 Spanish soldiers and obliged to retire after a long-range exchange with the rest of the town’s defenders. After stripping and releasing their prize, the English subsequently stand away westward.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1593. Having refreshed on Aruba and Curaçao, Langton appears outside Ríohacha (Colombia), only to find its defenders alerted and all valuables and noncombatants sent inland. Rather than storm its beaches for little profit, the English loose off a few rounds, implement a desultory blockade, then depart northward by the evening of September 27.

OCTOBER 28, 1593. Richard Hawkins—the illegitimate, 33-year-old son of Sir John—arrives at 6° south latitude off Brazil with his 300-ton, 20-gun flagship *Dainty* (ex-*Repentance*), 100-ton, 8-gun store-ship *Hawk*, and 60-ton pinnace *Fancy*, intending to round the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific.

NOVEMBER 1593. Governor Sarmiento of Margarita Island (Venezuela) is killed in an engagement between a Spanish galley and an English or Flemish interloper.

NOVEMBER 10, 1593. Richard Hawkins's flotilla approaches Santos (Brazil), pausing to refresh provisions before anchoring off Santa Ana Island five days later to set up a camp ashore. Half of Hawkins's original 200 men have died of disease, so he scuttles his store ship and redistributes its crew among his remaining two vessels. Native Portuguese militiamen also attack his encampment, while a few passing coasters are intercepted.

NOVEMBER 30, 1593. Battered by a storm in his unsuccessful bid to reach Newfoundland from northwestern Hispaniola (Haiti), Lancaster's *Edvard Bonaventure* returns to Mona Island. Two or three days later, its 5-man anchor watch cuts the cable—leaving 19 companions ashore—only to be wrecked shortly thereafter at Azua on the north side of Ocoa Bay (modern Dominican Republic), then captured by the Spaniards.

DECEMBER 1593. After refreshing at Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti) and slowly coasting clockwise around Hispaniola, Langton appears at the Soco River mouth and leads a boat party 12–15 miles upstream to plunder Spanish ranches. The English then return to their ships and shift operations to Caucedo Point at the eastern side of Santo Domingo Bay, mounting a two-and-a-half-month blockade that nets nine small prizes.

DECEMBER 28, 1593. Richard Hawkins quits his anchorage off Brazil to attempt the Strait of Magel-

lan. Four days later, his pair of privateers intercept a 100-ton Portuguese ship bearing the new governor designate and 50 soldiers for Angola, which the English strip of all its provisions before releasing it on January 4, 1594.

JANUARY 11, 1594. While sailing south from Brazil toward the Strait of Magellan, Richard Hawkins's flagship *Dainty* loses contact with the pinnace *Fancy*, with its master, Robert Tharlton, in the vicinity of the River Plate, the latter subsequently reversing course for England.

FEBRUARY 1594. Tiring of his Santo Domingo blockade, Langton proceeds to Jamaica, where he seizes two Spanish barks and combines their cargoes aboard one before detaching it toward England with a nine-man crew. (Near Europe, this 40-ton prize is pillaged by an 80-ton French Catholic League privateer out of Le Havre.)

FEBRUARY 4, 1594. This Friday afternoon off Pedernales Point near Ocoa (modern Dominican Republic), the Spanish frigates of captains Juan Montero and Juan Fernández de Santana—having sortied from Santo Domingo—surprise an English pinnace that had been detached from Langton's squadron to sweep westward along that coastline.

The next morning, Langton's flagship *Anthony* and a second English pinnace intercept the victorious Spaniards as they are returning toward Ocoa, capturing Fernández de Santana's frigate after a bloody struggle, then compelling Montero to strike.

FEBRUARY 20, 1594. Richard Hawkins's *Dainty* stands into the Strait of Magellan, emerging into the Pacific by April 8, then steering northward. On April 25, the English interlopers pass Valdivia (Chile), anchoring off Mocha Island four days later.

MARCH 16, 1594. *Langton at Puerto Caballos.* Having separated from his consort *Pilgrim* off southwestern Cuba, Langton appears before the Honduran port of Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés) with his flagship *Anthony* and a captured Spanish frigate. Flying false colors, the English seize the harbor pilot's boat, then demand the surrender of the seven merchantmen under Diego Ramírez awaiting cargoes inside the harbor. Rebuffed, Langton stands in the next morning and engages in a day-long gun duel with the Spanish anchor watches, finally launching a blazing, 20-ton prize against Ramírez's

flagship on March 18, which breaks the defenders' will and convinces them to abandon ship.

The rovers subsequently board Ramírez's 250-ton *San Diego* (whose master, Luis de Sevilla, lies slain), Andrés del Corro's 200-ton *Espíritu Santo*, Benito González Urrazo's 120-ton *San Antón de la Magdalena*, Baltasar de Riberol's 140-ton *Presentación*, plus three lesser vessels, and hold all for ransom. When the Spaniards ashore refuse to pay, Langton burns a couple of these merchantmen, then concentrates all his booty aboard Ramírez's former flagship and departs with this prize. The English return into Plymouth "amid great rejoicings and excitement" by May 25—one day after Slingsby.

APRIL 17, 1594. Having earlier joined forces off Cape Verde in West Africa, William Parker of Plymouth and Jérémie Raymond of Cherbourg capture the Spanish bark *Nuestra Señora de Loreto* off Saona Island, sending the prize toward England.

APRIL 25, 1594. The English privateers *Golden Dragon* of Christopher Newport and *Prudence* of John Brough shoot their way into Puerto Caballos (Honduras), seizing the four deserted Spanish vessels in its roadstead, then venturing ashore briefly at 6:00 p.m. before retiring back aboard ship and submitting a ransom demand. When this is rejected the next day by Gov. Gerónimo Sánchez de Carranza, Newport sets fire to two of the empty prizes, then sails off with the other pair.

MAY 2, 1594. *Hawkins in the Pacific.* Having refreshed provisions at Mocha Island (Chile), Richard Hawkins stands out to sea once more and weathers a 10-day storm. He then penetrates the roadstead at Valparaíso, pillaging four anchored merchantmen while Spanish militiamen watch impotently from shore under Gov. Alonso de Sotomayor y Andía, Knight of the Order of Santiago. The English furthermore seize a fifth coaster as it arrives from Concepción, restoring all their prizes to the Spaniards in exchange for a ransom of 25,000 ducats, before departing northward a few days later toward Coquimbo and Arica.

Word of this depredation reaches García Hurtado de Mendoza, Marqués de Cañete and viceroy of Peru, by May 17. Having already been forewarned of the Englishmen's presence off South America, he instantly orders his brother-in-law Beltrán de Castro y de la Cueva, Knight of the Order of Alcántara, and veteran admiral Alonso de Vargas to prepare to

sortie from Callao with their 26-gun, 500-ton flagship *San Pedro y San Pablo*, the 28-gun, 600-ton vice-flagship *San Francisco y Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, a smaller galleon *San Justo*, plus three lesser consorts, manned by 500 men.

Shortly after sailing, these Spaniards sight their opponents at 9:00 a.m. of May 31 between Chincha Alta and San Vicente de Cañete, but are unable to close before nightfall because of high winds, which damage their vessels aloft. The *Dainty* thus slips through under cover of darkness, proceeding still farther northwest toward Puná Island (Ecuador), while the dismasted Spanish flagship, the galleon *San Justo*, and the pinnace *San Juan* limp back into port for repairs.

Realizing that his enemies only have one ship and a pinnace with 75 crewmen between them, de Castro soon puts back to sea with the *San Francisco y Nuestra Señora del Rosario* and a 14-gun galley-*zabra* under Miguel Angel Felipón to continue his pursuit.

MAY 3, 1594. After a two-hour exchange of gunfire off Cape Saint Nicholas Môle (Haiti), the English privateer *Centauro* of Capt. William Lane captures the French Catholic League traders *Espérance* and *Princesse* out of Le Havre.

MAY 15, 1594. This dawn, four privateer ships, two frigates, and three pinnaces under Parker and Raymond materialize outside the Honduran port of Trujillo, intercepting the dispatch vessel of Francisco Rodríguez as it departs. The latter not only reveals information about the weakness of nearby Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés) but also yields a young black slave named Diego de los Reyes, who is willing to turn against his Spanish masters.

MAY 17, 1594. *Parker and Raymond's Coup.* Shortly after midnight, guided by Diego de los Reyes, this Anglo-French formation deposits 55 men from two pinnaces near the sleeping Honduran port of Puerto Caballos and silently secures its outposts. Parker and Raymond thereupon divide their landing party into two columns, surrounding the houses of Governor Sánchez de Carranza and naval commander Ramírez before any resistance can be mounted.

The Spaniards flee into the jungle, leaving the town in enemy hands for the next two weeks, during which time its buildings are ransacked and plunder is loaded aboard four barks in its harbor. Parker and Raymond then set sail with their prizes,

becoming separated 10 nights later. One of Parker's barks subsequently founders at sea, and the other loses contact with his flagship *Richard* off Newfoundland on July 11. Nevertheless, both of Parker's ships regain Britain by the end of that same month.

SUMMER 1594. A French vessel under Capt. François Riffault arrives off northern Brazil, having become separated from two other consorts. The expedition was intending to found a colony in this region. Discouraged, Riffault returns home, leaving a small group of settlers on Maranhão Island (near modern São Luis) under Charles des Vaux. The latter befriends its local Tupinambá natives and resides among them for several years, helping them fight their Tobajare neighbors—who consequently become allies of the Portuguese.

(A decade later, des Vaux returns to France and persuades Henri IV that this foothold might be expanded into *France Equinoxiale* or “Equinoctial France,” prompting the king to assign this task to the Huguenot sea captain Daniel de la Touche, Sieur de la Ravardière. The latter makes two reconnaissances of this area in 1604 and 1609, followed by a major colonization effort in 1612.)

EARLY JUNE 1594. Newport's *Golden Dragon* unites with John Myddelton's *Affection* off western Cuba to jointly waylay Spanish vessels making toward Havana.

JUNE 24, 1594. After refreshing provisions for four days in Atacames Bay near Esmeraldas (Ecuador), Richard Hawkins spots a vessel out at sea and detaches his pinnace to investigate. At 9:00 the next morning, he weighs anchor with his flagship *Dainty* and takes up station farther west off Cape San Francisco for two days, before returning and discovering his dismasted consort in nearby San Mateo Bay.

The English duo are preparing to stand back out into the Pacific by the morning of June 29, when another two sails come around Cape San Francisco. Believing them to be Peruvian treasure ships, Hawkins sends his repaired pinnace out to reconnoiter, only to have it chased back by Felipón's 14-gun galley-*zabra*. De Castro's *San Francisco y Nuestra Señora del Rosario* follows close astern and attempts to run aboard the *Dainty*, but is checked by a heavy broadside. The pinnace's crew meanwhile strives to regain their flagship and concentrate forces but is intercepted by the galley-*zabra*; only a few survivors managing to clamber aboard over their bowsprit.

Both sides then exchange long-range salvos for the next couple of days; the English toppling Felipón's mainmast on June 30 before finally surrendering to the Spaniards by the afternoon of July 1. Hawkins has suffered a half-dozen personal wounds, plus 27 killed, 17 wounded, and 29 captured among his crew; Spanish losses total 28 dead and 22 injured out of 300. De Castro installs Felipón as prize master and tows the badly damaged *Dainty* to the Pearl Islands, reaching Perico (west-northwest of Panama City) to a jubilant reception on July 19. Despite having been promised honorable terms, most of the English captives are tried by the Inquisition and condemned as galley slaves. Hawkins recuperates and eventually regains England. The *Dainty* is renamed *Nuestra Señora de la Visitación* and incorporated into the Peruvian squadron.

JUNE 30, 1594. Myddelton's *Affection* intercepts a small Spanish caravel approaching Havana, seconded by the 130-ton English privateer *Jewel* of Capt. Richard Best and the master Edward Farrier.

JULY 1, 1594. Between Cuba's Órganos Keys and Havana, Lane's *Centaur* captures the Mexican merchantman *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, outward bound from Trujillo (Honduras). Despite the sickness ravaging this Spanish crew, Lane sails his prize home to England, arriving by August.

JULY 6, 1594. Myddelton's *Affection* sights a 100-ton Spanish merchantman 35 miles west of Havana, whose crew beaches their vessel to escape ashore. The English then refloat the prize and send it to England.

MID-JULY 1594. Myddelton makes another interception outside Havana, only to subsequently be captured himself when two Spanish pinnaces push out of its harbor and overwhelm his seven-man boat party. (The English captain is eventually sent as a prisoner to Spain aboard the next year's plate fleet.)

JULY 28, 1594. Best's *Jewel* finds a 1,100-ton Spanish merchantman adrift in the Gulf of Mexico, without foremast or bowsprit and abandoned by its crew. The English board this derelict, strip it of its remaining goods, then set it ablaze.

JANUARY 1595. Near Puerto Rico, Geare's flagship *Michael and John* (possibly formerly the *Little John*) and pinnace *Handmaid* under Thomas Stokes intercept the 40-ton, 14-man Spanish supply ship *Nuestra*



Tupinambá warrior, by Albert Eckhout. (Etnografisk Samling, National Museum of Denmark)

Señora de la Concepción of its master Juan Camacho, which is conveying building materials and supplies from Seville to the plate fleets wintering at Havana. Its Spanish captain Nicolás Lafora ransoms this vessel and cargo by raising £200 in pearls and silver at Santo Domingo, which he presents to his captors.

The English also pillage a small Spanish frigate off Santo Domingo as it arrives from San Juan de Puerto Rico before they steer westward to blockade Cuba.

JANUARY 16, 1595. In Europe, France officially declares war against Spain.

FEBRUARY 9, 1595. The 20-year-old English nobleman Robert Dudley sights the West Indian

island of Trinidad with his 200-ton, 140-man flagship *Bear* (formerly *Peregrine*), plus a pair of captured Spanish caravels from the Canaries, renamed *Intent* and *Regard*, commanded by Benjamin Wood and Captain Wentworth, respectively. The illegitimate son and impoverished heir of Elizabeth's former favorite, the Earl of Leicester—as well as inheritor of the deceased Cavendish's *Dudley* and *Roebuck* (see “April 18, 1592” entry)—Dudley has originally intended to round the Strait of Magellan into the Pacific, but has been dissuaded by his queen.

He therefore aims to chart Trinidad and the Orinoco River mouth for the establishment of an English colony. Anchoring off Cedros Bay, the young adventurer refreshes provisions and explores Trinidad's shoreline for two weeks; he then detaches his prizes toward England on February 24. By March 2, he sends a 13-man boat party under his cousin Thomas Jobson to explore the mainland around the Orinoco, who returns 16 days afterward with a partial report. Having been joined on March 13 by an English pinnace under George Popham, Dudley and his new consort then set sail northward on March 22.

MARCH 1595. The large English privateer *Rose Lion* of Capt. Thomas West captures the hired Dutch ship *Fortuin*, “with smale fight” near Santo Domingo, for transporting Spanish cargo from Seville. West carries this prize into Plymouth by June, where a protracted—and eventually unsuccessful—legal action ensues, brought by its Dutch owners.

MARCH 23, 1595. Shortly after midnight, Dudley captures a small Spanish merchantman 75 miles north of Grenada, after a chase.

MARCH 28, 1595. Dudley arrives off Puerto Rico. He circles this island before anchoring off Cape Rojo three days later to set his Spanish prisoners ashore in hopes of raising ransom for their captive vessel. When this is not forthcoming, the English strip their prize on April 3, then burn it before standing away northeast toward Bermuda the next day.

APRIL 1595. John Riddlesden arrives in the West Indies with his 60-ton bark *Bond* and pinnaces *Scorpion* and *Violet* (alias *Why Not I?*), intercepting a small Spanish coaster. Having plundered this prize, the *Bond* sails toward England, leaving both pinnaces to remain patrolling in the Caribbean until the end of July, when they too depart for the Azores and home.

The Antonellis

The first member of this Italian engineering family to serve the Spanish Crown was Giovanni Bautista Antonelli. He worked for the emperor Charles V in the Mediterranean before being hired to come to Spain in 1559. He arrived the next year to start revitalizing defenses along the coast of Valencia. He engaged in these labors for the better part of two decades. Late in 1580, he also was consulted about Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa's plan to erect forts in the Strait of Magellan. Antonelli submitted some designs but did not accompany this ill-fated expedition. Instead, he convinced Philip II to allow him to pursue his own project of opening river traffic into central Spain. Antonelli sailed up the Tagus from Lisbon, reaching Madrid by 1582. Known by the Hispanicized names *Juan Bautista*, he died in Toledo on March 17, 1588.

His younger brother Batista Antonelli was born at Gatteo di Romagna in west-central Italy in 1550. He studied military architecture under Niccolo Tartaglia. At 20 years of age, he, too, joined Philip II's service, working under his older brother from 1576 on the fortification of Peñíscola in Valencia. Ten years later, the younger Antonelli was chosen to accompany Juan de Tejada on an inspection of the Spanish Antilles. He drew up plans for various new harbor castles, which were presented in mid-1588 to the king's senior engineer, Tiburcio Spannochi.

With royal approval, Tejada and Antonelli returned into Havana by February 1589 to start work on El Morro and La Punta forts, as well as a city aqueduct. Antonelli's nephew Cristóbal de Rodas joined him two years later. Whenever Antonelli had to visit other sites, he left his young relation in charge. This change became official after Antonelli was permanently transferred to Panama at Christmas 1594 to build major new defenses at Chagres and Portobelo. His nephew remained in charge of the Havana works until 1609.

Antonelli finally returned to Spain in 1599. After taking part in the conquest of the Moroccan foothold at Larrache, he helped fortify it as well as defenses in the Strait of Gibraltar. He came back to the Americas for one last time in 1604 with his 19-year-old son Juan Bautista Antonelli. After examining the question of the possible fortification of Araya in Venezuela, they visited Margarita Island and Brazil. When Antonelli sailed for Spain in 1608, his son stayed behind to work on the defenses of Cartagena (Colombia). The second Antonelli brother, Batista, died in Madrid on February 11, 1616.

Antonelli's son Juan Bautista also enjoyed a lengthy career in the New World. After helping to plan Fort Santiago at Araya in 1623, this youngest Antonelli toiled on it for the next seven years. Traveling to report to the Council of Indies in Madrid, he was promoted on October 23, 1630, to senior engineer for the Indies. On departing Cadiz in May 1633, he also participated in attacks against the Dutch outposts of Saint Martin, Unare, and Salt Tortuga. In 1637, Antonelli sailed to Puerto Rico and, the next year, helped to refortify Santiago de Cuba. He also started the Cojimar and La Chorrera fortresses outside Havana in 1639, before regaining Cartagena. He died in that Colombian seaport on December 1, 1649.

APRIL 1, 1595. *Raleigh's Adventure.* In a bid to restore his influence with Elizabeth, the disgraced courtier Raleigh arrives at Trinidad with a ship under Capt. James Whiddon and its master John Douglas, plus a small bark under Captain Cross, having lost contact with two other consorts during his transatlantic crossing (as well as failing to rendezvous with either Dudley or Popham, recently departed from this same coastline; see "February 9, 1595" entry). On April 4, Raleigh disembarks 100 soldiers and captures Trinidad's principal Spanish settlement of San José de Oruña, along with Gov. Antonio de Berrio.

After refreshing provisions and exploring these shores for a fortnight, the English are rejoined by their two missing ships—the *Lion's Whelp* of George Gifford and another under Lawrence Keymis—thus raising their total numbers to 300–350 men. Steering southward to the mainland opposite, Raleigh probes the numerous streams of the Orinoco Delta.

He then leaves his ships anchored offshore late in May and leads 100 men upriver aboard a small galley, barge, two wherries, and a boat to make a more detailed exploration. After roaming through myriad waterways and establishing peaceful relations with its natives, the English return to their vessels a few weeks later, circling westward to unsuccessfully attack Cumaná (Venezuela) on June 22. They then deposit de Berrio and depart empty-handed two days later.

(Upon returning to England, Raleigh exaggerates the wealth of this new land in hopes of being commissioned by the queen to lead a military expedition for its conquest, or raising private capital toward this same end. Neither prospect succeeds.)

APRIL 3, 1595. Spanish vice admiral Sebastián de Arencibia sorties from Havana with a galleon, caravel, and two shallops to patrol its coastline in anticipation of the arrival of the Mexican plate fleet.

APRIL 9, 1595. The 973-ton galleon *Nuestra Señora de Begonia*, flagship of the *Tierra Firme* plate fleet bound toward Spain, staggers into San Juan de Puerto Rico almost a month after departing Havana, damaged by a hurricane. Aboard are 2–3 million pesos in silver, which Adm. Sancho Pardo y Osorio transfers into the city citadel under the protection of Gov. Pedro Suarez. An *aviso* is then dispatched across the Atlantic to request that Philip II send a squadron to its rescue—but word of this treasure also reaches the English court via a privateer, prompting Elizabeth I to instruct Drake and Hawkins to attempt its capture.

APRIL 14, 1595. Having prowled past Havana and commandeered an abandoned Spanish coaster,

Geare is lying off Cabañas with his flagship *Michael and John*, Stokes's *Handmaid*, and their prize, when they sight Vice Adm. de Arencibia's squadron at dawn. Because of faint breezes, the Spaniards have difficulty closing the six miles separating both formations, but they eventually manage to row at least their caravel and two shallops into action.

Geare's flagship repels the attack of the caravel and shallop *Coloma*, killing 13 of the 30 soldiers aboard this latter craft under Ensign Guerrero, plus wounding another 7 or 8 others while fighting their way aboard. Nevertheless, the English are compelled to forsake this vessel and retreat out to sea once Rencibia's heavy galleon is finally towed into range by its two boats, leaving Stokes's *Handmaid* and



Raleigh's destruction of San José de Oruña and capture of Gov. Antonio de Berrio of Trinidad. Stylized contemporary engraving by Theodore de Bry. (Author's Collection)

Geare's first prize to fall into enemy hands. The English suffer 8 killed and 17 captured during this fray, including Stokes, compared to 16–18 killed and numerous injured among the Spaniards.

After vainly pursuing Geare's *Michael and John* along the coast, Rencibia's galleon returns into Havana by April 21 to refit, followed two days later by the rest of his formation. The English flagship meanwhile departs alone across the Atlantic.

MAY 4, 1595. Wood and Wentworth's caravels appear outside Ríoacha (Colombia), requesting permission to trade from its governor Lic. Francisco Manso de Contreras. The latter refuses, and the English depart.

MAY 16, 1595. Parker returns to again raid Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras) with a 200-ton flagship, three 40-ton consorts, plus two pinnaces. Finding the town abandoned by its residents, the English detach their two pinnaces farther west the next day to probe "Golfo Dulce" (Lake Izabal and El Golfete, Guatemala). They reverse course nine days later, having secured little plunder.

Parker subsequently retires offshore to Guanaja Island, where he meets Wood's and Wentworth's vessels. The rovers then sail north together to take up station off Cuba's Cape San Antonio.

MAY 18, 1595. Captains Amyas Preston and George Somers reach Dominica with their privateer ships *Ascension* and *Gift*, Captain Jones's *Darling* (owned by Raleigh), William Prowse's *Angel*, and a pinnace to make amphibious descents throughout the Spanish West Indies. For this purpose, they are bearing a disembarkation force of 300 men—many of them professional soldiers—as well as being further accompanied by Capt. Moses Willis's *Archangel* and two other vessels out of Southampton, which they have met at sea.

After refreshing for six days, the English steer south to Los Testigos Islands (Venezuela), celebrating a muster ashore on May 28 before pressing southwest toward Margarita.

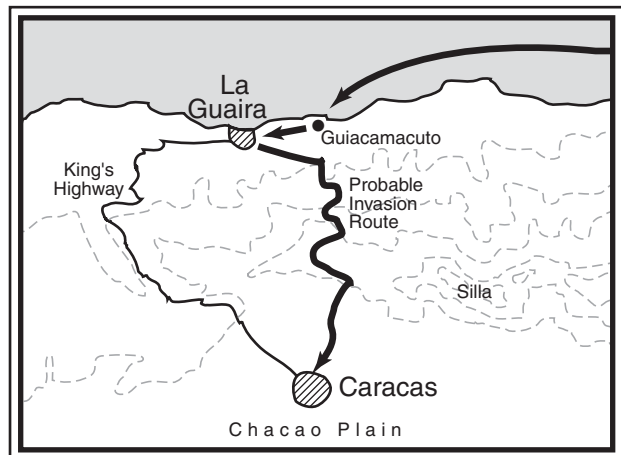
MAY 29, 1595. Preston and Somers's expedition sights Margarita Island (Venezuela), exploring nearby Coche Island the next day, plus capturing a Puerto Rican caravel and a few Spanish pearl fishermen.

JUNE 1, 1595. Preston and Somers's eight English privateer vessels and small prize appear before Cu-

maná (Venezuela), seizing three caravels in its bay but otherwise finding its residents alerted as to their presence off the coast. Having lost the element of surprise, the English accept a modest ransom of foodstuffs to depart in peace the next evening.

JUNE 6, 1595. *Caracas.* After anchoring off Guicamacuto, a mile and a half east of La Guaira (Venezuela), Preston and Somers lead a 300-man force overland and surprise the small, mostly empty fortress of La Guaira, occupying it without opposition. The next afternoon, a patrol of 40–50 Spanish riders descends out of the mountains from Caracas (full name: Santiago de León de Caracas), but withdraw when a like number of English musketeers emerge from this keep, under Captain Roberts, to offer battle.

Convinced that the rovers must soon depart without attempting anything further, the Spanish concentrate their strength along the main road leading up to Caracas, yet fail to maintain close watch upon their enemies' movements. This allows Preston and Somers to march a column undetected through the rain this same night, up a little-known track high into the mountain range, and to appear unexpectedly outside Caracas by the afternoon of June 8. Again—because most of this city's militia is gathered along the main road—little resistance is encountered, the noncombatants fleeing inland, while only one elderly Spanish rider named Alonso Andrea de Ledesma bravely attempts to check their progress with his lance and shield before being shot dead. The invaders thereupon enter the city by 3:00 p.m., remaining in possession for five days before finally (having failed to secure any ransom) setting it



Preston and Somers's capture of Caracas.

ablaze and returning into La Guaira by noon of June 14 with some booty. The next day, Preston and Somers also set this fortress afire, then depart west.

JUNE 16, 1595. This morning, Preston and Somers's squadron appears outside Chichiriviche (Venezuela), Somers leading in a boat party that burns three anchored Spanish vessels.

JUNE 20, 1595. *Coro.* Having groped his way along the coast, Preston leads his formation into Coro Bay (Venezuela) this morning and ferries all his troops ashore by 11:00 p.m. The English then attempt a nocturnal approach to the town, only to be checked at a roadside barricade, which the Spaniards defend "very strongly." Still, the invaders fight their way through, gaining Coro by the next morning with relatively few casualties.

Coro's buildings stand empty, however, the residents having received ample warning of their advance and already fled inland with their valuables. Around that same time, Preston learns that a storm has struck the English anchorage, which causes the cables of Somers's 50-man pinnace to part, and it has been driven out to sea. Preston therefore orders Coro torched and hastens his column back to the coast by June 22 to set sail in search of his colleague. Somers is located the next evening, and after gingerly probing the Laguna de Maracaibo's entrance, the discouraged raiders steer away toward Hispaniola on June 26.

JUNE 30, 1595. Preston and Somers's squadron sights Hispaniola and the next day anchors off Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti) to refresh provisions. Dysentery rages throughout the vessels, killing 80 men and destroying morale. When this formation resumes its cruise on July 8, Preston's *Ascension* and Somers's *Gift* are forsaken by all their consorts, except a pinnace.

JULY 12, 1595. Preston and Somers's trio of privateer vessels anchor off Jamaica, remaining four days before proceeding toward the Caymans, then reaching Cape Corrientes (southwestern Cuba) by July 22.

JULY 16, 1595. Raymond materializes before Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras) with three French privateer ships, a pinnace, and a galliot. After attacking and burning this unhappy town, he passes on toward "Golfo Dulce" (Lake Izabal and El Golfete, Guatemala) before eventually retiring east

to Utila Island. Here he is surprised by a Spanish force out of Trujillo and killed.

JULY 23, 1595. Raleigh's trio of vessels sights Preston and Somers's three privateers off Cape San Antonio (western Cuba), remaining in company for a week and chasing a couple of Spanish frigates before finally losing contact with each other one night.

AUGUST 4, 1595. Preston and Somers quit their blockade outside Havana, steering for England.

NOVEMBER 7, 1595. Off Guadeloupe, five Spanish frigates under Commo. Pedro Tello de Guzmán—sent to retrieve the silver bullion from Puerto Rico—spot two small sail and give chase. One is overtaken, while the other (a small English vessel called the *Delight*) is pursued to within sight of a much larger fleet, compelling the Spaniards to sheer off. Their lone prize proves to be the 35-ton *Francis* of Captain Wignol, with 24 crew members. The sailing instructions found aboard reveal that the nearby fleet is under Drake and Hawkins, bound to attack the silver galleon at San Juan de Puerto Rico. Tello de Guzmán therefore hastens on to his destination, arriving six days later.

NOVEMBER 13, 1595. Tello de Guzmán warns Admiral Pardo of Drake and Hawkins's approach, and at a general conference attended by all senior Spanish commanders and Bishop Antonio Calderón, it is decided to resist the English within port rather than out at sea. San Juan's garrison of 400 troops is augmented by the galleon's 300 seamen, 500 from Tello de Guzmán's frigates, plus 300 Puerto Rican militiamen. A log boom is stretched between its harbor castle or *morro* and Cañuelo Key, while the galleon and frigates are anchored close to the entrance, ready to be sunk as blockships.

The English meanwhile pause at the Virgin Islands for three days, holding a muster before action. Hawkins has fallen ill on November 8, his condition deteriorating so rapidly that Drake assumes overall command of the royal warships *Garland*, *Defiance* (flag), *Elizabeth Bonaventure* (vice-flag), *Hope*, *Adventure*, *Foresight*, plus a score of lesser auxiliaries. His original 2,500 men are now much reduced by disease.

NOVEMBER 22, 1595. *Drake's Defeat.* At dawn, the English fleet comes within sight of Escambrón Point, standing in so close as to be fired upon by

its four-gun Boquerón battery under Ens. Pedro Vásquez. The English then proceed west toward the capital, with a flotilla of boats before them taking soundings and arriving opposite San Juan early this same afternoon, to anchor near Cabrón Inlet just as Hawkins dies. At 5:00 p.m., the five-gun Cabrón battery under Capt. Alonso Vargas opens fire, sending one round directly into the cabin of Drake's *Defiant*, narrowly missing the commander in chief but killing Sir Nicholas Clifford and seriously wounding three other officers. Drake consequently moves his fleet out to sea, returning under cover of darkness to anchor farther away off Cabras Island.

The raiders then spend November 23 reconnoitering the shoreline for a nocturnal assault. At 10:00 p.m., 25 boats crammed with several hundred men row around Cabras and Cañuelo islands into San Juan's harbor, attacking the anchored Spanish ships with incendiary devices. The shore batteries and anchor watches blaze away blindly, unable to prevent the English boats from reaching and igniting the frigates *Santa Isabel*, *Santa Magdalena*, and *Santa Clara*. However, as they burst into flames, they illuminate the attackers' craft, facilitating a counterfire that compels the English to draw off with 50 dead or missing, plus a similar number wounded. Spanish casualties total 40 dead, plus the frigate *Santa Magdalena* burns to its waterline.

The next morning, Drake's fleet gets under way at 8:00 a.m., circling out to sea and returning toward San Juan's harbor mouth by 4:00 p.m., prompting the defenders to scuttle a large merchantman and two lesser vessels as blockships; but the English instead heave to, anchoring halfway between Cabras Island and the mainland. The morning of November 25, seven or eight English boats probe as far east as Boquerón before withdrawing. That afternoon, several blockaders pursue an arriving Spanish caravel, until it runs aground at Cangrejos Beach and its crew escapes ashore.

Discouraged, Drake and Col. Gen. Thomas Baskerville (second-in-command since Hawkins's death) decide to sail away in search of easier prey at Panama. The Spanish are left exultant at this unexpected success, and on December 20 dispatch a pair of frigates and two smaller escorts with the silver, which reaches Spain safely.

DECEMBER 14, 1595. Baskerville overruns Río-hacha (Colombia) by disembarking his troops from boats, then is joined by Drake's main fleet from Cape de la Vela. The Spaniards have already with-

drawn inland, so the English spend two weeks vainly attempting to extort a ransom from Gov. Manso de Contreras to spare its empty buildings. Eventually, the city is set ablaze on December 29, along with nearby La Ranchería and Tapia, after which the raiders proceed southwestward.

DECEMBER 21, 1595. Concerned by Trinidad's vulnerability to seaborne raiders (see "April 1, 1595" entry), de Berrio transfers his regional government up the Orinoco River by creating a new capital six miles below the Caroní confluence at Santo Tomé de la Guayana.

DECEMBER 30, 1595. Drake and Baskerville capture Lt. Gov. Francisco Ordóñez Flores of Santa Marta (Colombia) but find his city abandoned, so they burn it and depart. Too weak to assault Cartagena because of the diseases raging throughout their ships, the English then press on toward the Panamanian coast.

JANUARY 6, 1596. *Defense of Panama.* Drake and Baskerville anchor in Nombre de Dios harbor without opposition, its outnumbered Spanish defenders retreating into the jungle. Baskerville quickly pursues with 600–700 men and occupies the way station of Venta de la Quebrada two days later. At 8:00 a.m. on January 9, however, they encounter 70 Spanish troops under Capt. Juan Enríquez Conabut dug in atop Capirilla Hill to bar their advance across the Isthmus.

This terrain is well chosen, the English suffering heavy casualties while vainly attempting for three hours to dislodge the defenders from this narrow pass. When the Spaniards are reinforced by an additional 50 harquebusiers under Capt. Hernando de Lierno Agüero, Baskerville orders a retirement. Sick and demoralized, his contingent rejoins Drake at Nombre de Dios by January 22, and three days later the invaders lay waste the town and depart westward.

JANUARY 20, 1596. Drake and Baskerville's expedition anchors off Escudo de Veragua Island (Panama), ravaged by disease. A 37-man party is massacred five days later by the Spanish residents of Santiago del Príncipe when the English attempt to draw water from the Fator River on the mainland opposite.

Eventually, Drake orders his fleet to reverse course and sail east toward Portobelo on February 2, to

assail its emergent installations. However, he dies of dysentery aboard his flagship *Defiance* off Buenaventura Island on the night of January 28, 1596 (O.S.). His body is placed in a lead casket and dropped into the sea the next morning, off an island that is still remembered today as the Isla de Draque. Two Spanish prizes are scuttled to mark the spot.

Baskerville then assumes command of the fleet, which easily pushes past Portobelo's incomplete defenses and occupies the fledgling town for 11 days. The rovers note that it consists of only 8–10 dwellings, “besides a great new house” that is being erected as a government palace. The compound is protected by a very strong battery, “with flankers of great trees and stones filled with earth.” The English throw down or burn everything before departing on February 18. After contemplating an attack against Santa Marta, Baskerville steers his disheartened followers for Jamaica.

FEBRUARY 28, 1596. After relieving San Juan de Puerto Rico, 13 Spanish galleons sortie from Cartagena under Adm. Bernardino Delgadillo y Avellaneda. On March 11, they sight 14 of Drake's surviving ships taking on wood and water in Guaniguanicos Cove on Pinos Island (Cuba). The Spaniards immediately attack and scatter their opponents, Vice Adm. Juan Gutiérrez de Garibay's three-ship vanguard capturing a 300-man English prize, of which the men are put to work on Havana's fortifications. The Spaniards suffer 80 casualties and a sunken ship.

SPRING 1596. Attracted by the tobacco and rare produce readily available from native barterers all along the untamed *Wilde Cust* or “Wild Coast” between the Maranhão and Orinoco river mouths, some pioneering Dutch traders build a fort called *Ter Hooge* or the “Tall One” 20 miles up the Essequibo River, on a small island at the confluence of the Cuyuni

Portobelo

As the volume of Spain's transatlantic traffic swelled during the 16th century, so did the size of its galleons. Soon, they could not cross Nombre de Dios's shallow and reef-lined bar without first offloading part of their cargoes. And once inside the harbor, its exposed anchorage offered little protection against storms, and the tiny town flooded during any tropical cloudburst.

When the king's Italian-born engineer Bautista Antonelli made an inspection of the West Indies in 1585–1587, he recommended that plate-fleet operations be shifted from Nombre de Dios around Manzanillo Point into Portobelo. The latter's attributes included a deep, safe anchorage with “clean ground or sand” at bottom, free of dangerous rocks or reefs. It also had a protective headland, abundant fresh water from a dozen streams, plus large stands of trees for ship repairs.

Authorization and the allocation of necessary funds (initially estimated at 100,000 ducats, to be raised out of new taxes) weren't forthcoming from Madrid until late December 1593. A “commission of constructions and fortifications” was then created at Panama City. Its officials traveled to the site to plan and execute all labors. The defenses were to be erected at both Portobelo and Chagres. A new trans-Isthmian highway was also cut, and a new city built, which the Crown indicated was to be named San Felipe de Portobelo or “Saint Philip of Fair Port.”

Some work started by 1594, the rich merchants Juan de Magán and Melchor Suárez privately hiring 100 black slaves because no official money had as yet been issued. Antonelli did not reappear from his other fortification project at Havana until that Christmas, then fell ill two days later. More problematic still, many other Panamanian merchants proved reluctant to support these efforts, unhappy at losing the properties that they had so painstakingly nurtured at Nombre de Dios.

Ironically, it was Sir Francis Drake who decided matters by razing the latter port in January 1596. Because of this disaster, the Spaniards decided on January 26 to concentrate all reconstruction efforts at Portobelo. A decree was proclaimed at Panama City, ordering all merchants to erect a new dwelling there, “with a tiled roof and not of straw,” within 15 days of being assigned a plot. Anyone who rebuilt at Nombre de Dios would have the structure torched and be fined 500 pesos. Not even the arrival of that year's plate fleet under Adm. Juan Escalante de Mendoza at Nombre de Dios on April 23 could rescind the relocation order.

Antonelli resumed work on Portobelo's defenses and laid out a street grid. Nombre de Dios's old *cabildo* or “town council” was reconstituted at Portobelo as of March 20, 1597, leaving the jungle to reclaim Nombre de Dios's ruins. That same September, a fortress was started atop Portobelo's northern headland and named San Felipe de Sotomayor in honor of Philip II and the youthful governor of Panama, Alonso de Sotomayor y Andía, Knight of the Order of Santiago. To build it, coral was raised from the water, being easy to cut while fresh; however, once set with lime and baked by the sun, it dried so solidly that the fort was nicknamed *Todo Fierro* or “All Iron” Castle.



Map of Portobelo's harbor and its immediate surroundings, indicating the location of its proposed new town, fortifications, etc.; believed to have been drawn by the royal engineer Bautista Antonelli, ca. 1597. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

and Mazaruni rivers (near present-day Bartica, Guyana). However, a Hispano-Portuguese counter-expedition destroys this stronghold that same year.

MARCH 22, 1596. John Crosse's English pinnace *Little Exchange* is captured near Havana by elements from Delgadillo's Spanish fleet.

MAY 1596. Capt. Anthony Hippon's pinnace *Scorpion* captures a Portuguese ship, bound from La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti) toward Cartagena.

AUTUMN 1596. Newport arrives at Dominica with his new privateer ship *Neptune*, accompanied by Michael Geare's pinnace. Despite cruising off Hispaniola and Honduras, they fail to take many prizes, and when both vessels subsequently part company while en route from Cape Corrientes toward "the Crown" (near Havana), Newport is left without his auxiliary so must return to England largely empty-handed.

OCTOBER 17, 1596 (O.S.). *Sherley's Cruise.* After having his expedition bloodied, suffering at least 80 casualties, during a brief occupation of Santiago

in the Cape Verde Islands during his transatlantic passage, the 31-year-old adventurer Sir Anthony Sherley (or Shirley; Oxford University graduate 1581) arrives at Dominica with diseased crews aboard his 300-ton *Bevis*, 150-ton *Black Wolf*, 250-ton galleon *Constance*, 200-ton *George*, 140-ton *George Noble*, 80-ton *Little John*, plus a galley and a pinnace. Having refreshed on this West Indian island, the English then steer south toward Margarita Island (Venezuela), eventually prowling as far west as Santa Marta (Colombia), although obtaining only scant booty. Sherley is then forsaken by one of his consorts but leads his remaining seven ships northwest against Jamaica.

After reconnoitering as far west as Point Negril, Sherley reverses course and, on February 4, 1597, anchors his squadron opposite Jamaica's principal town of Santiago de la Vega (later Spanish Town, near modern Kingston), sending 230 armed men ashore. The Spanish governor, Lic. Francisco de Nabeda Alvarado, initially considers opposing their disembarkation with his few militiamen, but upon perceiving the invaders' overwhelming strength, retreats instead into the jungle with all the residents.



Overgrown remnants of Fort Ter Hooge near Bartica, Guyana.
(Aspinall, Algernon E., *Pocket Guide to the West Indies*, 1907)

The English consequently remain in undisputed possession of the harbor for 40 days, being joined there by the Dutch *Maen* of Middelburg and Geare's English pinnace, departing west-southwestward together at the end of this interlude to attack Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras). Although this assault, too, proves successful, pickings continue to be sparse, so that by the time Sherley appears off Havana on May 23, he has been abandoned by all his other consorts. (Geare, for example, steers for Campeche, where he captures 12 tons of logwood and at least one prize.)

Reaching Newfoundland by June 25, Sherley returns into England the next month, "alive but poor."

MARCH 1597. Ríohacha (Colombia) is raided by English rovers.

SUMMER 1597. After exploring the coast of Guyana, 37-year-old John Ley captures a Spanish frigate off Cumaná (Venezuela) with his bark *John*, renaming

ing his prize *Black Ley* and sailing it to England by late August.

EARLY JUNE 1597. Ransom of Ríohacha. After a chance meeting in the West Indies, the 120-ton *Centaur* of John Watts Jr., the *Affection* of Henry Middleton, the 80-ton *Pegasus* of Richard Knottesford, the 150-ton *Golden Dragon* of Anthony Hippon, as well as the pinnace *Mosquito* and auxiliary *Little David* unite for a combined assault against the Colombian port of Ríohacha. Accompanied by three or four other vessels—possibly prizes—this flotilla takes and sacks the town, subsequently holding it for ransom.

Part of this payment is intercepted while on its way to Watts by Humphrey Reynolds's 90-ton *Lion's Whelp*, who is compelled shortly thereafter to surrender it to his more powerful colleague, Watts. At this juncture, the *Mosquito* loses contact with Watts's formation, taking a prize near Havana before returning home to England by August. The next month, Reynolds's *Whelp* also reaches London, with another Spanish prize.

SEPTEMBER 1597. Watts's *Centaur* takes a Spanish vessel off the north coast of Hispaniola, sending it home to Bristol as a prize.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1597. Parker at Campeche. Having separated from Sherley, Parker appears before this Mexican port with his 120-ton flagship *Prudence*, the 25-ton *Adventure* under Capt. Richard Henne, and a pinnace. After examining the city's shoreline from a distance, the English feint a retirement out to sea that same evening, only to return under cover of darkness—guided by a Spanish turncoat named Juan Venturate. The raiders stealthily set a landing party ashore, which penetrates the San Román suburb and surprises Campeche's sleeping residents. The landing party stampedes the frightened survivors into San Francisco Convent and general looting erupts.

The next dawn, the local alderman Francisco Sánchez assembles numerous volunteers at his country estate farther inland, marching to the rescue. Upon approaching the town, he is joined by other Spaniards sallying from the beleaguered convent under fellow alderman Pedro de Iterián. Together they oblige the raiders to retreat back aboard their ships, after two hours of heavy fighting in the main square during which Parker (among many others) is wounded. Among the prisoners left be-

hind in Spanish hands is Venturate, who, after a swift trial, is put to death by red-hot tongs.

The defenders then sortie aboard a commandeered merchant frigate to pursue Parker farther out into the Gulf of Mexico. Soon, the Spaniards are unexpectedly joined by a coast-guard frigate under Capt. Alonso de Vargas Machuca, sent from Caucel by the provincial governor at Mérida de Yucatán. Both vessels succeed in cornering the *Adventure*, subduing it after a ferocious exchange during which 11 of 16 crew members are killed. The Spanish frigates return triumphantly into Campeche with their prize, followed by Parker, who remains outside the harbor over the next 17 days, vainly attempting to ransom his colleagues.

FEBRUARY 9, 1598. The 26-year-old Dutch explorer Abraham Cabeliau arrives northwest of the Amazon River mouth at 5° north latitude aboard the 160-ton *Zeeridder* of its master Jacob Corneliszoon (alias “Oom”), having been dispatched to reconnoiter the Wild Coast as far as the Orinoco River mouth on behalf of the States-General. Establishing friendly contacts with natives ashore six days later, Cabeliau charts the inland waterways around Cayenne over the next four months.

JUNE 1, 1598. Cumberland arrives off Dominica with his 600-ton flagship *Malice Scourge* captained by Watts, plus the 400-ton vice-flagships *Merchant Royal* of Sir John Berkeley and *Ascension* of Robert Flick, the 400-ton merchantmen *Alcedo* of Thomas Coche (later John Ley) and *Prosperous* of John Langton, the 350-ton *Consent* of Francis Slingsby, the 300-ton *Centurion* of Henry Palmer and *Sampson* of Henry Clifford, the 250-ton galleon *Constance* of Hercules Fulgham or Foljambe, the 210-ton *Guyana* of Christopher Colthurst, the 200-ton *Margaret and John* of Edward Dixon, the 190-ton *Royal Defence* of Henry Bromley, the 120-ton *Affection* of William Fleming and *Anthony* of Robert Careless, the 80-ton *Pegasus* of Edward Goodwin, the “old frigate” *Discovery* of William Harper, the pinnace *Scout* of Henry Jolliffe, the bark *Ley* of John Ley, plus two unnamed barks.

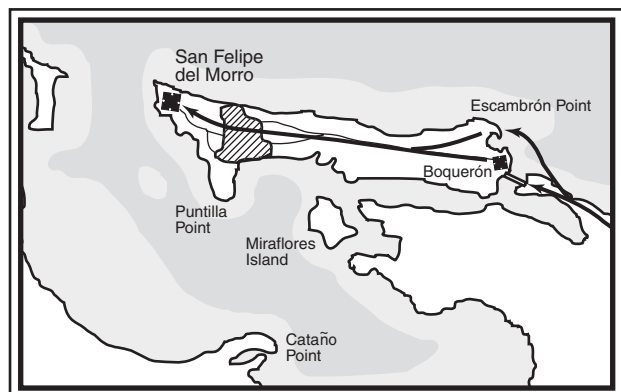
They bear 1,700 men, whom Cumberland intends to lead in the conquest of Puerto Rico, thereby securing a major English stronghold in the West Indies. After refreshing his fleet for a week, the earl transfers to the Virgin Islands on June 11, celebrating a final muster three days later before laying in a course for San Juan.

JUNE 3, 1598. The Dutch explorer Cabeliau is joined near Cayenne by two Amsterdam ships, the *Grote Sphera Mundi* of Capt. Jan Corneliszoon van Leijen and the *Kleine Sphera Mundi* of Adriaen Reijndertsen, who agree to reconnoiter together the coastal regions as far as the Orinoco River.

JUNE 16, 1598. *Seizure of Puerto Rico.* This morning, Cumberland disembarks 700 men in Canegrejos Bay, 12–14 miles east of San Juan, then marches toward the capital until nightfall, when he is checked at a bridge a mile short of his destination by 10 Spanish regulars and 80 Puerto Rican militiamen under Capt. Bernabé de Sierra Alta. The first English assault is repelled with 20 deaths and a like number wounded, the Spaniards suffering only 4 fatalities—among them, though, Sierra Alta himself.

The next morning, the English use their boats to outflank this Spanish position, disembarking at Escambrón Point, while simultaneously bombarding Boquerón redoubt (nicknamed “Red Fort” by the invaders). By evening, all the Spanish defenders have been obliged to retreat, and on June 18, Cumberland sweeps unopposed into San Juan’s streets, finding its citizenry fled and 250 soldiers ensconced within the El Morro citadel under Gov. Antonio de Mosquera.

A formal siege is instituted, with artillery ferried ashore from the English fleet, until the Spaniards request terms on June 30. The next day, the surrender is consummated, Mosquera and his followers being repatriated to Cartagena de Indias several weeks later. However, disease sweeps through the English ranks, causing so many deaths that within a month and a half Cumberland relinquishes his conquest, sailing for England with some ships on August 14,



The Duke of Cumberland's capture of San Juan de Puerto Rico.

Fortification of San Juan

When the citizenry crept back into the Puerto Rican capital in late September 1598, they found it cruelly ransacked. The English had carried away 80 cannon, plus a great deal of other booty, including the cathedral bells. No rebuilding could start until a relief force arrived from Spain the next year, led by the new governor Alonso de Mercado. And he concentrated only on making El Morro Castle stronger by adding ramparts, cisterns, magazines, storerooms, and so on. The gutted city below did not receive any official attention until the term of de Mercado's successor, Sancho Ochoa de Castro, Conde de Salvatierra. He reinvigorated a few civilian projects, such as a new *cabildo* or "municipal building" in 1602, which was completed six years later.

Royal attention, however, remained fixated on San Juan's defensive capabilities. King Philip III referred to it as the "vanguard of all my West Indies" against the foreign interlopers who were pushing into the Antilles. As a result, Gov. Gabriel de Torres expanded El Morro during his tenure from 1608 to 1614. His successor, Felipe de Beaumont y Navarra, completed a small, square battery called Fort San Juan de la Cruz on Cañuelo Key opposite, plus a stone watchtower at the eastern end of San Antonio Bridge.

Such improvements were tested when 17 Dutch ships under Adm. Boudewijn Hendricksz burst into the harbor on the afternoon of September 24, 1625 (see "September 24, 1625" entry in "Holland's 'Great Design'"). Although San Juan was occupied and torched, El Morro successfully resisted. Once the Dutch withdrew in defeat, Madrid made the castle even stronger. By 1630, it boasted "one hundred artillery pieces, eighty-six of bronze and fourteen of iron."

And the Crown also grudgingly agreed to enclose the city of San Juan with stone ramparts, despite the expense. Foreigners seized ever more Antillean bases, so the Puerto Rican capital was viewed by Madrid as a regional stronghold. Its most vulnerable southern section between Santa Catalina Inlet and La Fortaleza was fortified as of July 1634 by Gov. Enrique Enríquez de Sotomayor. The plans were drawn up by the Italian-born royal engineer, Juan Bautista Antonelli. A second stretch of walls between La Fortaleza and the San Pedro Bastion at La Marina or Puntilla was erected from 1636 to 1638 by Gov. Iñigo de la Mota Sarmiento, Knight of the Order of Santiago. A third section ran toward a new northern redoubt called San Cristóbal.

These city ramparts were massive, averaging 24 feet in height by almost 20 feet in thickness at the bottom. Despite such large-scale efforts, San Juan continued to languish from commercial neglect. Not a single Spanish merchantman visited its harbor between 1651 and 1662, adding to the 1,600 residents' sense of isolation. The Lesser Antilles were already entirely occupied by foreign powers, as was Jamaica and half of Hispaniola. The only thing that spared San Juan from sharing this same fate was its fortifications.

followed by his main body under Berkeley on September 23. This campaign has cost 700 English lives: 60 due to battle, 40 from accidents, the remainder because of illness.

JULY 27, 1598. Cabeliau's *Zeeridder*, van Leijen's 72-ton *Grote Sphera Mundi*, and Reijndertsen's sloop *Kleine Sphera Mundi* penetrate the Orinoco River mouth, coming to anchor two miles inside and striking upriver two days afterward with 50 men aboard the two smaller ships, as well as the *Zeeridder's* 18-ton auxiliary yacht. Twenty days later, the Dutch explorers reach the Spanish frontier outpost of Santo Tomé de la Guayana, only recently relocated near Baratillo and Ceiba lagoons, where the visitors are peacefully greeted by Gov. Fernando de Berrio (son and heir of Antonio de Berrio, who has died in 1597). The Dutch are allowed to reconnoiter this district with Spanish guides, then return to

their anchorage by August 30, having promised to meet their isolated Spanish hosts for some clandestine trade off the island of Trinidad.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1598. Cabeliau's trio of ships weigh anchor from the Orinoco, arriving off the western coast of Trinidad six days later. There they barter with Spanish callers until September 21, when van Leijen and Reijndertsen part company to sail on to Margarita Island, after which Cabeliau strikes across the Atlantic on October 31 with the *Zeeridder*, reaching Middleburg in Zeeland by December 28. His detailed report on the geography and economic potential of the Wild Coast greatly augments Dutch interest.

JANUARY 1599. The English ship *Neptune* of Capt. John Paul, accompanied by the pinnace *Triton*, captures a Spanish vessel near Puerto Rico.

FEBRUARY 9, 1599. Olivier van Noort arrives from Guinea at Rio de Janeiro with his 24-gun, 250-ton flagship *Mauritius*, the 28-gun, 300-ton *Hendrik Frederick* under Jacob Claeszoon van Ilpendam, plus the 50-ton yachts *Hoop* under Jacob Janszoon Huydecoper and *Eendracht* under Pieter Esaiszoon de Lint. The Dutch wish to buy fresh provisions, but the Brazilian residents—Portuguese vassals of the Spanish king—offer only token assistance.

Van Noort therefore slips a party ashore, which is ambushed, seven men being slain and several captured. This expedition's objective is to round the Strait of Magellan, trading or fighting with residents along the South American coast before continuing toward the Dutch commercial outposts in the Far East. Feeling that the season is too far advanced for such an attempt, van Noort scuttles the *Eendracht* and sails off to winter at Saint Helena or Ascension island. Failing to discover either, he instead puts into a bay near Puerto Deseado and Cape Vírgenes in southern Argentina, his crews subsisting upon penguins and fish.

APRIL 6, 1599. Simon de Cordes arrives from West Africa off the eastern approaches to the Strait of Magellan with his 28-gun, 130-man, 550-ton flagship *Hoop*; the 26-gun, 110-man, 300-ton vice-flagship *Liefde* of Gerard van Beuningen; the 20-gun, 109-man, 320-ton *Geloof* of Sebald de Weert; the 18-gun, 96-man, 220-ton *Trouw* of Jurien van Bockholt; and the 16-gun, 56-man, 150-ton *Blijde Boedschap* of Dirck Gerritszoon Pomp (alias "Dirck China"). Jacob Mahu, this expedition's original leader, has succumbed during the transatlantic crossing.

Like van Noort's plans, Cordes's enterprise is intended to penetrate the Pacific, to trade with South America, then to sail on to the Far East. The Dutch commander ignores his English pilots' advice to immediately make an attempt upon the Strait, preferring to winter in Great Bay (subsequently renamed Cordes Bay), where 120 members of his crews will die over the next few months—including van Bockholt, who is succeeded in command of the *Trouw* by Baltasar de Cordes, the admiral's younger brother.

JUNE 1599. The English ships *Golden Phoenix* of Capt. John Adey and *Flying Hope* of Capt. William Cabreth, plus the pinnace *Handmaid*, intercept a Spanish vessel near Havana, sending it home to London.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1599. *Pacific Penetrations by the Dutch.* After quitting their Patagonian anchorage

on August 23, Cordes's squadron stands into the Strait of Magellan, becoming scattered by high seas and mist. The flagship *Hoop* and vice-flag *Liefde* press on separately toward their agreed rendezvous at Santa María Island (opposite Concepción, Chile), while the *Geloof* and the *Trouw* turn back to aid the damaged *Blijde Boedschap*. Five days later, they lose sight of *Blijde Boedschap*, being driven south by strong contrary winds. On the 26th, the *Geloof* and the *Trouw* seek refuge in a bay nine miles north of the western mouth of the Strait, remaining anchored until December 2.

NOVEMBER 4, 1599. The *Liefde* reaches the Santa María rendezvous, Captain van Beuningen and 27 men having earlier been slaughtered while attempting to trade on Mocha Island.

NOVEMBER 7, 1599. Having been accorded a friendly reception by the natives of the Chonos Archipelago, Cordes steps unwarily ashore at Lavapié Point with 23 men, only to be set upon and massacred by its Indians. The flagship's survivors sail on to Santa María the next day, where they meet the vice-flag *Liefde*.

NOVEMBER 13, 1599. Having departed his haven near Puerto Deseado, van Noort's trio of ships begin its own separate attempt to penetrate the Strait, taking three and a half months because of unfavorable weather.

NOVEMBER 17, 1599. After being driven far south by fierce winds, Gerritszoon and 22 survivors aboard the *Blijde Boedschap* surrender to the Spanish at Valparaíso, their vessel being sailed to Callao as a prize.

NOVEMBER 24, 1599. The Spanish inhabitants of Valdivia (Chile) are massacred by an Indian uprising.

NOVEMBER 27, 1599. Unable to achieve anything more off South America, the *Hoop* and the *Liefde* strike out westward into the central Pacific, the latter being lost with all hands. (The flagship eventually reaches Japan, where its English pilot, William Adams, lives and prospers for about 20 years, providing the inspiration for James Clavell's later novel, *Shogun*.)

DECEMBER 1599. The 100-ton, 77-man English ship *Trial* of Capt. Thomas Cowper prowls off Margarita Island (Venezuela), making several captures before returning to Bristol by May 1600.

DECEMBER 2, 1599. News of these Dutch penetrations into the Pacific reaches the Peruvian viceroy Luis de Velasco at Lima. Six days later, the captive *Blijde Boodschap* (see “November 17, 1599” entry) is sailed into Callao, prompting this official to prepare eight armed vessels and a launch bearing 1,119 men to protect the coast against the remaining enemies.

DECEMBER 11, 1599. After putting out into the South Pacific once more, de Weert’s *Geloof* becomes separated from the *Trouw*, compelling the former to reverse course, in despair, so as to regain the Atlantic via the Strait.

DECEMBER 16, 1599. While traversing the Strait from west to east, de Weert’s *Geloof* encounters van Noort’s trio beating in the opposite direction. Neither group is able to offer succor to the other, so de Weert reluctantly continues his passage and exits into the Atlantic by January 21, 1600. The *Geloof* will be the only one of Cordes’s five vessels to regain Holland, with 36 crewmen still alive.

DECEMBER 28, 1599. Morale on van Noort’s struggling vessels reaches such a low point that Vice Admiral Claeszoon is tried for mutiny and marooned. This squadron does not gain the Pacific until February 29, 1600.

JANUARY 1, 1600. Two Spanish galleons and a *patache* bearing 300 men are sent from Peru to locate the Dutch intruders off Chile, while another half-dozen warships remain off Pisco under Juan de Velasco—the viceroy’s nephew.

FEBRUARY 1600. The English ships *Golden Phoenix* of John Adey and *Flying Hope* of William Cabreth, plus the pinnace *Handmaid*, intercept a 25-ton Spanish bark near Barbados, bound from Guiana toward Cartagena with 120–130 black slaves. The captors then sell these prisoners at Margarita Island (Venezuela) for 60 ounces of pearls before venturing farther west and raiding Riohacha (Colombia).

SPRING 1600. Two Dutch forts, called Nassau and Orange, are built by Zeeland settlers on the eastern banks of the Xingu River, deep within the Amazon Delta (near modern Porto de Moz, Brazil).

MARCH 1600. Baltasar de Cordes of the *Trouw*, after becoming separated from de Weert and seeing

his crew reduced to about 50 men, receives a friendly reception from the natives of Carelmapu (overlooking Chiloé Island).

Meanwhile, Juan de Velasco escorts the annual Peruvian treasure convoy from Callao to Panama without encountering any Dutch; he is eventually shipwrecked and drowned off California.

MARCH 21, 1600. Having become separated from the *Hendrik Frederick*, van Noort’s *Mauritius* and *Hoop* arrive off Mocha Island, where the admiral goes ashore and trades peaceably with its natives. Four days later, while sailing between Mocha and Santa María, the Dutch sight the Spanish ship *Buen Jesús* of Francisco de Ibarra, capturing it the next day. On March 28, van Noort burns another two vessels and captures a third off Valparaíso. At Huasco on April 1, he scuttles his two Spanish prizes, then releases most captives. Shortly thereafter, van Noort strikes out into the Pacific, eventually becoming the fourth commander—and first Dutchman—to circumnavigate the globe.

APRIL 1600. Baltasar de Cordes occupies the Spanish settlement of Castro by deceiving its commander, Baltasar Ruiz del Pliego—convincing him that it is about to be attacked by a horde of hostile natives.

MAY 2, 1600. The *Hendrik Frederick* intercepts a Spanish vessel off Concepción (Chile).

JUNE 4, 1600. After occupying Castro for a few weeks, Baltasar de Cordes’s men are routed by a company of Spaniards led across from Osorno by Capt. Francisco del Campo. The Dutch suffer 26 killed, their 23 survivors hastening back aboard the *Trouw* to stand out into the Pacific, eventually reaching Tidore in the Far East. Meanwhile, del Campo executes almost 50 Indians at Castro for aiding the Dutch intruders.

JUNE 18, 1600. The *Hendrik Frederick* captures a Spanish vessel off Arica (Chile).

AUGUST 11, 1600. The *Hendrik Frederick* seizes a becalmed Spanish vessel in the Gulf of Panama before proceeding west-northwestward past Costa Rica and Nicaragua, to eventually strike out across the Pacific.

AUGUST 22, 1600. On the southeastern shores of Lake Maracaibo (near modern Bobures, Venezuela),

a flotilla of Quiriquire canoes from the Zulua and Catatumbo rivers surprises the recently established Spanish settlement of San Antonio de Gibraltar at dawn. Lt. Gov. Rodrigo de Argüelles receives multiple wounds yet escapes, although his wife Juana de Ulloa is murdered and his daughters Leonor, Paula, and Inés are captured. The triumphant natives then torch the empty dwellings before retiring.

FEBRUARY 1601. *Portobelo Strike.* After raiding Cubagua Island (Venezuela) and capturing a Portuguese slaver off Cape de la Vela (Colombia), Parker appears off Portobelo (Panama) with his flagship *Prudence*, accompanied by the 60-ton *Pearl* of Capt. Robert Rawlins and a 20-ton pinnace. They slip past its harbor castle and surprise the city, driving its 100 defenders inland under the command of Gov. Pedro Meléndez before setting fire to its Triana suburb, then standing out to sea with 10,000 ducats' worth of booty.

JULY 1601. The English ship *Archangel* of Capt. Michael Geare and pinnace *James* of David Middleton roam the Venezuelan coast.

OCTOBER 1601. A Spanish coast-guard galley from Cartagena (Colombia) sights an English pinnace with two prizes near Ríoacha, capturing Capt. Simon Bourman and 38 of his crew members.

(Born of a Spanish mother, this officer is eventually released upon the official cessation of hostilities three years later.)

JANUARY 1602. Geare's *Archangel* and Middleton's *James* operate off Cuba, taking three prizes before sailing for England.

MAY 1602. Newport returns into the Caribbean with his flagship *Neptune*, accompanied by the *Diana* of Capt. Edward Glanvill, taking prizes off Guava and near Havana before recrossing the Atlantic for England.

NOVEMBER 1602. While lying at the smuggling outpost of Guanahibes in northern Hispaniola, three English vessels—Geare's *Archangel*, Newport's *Neptune*, and Hippon's *Phoenix*—form a partnership with five French slavers to attack a pair of Spanish galleons expected soon at Puerto Caballos (modern Puerto Cortés, Honduras).

JANUARY 24, 1603. While making toward Puerto Caballos (Honduras), the combined Anglo-French flotilla of Geare and Newport raids Jamaica for supplies, only to be repelled with some losses.

FEBRUARY 17, 1603. *Raid on Puerto Caballos.* Eight Anglo-French ships of 300–350 tons apiece



Dutch merchantman being engaged by an English privateer off the French Huguenot port of La Rochelle. (National Maritime Museum, London)

stand into this Honduran port, detaching seven boats with 200 men and light artillery to board two partially laden Spanish galleons at anchor in its roadstead: Capt. Juan de Monasterios's 600-ton *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* and Francisco Ferrufino's 400-ton *San Juan Bautista*. The pair put up a stout resistance, repelling their attackers for eight hours before finally surrendering after having suffered 11 killed and 16 wounded.

The triumphant rovers thereupon loot the vessels and buildings ashore over the next 18 days before falling out along national lines over their captives' fate. (Spanish eyewitnesses later declare that the French wished to kill them all, the English refusing.) Eventually, both groups depart with the *San Juan Bautista* as their sole prize, the stripped hulk of the *Rosario* being left behind. The French tack upwind to Guanahibes in Hispaniola, while the English steer downwind toward Cuba.

LATE FEBRUARY 1603. Capt. William Fisher's *John and Francis* captures nine Spanish pearling vessels off Ríohacha (Colombia), holding them for ransom.

LATE MARCH 1603. Fisher's *John and Francis* takes a Spanish prize off Cuba.

APRIL 30, 1603. Fisher captures another Spanish vessel off Cuba.

MAY 1603. Geare, Newport, and Hippon take an additional pair of Spanish prizes near Havana before standing out through the Straits of Florida into the North Atlantic for England.

This same month, the ship *Elizabeth and Cleeve* and a smaller pinnace under Capt. Christopher Cleeve—recently arrived in the West Indies from London—briefly occupy Santiago de Cuba, relieving its church of assorted booty. They subsequently

make an unprofitable descent upon Jamaica before seizing a prize off Cape San Antonio.

AUGUST 1, 1603. Spanish admiral Fulgencio de Meneses arrives from across the Atlantic at Guadeloupe with a 30-vessel plate fleet—most bound toward Mexico. However, his wood and watering parties are unexpectedly attacked ashore by Carib warriors, suffering 20 killed and 30 wounded. In the resultant confusion, Meneses's 700-ton flagship *San Juan Bautista* and two other galleons run aground; they are set ablaze by their panic-stricken crews and consumed down to their waterlines.

AUGUST 28, 1603. Cleeve's pair of English vessels, in company with Capt. Andrew Miller's ship *Nephtune* and pinnace *Dispatch*, take two Spanish prizes in the Old Bahama Channel north of Cuba. The latter have been detached from Admiral Meneses's plate fleet at Guadeloupe to convey the new governor designate of Florida, plus other passengers and cargo, into Havana. The rovers deposit their captives instead at Baracoa before standing away with these prizes—now renamed *Christopher* and *Andrew*—toward the smuggling port of Guanahibes on the northern coast of Hispaniola.

(Upon his eventual return to Plymouth in May 1604, Cleeve is forced to restore much of this booty when the Spanish ambassador brings a lawsuit through the courts of King James I.)

AUGUST 29, 1604. The death of Queen Elizabeth I on March 24, 1603 (O.S.), leads to the succession on the English throne of Scottish-born James I. He makes peace with Spain by signing the Treaty of London. Both nations are in effect drained by their exertions, and their treasuries are bankrupt, so for a brief interlude, only minor frictions will plague the New World.

Rival Outposts (1604–1659)



It is no good to fight the pirates and rebels in Indies by honest means;
they must be intimidated by bloody war.

—Philip IV's instructions to the Spanish admiral the Marqués de Cadereyta (1633)

EARLY FOOTHOLDS (1604–1619)

At the beginning of the 1600s, the West European powers lay spent following the previous century's closing exertions—the rebellious United Provinces having fought Spain to a standstill, as England did before them, while France remains racked by religious turmoil. For the New World there ensues a brief interlude of calm, as war-weary Europe begins rebuilding its economies and shaking off the horrors of war. However, this truce also inaugurates a somewhat more subtle form of aggression in the Americas as the seaborne interlopers who previously visited Spanish America to smuggle or raid are now joined by law-abiding immigrants hoping to establish permanent settlements ashore. In time, these colonies will prove infinitely more lethal to Spain's claims upon the continent than any military or naval ventures.

APRIL 8, 1604. Daniel de la Touche, Sieur de la Ravardière, appears off the Amazon River mouth with a ship and a smaller auxiliary, anchoring the next evening opposite Yapoco (modern Saint-Georges de l'Oyapock in eastern French Guiana). He explores this region in the direction of what will later become known as Cayenne until May 18, then visits the pearl fisheries of Margarita Island (Venezuela) while on his homeward passage to Europe.

APRIL 29, 1604. At dawn, two-dozen armed Frenchmen slip ashore near Manzanillo (Cuba) from the ship and smaller auxiliary of Gilbert Giron to seize hostages in reprisal for money and goods owed to Giron by local Spanish traders. (The previous year, Lt. Gov. and Lic. Melchor Suárez de Poago used a company of troops to arrest almost 100 Spaniards in and around Bayamo, thus discouraging the region's traffic with foreign seamen. Consequently, Giron now finds himself unable to collect because of this new climate of fear, so resorts to more drastic methods.)

At Yara Hacienda, he captures Bishop Juan de las Cabezas y Altamirano, the canon Francisco Puebla, the friar Diego Sánchez, plus several other Spaniards and carries them back aboard his ship. Eight days later, the bishop is released, but when Giron comes ashore with 10 musketeers and 8 pikemen to claim his ransom, he is set upon by 27 Spaniards under Gregorio Ramos and killed along with most of his landing party. (Giron also leaves his name to Playa Girón or "Giron Beach," where the "Bay of Pigs" invasion is halted; see "April 17, 1961" entry in "Latin American Troubles," Volume 2.)

JULY 1605. In Madrid, the Spanish Crown issues a *real cédula* or "royal decree" ordering its American officials to execute any foreign corsairs or smugglers found in the New World, without appeal.

AUGUST 2, 1605. Gov. Antonio Osorio of Santo Domingo unexpectedly materializes with 150 soldiers at Bayahá, a town on the northwestern coast of Hispaniola, to read aloud a year-old secret proclamation from King Philip III complaining of the "pernicious and inveterate traffic" of that region's Spanish inhabitants with foreign smugglers; they are



French harquebusier in Canada. (Canadian Department of National Defense)

The Salt War

As of the 16th century, the Netherlands began experiencing a growing demand for salt. A major fishing nation, the Netherlands had always used this commodity to cure its catches, which were swelling in volume. The number of Dutch herring boats, for example, boomed from 150 in 1550 to more than 4,000 a century later. Salt was also needed to cure meats, as well as to produce butter and cheese. It had industrial applications as well, such as in the manufacture of glass.

For decades, Dutch traders had obtained salt from Setubal in Portugal or from the Portuguese colonists on the Cape Verde Islands off West Africa. But shortly after King Philip II of Spain absorbed Portugal into his empire in 1580, he moved to cut off this supply because the Netherlands was so hostile to his rule.

Dutch salters therefore ventured across the Atlantic to tap the great natural pans enclosed by the Araya Peninsula in Venezuela. Its salt proved to be excellent and could be gathered without charge along this uninhabited shoreline. By 1599, it was estimated that 100 Dutch ships visited every year. Realizing that this free resource allowed “the rebels to live and grow in wealth,” the new king Philip III proposed in 1602 that a coast-guard squadron be created in the Windward Isles. Eight or nine lateen-rigged vessels with shallow drafts could patrol Araya. Instead, his chief naval adviser suggested annual sweeps by passing plate fleets.

The next year, governors Diego Suárez Amaya of nearby Cumaná and Felipe Cáncer of Margarita Island proposed that a fort be erected to guard Araya’s entrance. The Crown authorized an inspection, which was made in June 1604 by Suárez Amaya and the Italian-born royal engineer Bautista Antonelli, who was accompanied by his 19-year-old son and heir, Juan Bautista Antonelli, and Capt. Pedro Suárez Coronel. Before any construction could begin, however, Admiral Fajardo made a surprise descent in November 1605, butchering hundreds of Dutch salters. Instead of deterring future visits, though, this act only made the Dutch return in greater numbers and more heavily armed.

The Dutch would exploit the Araya salt pans until Fort Santiago was finally installed in 1623. And even then, they merely shifted their operations to nearby Tortuga Island, to the Unare River mouth, to Curaçao, and to the Antillean isle of Saint Martin. The Spanish vainly tried to pursue and dislodge these stubborn salters over the next two decades.

therefore to be immediately transferred over to the south side of the island. Soon, troops begin torching edifices to hasten the evacuation, then visit a like treatment upon Puerto Plata, Monte Cristi, and La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti), while residents attempt to save whatever they can and abandon tens of thousands of their cattle and pigs to roam wild.

Once complete, this “scorched-earth” policy will have the opposite effect intended by Madrid, for rather than deny European traders contacts ashore, it will instead present them with empty, beckoning havens. Because the Spanish residents are obliged to leave behind planted crops and livestock, visiting ships will find easy means for refreshing their provisions, as well as a tempting stretch of coastline for permanent occupation.

AUGUST 20, 1605. The *Olive Blossom* of Capt. Nicholas St. John sights Saint Lucia, having been blown off course during its attempt to reach Sir Olive and Charles Leigh’s fledgling English colony in Guyana. Rather than continue beating southward against contrary winds and currents, St. John steps ashore three days later with 67 settlers, and they remain behind on Saint Lucia.

Its natives initially prove friendly, but after three weeks, the English endure a massive attack by Carib raiders from nearby Saint Vincent under their chief, Augramert. Only 19 settlers survive the 10-day onslaught, cowering behind a barricade of sea chests, after which they slip away at midnight on September 26 aboard a tiny craft.

NOVEMBER 6, 1605. *Araya Massacre.* Fourteen Spanish galleons, four lesser vessels, and 2,500 men under Adm. Luis Fajardo appear off the Araya Peninsula (Venezuela), having been dispatched from Lisbon to help sweep foreign interlopers from the Caribbean, as Madrid has grown so concerned about Dutch trespassers.

Fajardo’s fleet sights 11 Dutch ships anchored within Ancón de Refriegas, 8 being salters from Hoorn and 3 smugglers from Zeeland under Daniel de Moucheron. Two of the latter vessels succeed in escaping, but because most of the salters are working ashore, they are trapped when Spanish troops storm the beaches. Most of these interlopers are either shot down by nightfall or drown while attempting to escape from this one-sided bloodbath. The victors then separate all masters and pilots from

among the survivors and hang them prominently on seaside gallows; the rest of the prisoners are condemned to the galleys. Some 400 Dutchmen perish this day.

The Spanish expedition remains offshore for another month, making seven more captures, one being a 100-ton Dutch ship with 26 crewmen, who slay 14 Spaniards in a desperate resistance before finally being overwhelmed and slaughtered (except for one young man from Antwerp). Satisfied with his exemplary display of ruthlessness, intended to scare away future trespassers, Fajardo then weighs anchor for Santo Domingo and the north coast of Hispaniola.

JANUARY 1606. Fajardo's fleet arrives off Manzanilla on the north shore of Hispaniola. He sets a large contingent of troops ashore to help the island's royal officials round up and relocate the last recalcitrant Spanish settlers over to the south coast, in ac-

cordance with Madrid's depopulation plan, so that they come under direct supervision from the capital (see "August 2, 1605" entry). While at anchor, the admiral learns of a large gathering of foreign smugglers farther west at the Cuban bay of Manzanillo in the Gulf of Guacanayabo. Fajardo therefore detaches his vice admiral Juan Álvarez de Avilés with six galleons and some support craft to deal with these interlopers.

FEBRUARY 7, 1606. Vice Admiral Álvarez's galleons come upon two-dozen Dutch, six French, and one English vessel riding off Cabo Cruz (Cuba), which the Spanish ships immediately pursue. The interlopers scatter, but a large Dutch ship commanded by Abraham du Verne is grappled by a galleon, and both vessels sink when du Verne's magazine suddenly explodes. The other smugglers escape in the confusion, after which Álvarez limps on toward Havana, wrecking his flagship and a flyboat

Vengeance at Gibraltar

When news of Fajardo's massacre of the Dutch salters at Araya reached the Netherlands in the spring of 1606, it stirred passionate anger. Although many cruelties were inflicted in the long struggle for independence, the salters were regarded as harmless noncombatants. Their pitiless fate sparked such a thirst for revenge that a Dutch observer noted it would turn "many to raiding who otherwise would never have thought of doing so."

At the end of March 1607, a fleet of 34 Dutch vessels swept down the English Channel. Sailing abreast in four squadrons, they stopped every vessel that they saw for information. Although Adm. Jacob van Heemskerck's mission was to blockade the coast of Spain and defend Dutch shipping, he and his crews also hoped to meet Fajardo's fleet. It had now returned from the New World, wintered at Seville, and was patrolling the Andalusian coast as far down as Gibraltar. The Spanish admiral was no longer in charge, having turned over command to his vice admiral, Juan Álvarez de Avilés.

On April 24, 1607, the Dutch fleet prowled past Seville and Cadiz, eager to burst inside if their enemy should be at anchor. Finding both empty, they neared the Strait of Gibraltar the next day. Capt. Joris van Spilbergen of Zeeland later recorded how, at the council meeting held aboard Heemskerck's flagship, it was resolved, "In God's name, to attack the Spanish Armada if the latter were in the Bay of Gibraltar, we being well determined, even if they were in their own harbor, under the guns of the town and castle."

Although Álvarez was warned of the Dutch approach and positioned his five heavy galleons in a line to protect his seven smaller ships and nine other vessels, the Spaniards were surprised at how boldly the Dutch stood into their fortified bay that same afternoon. "They did not fire a gun," one noted, "nor waver in their movements."

Instead, Heemskerck closed on the Spanish line, and a murderous four-hour firefight ensued until nightfall. Álvarez was killed along with most of his officers and men, his flagship *San Agustín* being beached and boarded. Vice Adm. Tomás Guerrero de la Fuente's *Nuestra Señora del Buen Viaje* burned to the waterline, only 11 of 450 crewmen swimming to safety. The *Madre de Dios*, the *Santa Ana*, and the *Nuestra Señora de Regla* shared much the same fate. The Dutch showed no mercy, even killing survivors struggling in the water.

They then stripped their prizes overnight and set them ablaze the next dawn. The Spaniards also burned any of their own vessels that drifted aground. In all, 12 Spanish ships were destroyed, and 2,000 or more casualties were suffered. As the Dutch exited under fire from the forts, onlookers ashore even saw Spanish captives being tossed into the water with their hands and feet tied. Although only 356 bodies were later buried, most were swallowed up by the bay. Heemskerck and perhaps 200 Dutchmen were also slain in avenging the salters of Araya.

amid the Jardines de la Reina Archipelago. He is eventually rejoined by Fajardo at the Cuban capital, and they return together to Spain.

SUMMER 1606. Along the western banks of Lake Maracaibo (Venezuela), a native confederacy forms to drive the Spaniards out of the district. Isolated plantations are attacked by fleets of Quiriquire war canoes, while the city of Maracaibo—then called Nueva Zamora—suffers from sporadic blockades and encirclements, prompting its citizens to erect a stockade and request outside assistance that September. Early in 1607, Capt. Juan Pacheco Maldonado of Trujillo leads a 50-man counterexpedition across the lake from Moporo, which smashes the Indian alliance through a series of destructive sweeps.

JUNE 1606. A small Dutch force attempts to capture a pair of Honduran galleons at anchor off Santo

Tomás de Castilla (northern Guatemala). The Dutch lose a ship in their first attempt and are defeated again a few days later, during a second try.

APRIL 26, 1607 (O.S.). *First Anglo-Powhatan War.*

The 100-ton ship *Susan Constant* of veteran explorer Christopher Newport, the 40-ton *Godspeed* of Bartholomew Gosnold, and the 20-ton *Discovery* of John Ratcliffe arrive on the Atlantic Seaboard of North America from London, bearing 100 men and 4 boys to establish a new colony in Virginia. It takes them 17 days to work up a river they christen the James in honor of their monarch, founding a settlement called Jamestown, with a triangular fort for defense. Wilderness conditions prove harsh, though, and the 60-year-old regional overlord Powhatan and his 30 Algonquian vassal tribes are hostile, so before too long only 38 Englishmen remain. One of them is the 28-year-old captain John Smith, whose



Map of Virginia, as described by John Smith in 1606. (Library of Congress)

emergence as a leader will eventually ensure this colony's survival.

The First Anglo-Powhatan War erupts in 1609 as the settlers—further reinforced from England—gradually skirmish their way up the James River, gaining control from Chesapeake Bay to the fall line, thanks to their superior weaponry and body armor. One of the few English defeats occurs in November 1609, when a force bent upon stealing corn is decimated by the Pamunkey subchief Opechancanough. The next year, Governor Thomas West, Lord de la War orders harsher tactics employed, and on August 9, 1610 (O.S.), Capt. George Percy and 70 men descend upon the town of Paspahegh, killing or wounding 50 people and capturing the wife and children of the local *werowance* or chieftain Wowinchopunch, casting them into the river to drown. Such cruelty shakes native resolve, so by the time Powhatan's favorite daughter Pocahontas is lured aboard Samuel Argall's ship and kidnapped in the summer of 1613, their cause is essentially lost. Because tribal descent is matrilineal, Powhatan agrees to a truce with the English colonists the next spring, after his daughter converts to Anglicanism and prepares to marry the planter John Rolfe. The aged Indian leader dies three years later, heartbroken by news of Pocahontas's death while visiting England in 1617.

OCTOBER 1607. To enforce its claim to the Caribbean and discourage the growing number of foreign interlopers prowling into these waters, Madrid has decided to create and permanently station a new *Armada de Barlovento* or "Windward Fleet" in the region. Adm. Juan Enríquez de Borja and Vice Adm. Martín de Vallecillas therefore depart Cadiz in October 1607 with several hundred seamen and 120 soldiers to help build six galleons at Havana. However, by the time these vessels are completed in March 1610, they are instead sailed to Spain for other duties, while the 120 soldiers are assigned to St. Augustine (Florida).

JANUARY 1609. *Yanga's Revolt.* In Mexico, raids by *cimarrones* or "runaway slaves" become a serious nuisance in the region between Córdoba and Orizaba, where they burn farms, rob travelers, and kidnap wealthy citizens. Their leader is a fat, intelligent, aged Dinka from Gabon in West Africa named Gaspar Yanga or N'Yanga, who was brought to New Spain as long ago as 1579. Having escaped his master and created an autonomous fiefdom in the jungles around Orizaba's volcano, Yanga's ranks are being

fed by a steady stream of other runaways and delinquents.

By January 1609, their activities are becoming so notorious that they attract the attention of the reform-minded viceroy, Luis de Velasco "the Younger," in Mexico City, who orders Pedro González de Herrera to lead a military contingent of 100 troops and 450 auxiliaries from Puebla against the rebel hideouts. Although overmatched by the Spaniards' weaponry and armor, the 500 *cimarrones* nonetheless put up a spirited resistance when the two forces meet early in February. Yanga's principal lieutenant, an Angolan named Francisco de la Matosa, is finally captured and leads the Spanish army into the rebels' camp at night. Yanga escapes deeper into the jungle, only to be taken with his few remaining followers a short time afterward.

Impressed by the tenacity and fighting ability of the *cimarrones*, de Velasco decides to spare the rebels, resettling them into a new town atop Mount Totutla, on condition that they will hereafter serve His Catholic Majesty during wartime. Two decades later, they are transferred to another site called San Lorenzo de los Negros (literally, "Saint Lawrence of the Blacks"), 12 miles southeast of Córdoba.

JULY 28, 1609. After three days of being battered by a heavy storm, the Virginia Company's flagship *Sea Venture* under veteran Adm. George Somers of Dorsetshire (see "May 18, 1595" in "Elizabethan Wars"), part of a nine-ship convoy bearing 600 reinforcements for the new English colony at Jamestown, staggers aground on the east end of Bermuda. Its survivors spend the next 10 months building two ships, the *Patience* and the *Deliverance*, to carry them on to their destination; yet when they finally reach Virginia in late May 1610, they find conditions so harsh that they quickly return to Bermuda.

Somers dies shortly thereafter, and his body is carried home to England, along with glowing accounts of this new island—the survivors' adventures furthermore inspiring William Shakespeare to write his play *The Tempest*. Such favorable reports lead other settlers to immigrate to Bermuda, this island becoming known for a while as "Somers Island."

JULY 30, 1609. The French settler Samuel de Champlain and a band of men, along with his Algonquin and Montagnais allies, defeat an Iroquois war party near Crown Point (modern Ticonderoga on the banks of Lake Champlain, between Vermont

Shakespeare and Bermuda

The discovery and conquest of the New World fascinated Europeans for more than a century. There was much interest in each new colonizing expedition that set sail. One such convoy of nine ships left England under Adm. George Somers in early June 1609, bound for Virginia with 600 settlers under its new governor, Sir Thomas Gates. By autumn, word came back that the flagship *Sea Venture* had been lost in a storm, without a trace.

Miraculously, Gates returned to England a year later with a remarkable tale to tell. His flagship had become separated in a storm and ran aground on Bermuda. It even wedged upright between two rocks, and no lives or goods were lost. Until then, this unexplored island was believed to be “given over to devils and wicked spirits.” Instead, Gates and his survivors found its climate so wonderfully temperate, and its landscape so “abundantly fruitful,” that they chose to settle there.

The accounts published in October 1610 of this shipwreck on an enchanted isle thrilled English readers, and evidently inspired William Shakespeare to write *The Tempest*. The playwright almost certainly had friends and business associates who were involved with the Virginia Company, and the story was widespread. Somers’s description of St. Elmo’s fire dancing on the *Sea Venture*’s rigging seems to have provided the idea for Ariel’s supernatural boarding of the king’s ship in the play:

... now on the beak,
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin,
I flam’d amazement. Sometimes I’d divide,
And burn in many places ...

(I.ii.196–200)

The survivors, both in reality and on stage, formed two factions. They were then delivered by the magical resurrection of their ship. When first performed in November 1611, *The Tempest* must have won smiles of recognition among London audiences.

and New York states). Champlain slays two Iroquois chieftains with his harquebus, prompting the other warriors—who have never before experienced gunfire—to flee.

AUGUST 1609. The English brothers Robert and Michael Harcourt reach the Guianas, the latter remaining behind with a few colonists, while Robert Harcourt sails for England to petition the Crown for permission to develop this private colony. Their fledgling settlement will not prosper.

JUNE 19, 1610. Champlain and his Huron and Algonquian allies defeat an Iroquois war band near the mouth of the Richelieu River.

JULY 8, 1610. A Spanish vessel is intercepted off Cuba’s Cape San Antonio by English rovers, being stripped of money, hides, and other merchandise before the Spanish crew is released ashore.

JULY 29, 1610. In Costa Rica, the natives of the five-year-old settlement of Santiago de Talamanca rise up against their cruel governor, Diego de Sojo, eradicating its church and all Spanish dwellings.

AUGUST 1610. The 55-ton *Discovery* of Capt. Henry Hudson arrives off Labrador, rounding the Ungava Peninsula in hopes of discovering the Northwest Passage. After steering southward, he becomes embayed and winters there, beginning his homeward voyage on June 28, 1611, only to have his crew mutiny and set him adrift in a small boat along with his 18-year-old son John or “Jack” and four loyal hands. None survive, while only 5 of the 11 mutineers regain England.

FEBRUARY 8, 1612. After a six-week royal inquiry assigned to the visiting governor Sancho de Alquiza of Margarita Island (Venezuela), the few-score Spanish inhabitants on Trinidad are reprimanded for illegally trading with French, Dutch, and English smugglers. De Alquiza then proceeds with 40 Spanish troops and 60 paddlers up the Orinoco River to Santo Tomé de la Guayana, chasing off two Dutch smugglers before issuing a similar verdict in late April against the regional governor, Fernando de Berrio.

JULY 1612. Some 60 British settlers are sent aboard the Virginia Company’s *Plough* to help expand Bermuda, this island becoming a thriving English colony over the next few years.

JULY 26, 1612. *Equinoctial France.* The ships *Régente*, *Charlotte*, and *Sainte Anne* arrive at Upaonimirim Island (modern Guyavas, Brazil—although temporarily renamed “Sainte Anne” by these French settlers, as they make landfall upon this particular Church feast day). The expedition consists of 500 men under captains Daniel de la Touche, Sieur de la Ravardière; Nicolas de Harley; François, Sieur de Rasily (also spelt Razilly or Rassily); Jacques de Riffault; and Charles des Vaux. Eighteen years previously,

des Vaux has established a foothold in this region (see “Summer 1594” in “Elizabethan Wars”), which the French Crown now hopes to transform into a permanent colony.

Des Vaux reconnoiters upstream, reestablishing friendly relations with the natives. A landing is made, and a stronghold named Fort Saint Louis is erected 50 miles from the sea on Maranhão Island (near the modern city of São Luis). This region is designated as France Équinoxiale or “Equinoctial France,” after which Rasilly departs toward France for more colonists. When word of this intruder settlement reaches Madrid, King Philip III orders his Portuguese subordinates to drive the trespassers out. It will not be until two years later, though, that the Brazilian *capitão-mor* Jerônimo de Albuquerque can assemble sufficient men and ships to challenge the French.

JULY 1613. The French settlements at Saint Sauveur and Port Royal (modern Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) are attacked, sacked, and burned by 60 men under Capt. Samuel Argall, on orders from Gov. Sir Thomas Dale of Virginia.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1613. The French leader Champlain departs Huronia with a native war party for an expedition against the Iroquois. On October 10, they are ambushed by the Onondagas, Champlain being wounded and his Franco-Huron contingent compelled to retire into their home base by December 23.

APRIL 1614. The English explorer John Smith arrives off Maine with two ships from London, surveying from Penobscot to Cape Cod during July and August and naming this particular stretch of shoreline “New England.”

LATE AUGUST 1614. *Portuguese Retaliation.* The 66-year-old Jerônimo de Albuquerque, designated as *capitão-mor* for northern Brazil, disembarks 300 Portuguese militiamen and 230 native warriors from eight ships at the mouth of the Maranhão estuary near modern São Luis to begin operations against the intruder settlement called France Équinoxiale, 50 miles upstream. A few months previously, Albuquerque has reconnoitered this region, installing a 40-man garrison at Rosário under Capt. Manuel de Sousa Dessa. The governor now rallies 1,000 Tobajara auxiliaries from around this base, then advances as far as Guaxinguba by October 26, entrenching his army at a place that he dubs Fort Santa

Maria del Maranhão—directly opposite the French fortification of Saint Joseph d’Itapary.

On the night of November 11, the first French counterattack occurs when four barks glide downstream; three Portuguese craft are boarded before any alarm can be given. Two hours before dawn on November 19, a much larger assault follows when la Ravardière leads 200 French soldiers and 1,500 Tupinambá allies aboard four ships, three gunboats, and a host of canoes to attack Albuquerque’s camp. La Ravardière succeeds in destroying many Portuguese vessels but loses 115 Frenchmen killed and 9 captured. A truce is therefore arranged two days later, whereby both sides agree to allow this territorial dispute to be decided by their respective governments back in Europe.

The 400 French Huguenot settlers in this district, however, are effectively doomed, being cut off from the sea by Albuquerque’s forts; moreover, Paris is loath to antagonize Madrid early the next year because Queen Regent Marie de Médici is arranging the marriage of her 13-year-old son Louis XIII to the Spanish princess Anne of Austria, so very little diplomatic pressure is exerted on la Ravardière’s behalf.

OCTOBER 12, 1615. South of Lake Ontario, in the Oswego region (modern New York State), Champlain unsuccessfully besieges a Seneca fort with a band of French, Huron, Algonquian, and Montagnais followers.

OCTOBER 31, 1615. Nine more Portuguese ships bearing 600 troops arrive at Maranhão from Pernambuco under Capt. Gen. Alejandro de Moura, who quickly breaks the truce with the French by advancing upriver on November 3 and obliging these interlopers to surrender their last remaining stronghold of Fort Saint Louis 12 days afterward. On November 20, la Ravardière signs a capitulation whereby he agrees to be transported to Lisbon as a prisoner, while his followers are evacuated toward France. More than 400 settlers sail away aboard three ships, leaving their properties to the Portuguese, thus marking an end to France Équinoxiale.

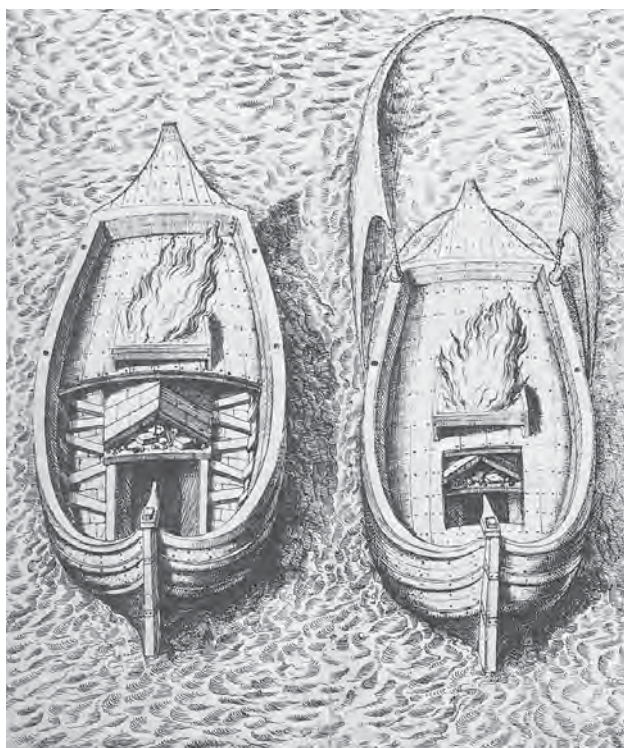
NOVEMBER 16, 1616. *Tepehuán Revolt.* In Mexico’s northern province of Nueva Vizcaya, 2,000 Tepehuán Indians rise up in a concerted rebellion, slaughtering 270 Spanish settlers at the missions of Santa Catalina, Atotonilco, Guatimape, Santiago Papsquiario, and Zape. This insurrection soon spreads

among the neighboring Xixime, Acaxee, Tarahumara, and other lesser tribes of the Topia Range, who unite and march—allegedly 25,000 strong—against the capital of La Guadiana (the modern city of Durango). Gov. Gaspar de Alvear y Salazar scatters this host and executes 65 of its leaders, yet Indian rebels continue to resist in the mountainous terrain for the next couple of years.

NOVEMBER 17, 1617. *Raleigh's Last Venture.* Fifteen sickly English vessels appear off the Orinoco River under 65-year-old Sir Walter Raleigh, who has been released from 13 years' incarceration in the Tower of London by King James I on the understanding that he will secure the El Dorado mines for England—without antagonizing Spain. Having contracted a sickness during a stopover at the Canaries, Raleigh anchors his 36-gun, 400-ton flagship *Destiny* at Galeota Point (Trinidad) before detaching his second-in-command Lawrence Keymis with five vessels—the largest being the 160-ton, 18-gun *Encounter* of Captain Whitney—to advance up the Orinoco with several hundred men, including Raleigh's 25-year-old son Walter and his nephew George.

Keymis reaches this river mouth by December 31 (O.S.), working his way upstream until Santo Tomé is sighted three weeks later, near Jaya Island between the Caroní confluence and Atamaya Point (six miles west of Los Castillos). Its recently installed Spanish governor Diego Palomeque de Acuña has been forewarned of this English approach by native scouts, so Santo Tomé's citizenry flees while 37 militiamen prepare to resist, supported by two small cannon and four swivel-guns, plus some Indian auxiliaries. This force is easily brushed aside by Keymis, Palomeque and several others being killed—among them Raleigh's son, slain in hand-to-hand combat with a Spanish captain named Erineta. Finding the town empty, the English then press farther upriver until they are ambushed near Ceiba by 10 Spanish harquebusiers and a similar number of native archers under Capt. Jerónimo Grado, who are hidden on the river's embankments.

Retiring into Santo Tomé, the English suffer disease and a counterassault by 23 Spaniards and 60 Indians on the 27th day of their occupation, obliging Keymis to retreat. He reports to Raleigh at Trinidad, who, in his anguish at facing ruin and the loss of his son, reproves his subordinate so harshly that the latter commits suicide. Raleigh's expedition quickly disintegrates, at least five captains parting



Methods for distributing and igniting combustibles in a 17th-century fireship; from a contemporary treatise. (Author's Collection)

company to prowl the Caribbean, while Raleigh returns to England to meet his fate (being executed on October 29, 1618 [O.S.]).

DECEMBER 25, 1618. Having departed Dieppe on June 20 with a letter of reprisal against the Spanish and Portuguese, Capt. Charles Fleury—a former colleague of the renowned privateer Jacques Barc—arrives off the coast of Brazil. His expedition consists of his 120-ton flagship *Espérance*; the same-sized *Saint-Louis* of Nicolas Le Grand de Fécamp; the 30-ton bark *Sainte-Suzanne* of Nicolas Leroy, Sieur Dumé; and the bark *Robinette* of Du Buisson. They are accompanied by the prize *Sainte-Marie*, with slightly more than 300 Huguenot rovers spread among all five vessels.

Fleury decides to assault the Brazilian port of Porto Seguro, but this effort fails. Demoralized, the French sail for the Antilles, Fleury being forsaken by his subordinates—he is left in command of less than 100 followers aboard his lone ship.

SPRING 1619. Five of Raleigh's former vessels—three large and two small ones—are lying near Santo Domingo when they are attacked by a like number

Thirty Years' War

Europe had long been rent by dynastic rivalries, as well as struggles between kings and powerful aristocrats. In the early 17th century, religion further complicated matters. The ideological rift between Catholicism and Lutheranism was temporarily halted by a truce in 1555. However, Calvinism then emerged, and tensions continued to rise, especially in the 225 German principalities that made up the "Holy Roman Empire." That region's Calvinist minority formed a "League of Evangelical Union" in 1608, which was countered the next year by the "Catholic League."

The tolerant Holy Roman emperor Matthias tried to ensure an orderly succession by having his cousin Ferdinand elected as crown prince of Bohemia in 1617. Yet some Protestant Bohemians feared for their rights under Ferdinand's militant Catholicism. Therefore, when he sent two of his representatives to Hradčany Castle in Prague to rule on his behalf, they were seized by Hussite extremists on May 23, 1618. After a mock trial, the Catholics were flung from the palace windows. Although they miraculously survived the 70-foot plunge, the Bohemian Revolt had begun.

This rebellion enjoyed success at first, thanks to support from neighboring Protestant territories. By August 17, 1619, Ferdinand was deposed as king of Bohemia in favor of the Protestant Frederick V, Elector of the Palatinate. The hard-pressed Ferdinand, now crowned as Holy Roman emperor, called for help from Spain. An army under Gen. Ambrosio Spinola marched from Brussels in the Spanish Netherlands and reversed Catholic losses.

Yet resistance persisted, so that over the next three decades most Continental powers became embroiled as this conflict spread out from Germany and Austria. And although its underlying impetus would remain a religious struggle, the Thirty Years' War was also exacerbated by diplomatic maneuvers in every major capital. Madrid, for example, supported Ferdinand in his absolutist efforts, while Holland and Sweden favored their Protestant coreligionists for strategic reasons. Paris weighed in against its traditional Spanish foes, while London was distracted by internal divisions. Generations of soldiers would learn campaigning, most especially in the Low Countries, and this warfare indirectly affected developments in the New World as well.

of Spanish ships under Capt. Alonso de Contreras, a knight of the Order of San Juan. This officer has recently arrived from Seville with two royal galleons and 200 troops to reinforce San Juan de Puerto Rico's garrison, having then continued to Santo Domingo with two additional Spanish coasters and been joined by a slaver from Cape Verde (West Africa). De Contreras exits that harbor and engages the five English vessels, chasing them away.

Next, the Spanish officer calls at Santiago de Cuba with only a single ship (possibly the *Buen Jesús*) and, while proceeding along that island's southern shore toward Cape San Antonio, chances upon another of Raleigh's consorts anchored off Isla de Pinos. De Contreras captures this vessel along with 21 crew

members, carrying them into Havana. He concludes his Caribbean foray by incorporating his galleon into the plate fleet of Adm. Carlos de Ibarra, a knight of the Order of Alcántara, which sails for Spain on July 28.

APRIL 21, 1619. With his ship now disintegrating and his crew facing starvation, Fleury reaches Martinique, where his men will be warmly received and recuperate over the next several months thanks to Carib hospitality. In order to proceed, they will repair a 25-ton bark brought with their ship. During their sojourn, the Frenchmen will also be visited by the rovers Jean de Montreuil and Georges de Naguet, Sieur de Saint-Georges.

HOLLAND'S "GREAT DESIGN" (1613–1649)

One of the few nations to rise above the destructive cycle of the Thirty Years' War will be the Netherlands, which emerges as the world's greatest maritime power during the first half of the 17th century. The seven united provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen, and Friesland have already won their independence from Spain by compelling Madrid to sign the Twelve Years' Truce in the spring of 1609. Now, Dutch overseas ambitions also rise, their vessels

arriving in the New World in ever-increasing numbers, their merchants proving themselves tenacious and resourceful traders, anxious to acquire ever more outlets.

Eventually, this commercial interest persuades the Dutch to allow their truce with the joint kingdoms of Spain and Portugal to lapse on March 31, 1621, officially resuming hostilities the next day. Both sides have grown increasingly restive under this arrangement, the Dutch wishing to develop the lucrative American market (which they realize Madrid will oppose), while also fearing the Spanish armies massed in the neighboring Palatinate under marshals Ambrosio de Spinola and Johann Tzerclaes, Graf von Tilly. Therefore, both for strategic and philosophical reasons, the Dutch opt to intervene in the Thirty Years' War on the Protestant side.

This decision will have profound effects in the New World, as Dutch expeditions begin crossing the Atlantic to attack Spanish traffic and conquer new colonies. These efforts are greatly abetted by the West-Indische Compagnie or "West Indian Company" (abbreviated as the WIC), created in May 1621 to inflict losses upon Spain, while at the same time seeking commercial gain.

SPRING 1613. Some 50 Zeelander colonists found a private settlement called Nieuw Nickerie up the Corantin River (the modern boundary between Guyana and Suriname) and erect a stronghouse armed with two brass pieces and four swivel-guns; they also plant tobacco crops. That same June, Lt. Gov. Antonio de Mújica Buitrón of Santo Tomé de la Guayana in eastern Venezuela, while sailing along the Wild Coast, learns of the presence of these interlopers and requests assistance from the island of Trinidad to help expunge this outpost.

Twelve Spaniards consequently depart Trinidad late in August under the 32-year-old captain Melchor Cortés, taking two months to reach the Vauruma River mouth, where they await the arrival from Santo Tomé of 34 more musketeers and 300 native auxiliaries under Mújica Buitrón. Once united, the Spanish force paddles for another two months through jungly wilderness until at last they disembark a mile from the Dutch base on the Corantin, creeping upon its sleeping lodgment at night. Upon being detected, an exchange of shots rings out, and the Spaniards call upon its defenders to surrender. When the Dutch refuse, the attackers ignite the lodgement's palm-thatched roof, and everyone inside perishes in the flames. The Spaniards then gather up much booty and two prisoners from a nearby plantation and burn two boats and all the tobacco fields before returning into Trinidad and Santo Tomé by mid-February 1614.

Despite their victory, Spanish reports indicate that the Dutch still maintain "three or four more settlements, very flourishing, from which they derive many benefits and very great profit" along the Wild Coast. The Spanish also report various English outposts as well.

DECEMBER 13, 1614. At dawn, the 600-ton flagship *Groote Zon* under the master Reinier Janszoon, the 500-ton vice-flagship *Groote Maan* under the master Reinier Lambrechtszoon, the smaller *Æolus* of Zeeland and *Morgenster* of Rotterdam, plus the yachts *Jager* and *Meeuw* or *Meeuwte* of Amsterdam appear off Brazil under the veteran explorer of the East Indies, 46-year-old Commo. Joris van Spilbergen. His orders are to penetrate the Strait of Magellan, reconnoiter Spain's American empire, then cross the Pacific in the wake of the Acapulco-Manila galleons to link up with new Dutch trading outposts in the Moluccas.

One week later, his formation drops anchor before Rio de Janeiro Bay, spending almost a month refreshing provisions from among its uninhabited Jaguanon and Itacuruçá islands, while the 700–750 Dutch crewmen tend to their sick. On December 30, a watering party that ventures up the Guandu River to Marambaia Bay is captured by 300 native irregulars sent from São Barnabé by the regional governor, Martim de Sá, while two of the *Meeuw*'s seamen are executed for mutiny on January 6, 1615.

JANUARY 15, 1615. Van Spilbergen's expedition sets sail from Rio de Janeiro Bay and three days later arrives near Santos to trade. Fighting erupts here on January 20 against Portuguese militia contingents marched across from São Paulo by Amador Bueno da Ribeira and Lourenço Castanho Taques, who place their forces under the command of the regional *capitão-mor*, Paulo da Rocha Siqueira. The defenders install artillery into Fort Santo Amaro and along Embaré Beach, and after four Dutchmen are injured attempting a disembarkation, van Spilbergen



Spilbergen's clashes against Brazilian forces along the shorelines of São Vicente and Santos, late January and early February 1615, as recorded by the commodore's secretary Jan Corneliszoon de Mayz and depicted later by the Swiss engraver Matthäus Merian. (Author's Collection)

retaliates by burning the church at Nossa Senhora das Naus and the nearby sugar mill of Jerônimo Leitão, as well as intercepting a bark on January 26 as it arrives from Rio de Janeiro. By February 4, van Spilbergen gets under way again for the Strait of Magellan.

SPRING 1615. A group of 280 Dutch colonists under Theodore Claessen of Amsterdam arrives aboard two small ships to initially settle in the vicinity of what will later become known as Cayenne (the modern capital of French Guiana) before transferring into Suriname shortly thereafter.

APRIL 16, 1615. *Van Spilbergen Enters the Pacific.* After beating against contrary winds, this Dutch squadron—except the *Meeuw*, which has mutinied and parted company under Gerard Hermanszoon to return toward Europe—emerges into the Pacific and begins working its way up the South American coastline. Because of the Twelve Years' Truce, its progression is a blend of aggressiveness and good will;

in some places, the Dutch fight pitched battles against the Spaniards, in others they trade peaceably with local residents. By May 29, van Spilbergen's five vessels arrive between Punta Lavapié (Chile) and Santa María Island. After a guarded reception from the Spanish residents at this latter place, hostilities erupt two days later when van Spilbergen leads three companies of soldiers and sailors ashore at dawn to sack the town. Four Spaniards are killed, and two Dutchmen wounded.

Getting under way again on June 1, van Spilbergen enters Valparaíso 11 days later at sunup, prompting the Spaniards to scuttle their lone merchantman while firing upon the advancing Dutch boats. Van Spilbergen forges ashore with 200 troops, but the Spanish militia cavalymen melt away, obliging the Dutch to reembark that evening and proceed farther north. After watering at Quintero from June 13–17, the commodore continues slowly, arriving opposite San Vicente de Cañete (Peru) one month later, to a hostile reception from its fortified militia.

JULY 17, 1615. *Cañete*. The 44-year-old Peruvian viceroy Juan Manuel de Mendoza y Luna, 3rd Marqués de Montesclaros and Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Santiago—alarmed by van Spilbergen’s progression up South America—has earlier dispatched four men-of-war and a hired storeship under his nephew Rodrigo de Mendoza, Knight of the Order of Santiago (plus the veteran vice admiral Pedro Fernández del Pulgar), to intercept these intruders; however, this formation probes as far south as Valdivia and reverses course without sighting the Dutch.

The viceroy therefore dispatches Peru’s annual bullion shipment toward Panama aboard the 32-gun, 400-ton *San José* and the 20-gun, 250-ton *Nuestra Señora de la Visitación* (formerly Hawkins’s *Dainty*), leaving only two men-of-war at Callao. When word subsequently arrives that van Spilbergen is at Cañete, the Spaniards must sortie with their 600-ton flagship *Jesús María*—pierced for 30 guns but only mounting 22—and manned by 400 men under Captain Delgado, plus the 350-ton vice-flagship *Santa Ana*—pierced for 30 but bearing just 12 cannon—manned by 200 men under Captain Bustinza. This small force is supplemented by the private merchantmen *Carmen* of Captain Coba, with 8 guns and 150 men; the *San Diego* of Capt. Juan de Nájera, with no guns and 80 men; the *Santiago* of *maestre de campo* Pedraza, with 4 swivels and 80 men; and the auxiliary *Rosario* of Capt. Juan de Alberdín, with 50 men. Overall command is held by the viceroy’s nephew de Mendoza, with Fernández del Pulgar as his vice admiral and *maestre de campo* Diego de Sarabia as third-in-command.

The Spaniards exit Callao at dawn of July 17, coming upon the enemy squadron at 4:00 p.m., 15 miles off Cañete in a light breeze (having scuttled a coastal trader and the shallop of Juan Bautista González, which they intercepted arriving from Arica). Although advised to engage the next day, de Mendoza closes with van Spilbergen that same evening, his *Jesús María* accompanied by the vice-flagship *Santa Ana* and the tender *Rosario*. Around 9:00–10:00 p.m., the five Dutch ships hoist lanterns and fire a blank signal-gun to call for a parley, yet after a brief exchange of hails, de Mendoza replies with two shotted guns, and the battle is joined. Several hours’ gunplay ensues, during which the *Rosario* is sunk (Captain de Alberdín and a few other survivors being rescued by the *Jesús María*), while all the combatants receive damage, because scanty winds prevent them from maneuvering out of harm’s way.

The next morning—Saturday, July 18—the action resumes, and after another prolonged exchange, the Spanish flagship staggers out of the engagement with 60 dead and 80 wounded. Fighting now rages around Fernández del Pulgar’s vice-flagship *Santa Ana*, which resists until 8:00 p.m., when it surrenders and shortly thereafter plunges beneath the waves, a 12-man Dutch prize crew still aboard. Only a half-dozen survivors are plucked from the waters the next dawn (another 60 being left to their fate by the Dutch, among them a woman named Catalina de Erauso, dressed as a man and known to the Spaniards as the *Monja Alférez* or “Nun Ensign”). Van Spilbergen has suffered 40 killed and 48–60 wounded, principally aboard the *Groote Maan* and the *Morgenster*. On July 20, he appears off Callao to exchange a few shots with its batteries, then coasts northward one week later with a small prize. Meanwhile, de Mendoza’s *Jesús María*—fearful of encountering the Dutch squadron—limps toward Pisco to deposit its wounded, then continues to Panama City for repairs.

AUGUST 8, 1615. After refreshing at Huarmey (Peru), van Spilbergen appears off Paita this evening, disembarking four companies—300 musketeers—the next morning to forage for provisions. Paita’s defenders are commanded by Paula Piraldo, wife of the absent Piura *corregidor* Juan de Andrade y Colmenero; their sole defensework is a trench parallel to the beach, which the Dutch probe at the cost of one ensign killed and three soldiers wounded before retiring to their waiting ships. On the morning of August 10, van Spilbergen sends greater numbers ashore to resume his attack, supported by close bombardment from the *Æolus*, the *Morgenster*, and the *Jager*. Outnumbered and outflanked, the Spanish flee to an adjacent hill, watching as the raiders ransack and burn Paita. The Dutch then remain at anchor for another fortnight.

OCTOBER 10, 1615. This evening, van Spilbergen’s squadron arrives outside Acapulco, hoping to stand in the next day. Light winds slow their entry until the afternoon, when the Spanish battery inside opens up a desultory fire. Rather than reply, the Dutch commodore sends a boat inshore under a flag of truce, requesting permission to buy supplies. The surprised Spanish governor Gregorio de Porres agrees, and van Spilbergen’s crews spend a week refreshing and visiting ashore.

The rovers eventually depart on October 18, prowling farther up the Mexican coast toward Cali-

fornia in hopes of intercepting the Manila galleon. They capture a small Spanish pearling frigate on October 26 and skirmish with Mexican militiamen at Salagua Bay on the morning of November 11, while attempting to forage ashore. Discouraged and tired, van Spilbergen gives up his watch on November 20, steering out across the Pacific.

DECEMBER 6, 1615. At daybreak, the 220-ton *Eendracht* of 19 guns and 12 swivels, manned by 65 men under Capt. Willem Corneliszoon Schouten of Hoorn, and the 110-ton yacht *Hoorn* of 8 guns, 4 swivels, and 22 sailors, under his brother Jan Corneliszoon Schouten, reach the Atlantic coast of South America. This Dutch expedition's leader is Jacob le Maire of Amsterdam, who—because both the Strait of Magellan and Cape of Good Hope are claimed by competing Dutch monopolies, thereby barring all other firms from commercial access to Asia—has been commissioned to discover a third passage into the Pacific. The next midday, the *Eendracht* and the *Hoorn* anchor in Olivier van Noort's former haven of Puerto Deseado (Argentina), refreshing for more than a month before striking out on January 13, 1616, to sail around Tierra del Fuego. By January 26, they reach a latitude of 57° S, successfully passing an island they name "Cape Hoorn" and entering the Pacific via this new route. Le Maire reaches the Juan Fernández Islands by March 1, pausing briefly before continuing out into the central Pacific toward New Guinea.

DECEMBER 25, 1615. Having successfully eradicated the French settlements around São Luis de Maranhão (see "October 31, 1615" entry in "Early Footholds"), the newly designated *capitão-mor* or senior commander Francisco Caldeira Castelo Branco sets sail to extend Portuguese control still farther westward, into the Amazon Delta. He departs São Luis with 150 troops in three companies distributed among the flagship *Santa Maria de Candelária*, piloted by Antônio Vicente Cochado and the veteran French explorer Charles des Vaux (see "July 26, 1612" entry in "Early Footholds"); the *Santa Maria de Graça* of Capt. Álvaro Neto, piloted by Pedro Favela; and the auxiliary *Assunção* of Lt. Pedro de Freitas, piloted by Fr. Manoel Figueira de Mendonça.

Arriving off the Pará River mouth, this trio of vessels pushes 86 miles up the river until they come within sight of a point of land called Mauri, at the confluence of the Guamá River, overlooking a 20-mile-wide estuary called Guajurá Bay, whose an-

chorage is partially sheltered from the powerful tidal bore sweeping upriver by several islands. Caldeira Castelo Branco steps ashore on January 12, 1616, being greeted by the local Tupinambá chieftains Guaimiaba, Acayaçu, and Marauaçu, and a midday Mass is celebrated. The next day, the Portuguese, under the direction of their engineer, Francisco de Frias, begin construction of a stockade that is initially dubbed Fort São José but later renamed Fort Presépio in honor of their departure on Christmas Day (and eventually evolves into modern Castelo do Santo Cristo). A Carmelite chapel and thatched-roof dwellings for the troops are added, the city of Nossa Senhora Santa Maria de Belém do Grão-Pará thus being officially constituted (becoming known more simply as Belém).

On March 7, 1616, the 30-year-old ensign Pedro Teixeira is sent eastward from this outpost with a small detachment of troops and natives to discover a new overland route and to report to the regional captain general de Moura. After a grueling two-month trek through steamy jungles, beset by hostile Tupinambá ambushes, Teixeira staggers into São Luis, where he is promoted to lieutenant. He then sails back to Belém aboard the vessel *Estarreja* with reinforcements: 30 harquebusiers under Salvador de Melo.

SPRING 1616. The Zeeland ship *Goude Haan* of Pieter Adriaanszoon Ita arrives on South America's Wild Coast, depositing 150 Dutch settlers at the Ginipape River who build a fort and remain there for six years, bartering for tobacco with the natives.

Also in the spring of 1616, another two Zeeland ships and a smaller auxiliary under Aert Adriaanszoon Groenewegen—confusingly rendered as "Cromwegle" by the English, and "Llanes" or "Yanes" by the Spanish—sail up the Essequibo River to re-occupy Fort Ter Hooze (see "Spring 1596" entry in "Elizabethan Wars"). Finding it abandoned by the Portuguese, Groenewegen builds a new fort called Kijkoveral (literally, "See Overall") on the same site. An experienced South American hand, having previously served the Spaniards as a factor on the Orinoco River, the Catholic Groenewegen establishes excellent relations with the regional natives by marrying a chieftain's daughter, thereby helping his establishment to flourish until his death on August 19, 1664.

AUGUST 7, 1616. Learning of a Dutch ship anchored at the Xingu confluence in the Amazon Delta, Lieutenant Teixeira and Ens. Gaspar de Freitas

are sent from Belém with two canoes, capturing this interloper two nights later after a fierce nocturnal struggle that only a single Dutchman survives. The prize is burned after removing its guns, which are brought back to be installed in Fort Presépio, and Teixeira is promoted to captain.

JANUARY 7, 1619. Disillusioned by heavy-handed Portuguese occupation, the Tupinambá chief Guaimiaba leads a tribal uprising at Belém (Brazil), unsuccessfully storming Fort Presépio. Some 1,500 natives are massacred, and their power is broken.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1619. At Belém, the unpopular new *capitão-mor* Matias de Albuquerque—in office scarcely seven months following the death of his father Jerônimo—is deposed and replaced by a junta comprising Fr. Antônio Marciano, as well as captains Custódio Valente and Teixeira. With the departure of these first two members the next year, Teixeira remains as de facto governor until the arrival of the newly appointed *capitão-mor* Bento Maciel Parente on June 18, 1621.

FEBRUARY 1620. After painstakingly constructing a bark on the island of Martinique, the Huguenot privateer Fleury and 30 of his crewmen join the Dutch privateer Hendrick Jacobszoon Lucifer and the Englishman Arthur Guy, prowling along the northern coast of Santo Domingo with their two large ships. They then circle around to careen their vessels at Les Cayemites, near the abandoned Spanish town of La Yaguana (modern Léogâne, Haiti), purchasing cured beef and hides from the few Carib or runaway black residents that they find living ashore.

APRIL 1620. Refreshed, Lucifer and his colleagues disperse from Léogâne (Haiti), Guy and Fleury pushing into the Gulf of Mexico to eventually capture seven coastal frigates off the coast of Campeche before returning toward Europe. Fleury will touch at Florida, Newfoundland, and Ireland before regaining Dieppe on September 10.

JANUARY 2, 1621. After a lengthy pursuit, two Spanish caravels under captains Martín Vázquez de Montiel and Benito Arias Montano—patrolling on orders from Capt. Gen. Juan de Borja of Cartagena—overtake a Dutch, an English, and two French ships off Tortuga Island (Haiti), capturing three of them and slaughtering 300 crew members at a cost of 5 Spanish dead and 25 wounded.

Dutch West India Company

The Dutch West India Company (WIC) was modeled on the successful VOC or Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie ("United East India Company"), formed in 1602. Prior to its creation, Dutch traders usually operated alone. Sometimes, investors at a single seaport might pool their resources, but all others were seen as competitors. Conflicts could arise, and profits would be withdrawn at the end of any given voyage. To improve on these local efforts, the States-General encouraged the formation of one large company. The VOC was created with contributions from six major seaports and was granted a monopoly over all Far Eastern trade. A board directed operations and managed a common pool of funds. Stocks were sold to shareholders, and privateering licenses were issued to fight Portuguese and English rivals.

As soon as the Twelve Years' Truce lapsed with Spain and Portugal on March 31, 1621, the States-General moved to create a similar West-Indische Compagnie or "West India Company." This WIC comprised five *Kamers* or "Chambers." Eight members were chosen from Amsterdam, five from Zeeland, two from Maeze, plus one each from the Stad en Landen and the Noorderkwartier centered on Hoorn, Enkhuizen, and Medemblik. Its directors became known as the *Heren XIX* or "Nineteen Lords."

When the WIC was chartered on June 3, 1621, its monopoly included all of the Americas from Newfoundland to the Strait of Magellan, plus the West African coast from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1621. A lookout atop Mount Maurica advises Gov. Diego de Arroyo y Daza of Nueva Andalucía at Cumaná (Venezuela) that a half-dozen Dutch vessels are anchored at the nearby Ancón de Refriegas, intending to take on water before proceeding into the Araya pans to gather salt. The governor, a veteran of numerous European and Atlantic campaigns, sends Capt. Pedro Merchan down the Bordonos River with 46 harquebusiers and musketeers to ambush any Dutch watering parties. Undaunted, the poachers nonetheless establish a six-gun shore camp on the edge of the Araya pans to protect their salting operations against any surprise attack. Five days after they have withdrawn, Governor de Arroyo visits the site with 30 harquebusiers and native archers aboard four *piraguas*, ordering that the abandoned Dutch emplacement be razed and examining more than 20 graves that the interlopers have left behind (the deaths mostly due to disease).

While thus engaged, the governor learns that another 10 Dutch ships have been sighted, so he returns to Cumaná and dispatches *sargento mayor* Juan Rangel de Serpa down the Bordonos River with 50 harquebusiers and musketeers to prevent this second band of intruders from watering. Three or four days afterward, a trio of Dutch ships anchors off the mouth of that river and attempts to send boats inshore, but Spanish fire causes them to cut their cables and slip away under cover of darkness. A subsequent Dutch attempt to water two-dozen miles farther away at the mouth of the Santa Fe River is also repulsed by Captain Merchan with 25 men.

JANUARY 22, 1622. Two large Dutch merchantmen are sighted as they approach the Araya Peninsula to gather salt, so Governor de Arroyo hastens out of Cumaná with 40 Spanish militiamen and some native archers, who ambush the landing parties—killing 13 interlopers and capturing 9. However, when another 27 Dutch sail appear the next day and set almost 500 men ashore, erecting two small redoubts of five and three cannon apiece, as well as a five-gun coastal emplacement, de Arroyo's 120 men are powerless to act and instead remain on the defensive at Cumaná.

MARCH 13, 1622. Madrid authorizes Governor de Arroyo to begin construction of a new coastal keep to impede Dutch access to the Araya salt pans.

NOVEMBER 24, 1622. Two Dutch ships appear off Araya to poach salt, so Governor de Arroyo dispatches a band of militiamen under Lt. Juan de Vargas Machuca to ambush any parties who come ashore. However, more than 40 other Dutch vessels join three days afterward, followed by 15 more on December 2; they together disgorge more than 1,000 men and begin to gather salt, while simultaneously mounting a joint land-sea assault against the Spanish fortification being erected by de Arroyo at Ancón de Refriegas. Over the next three days, the interlopers cannonade the Spanish entrenchments and test its defenses, but after suffering several fatalities, the Dutch break off their attack and reembark two weeks later, running the gauntlet of the Spanish fort's artillery to escape back out to sea.

JANUARY 11, 1623. Some 41 Dutch merchantmen reappear off Araya, landing men and the next day commencing a combined land-sea assault against the fort being erected by Governor de Arroyo at

Ancón de Refriegas. Failing to dislodge its defenders, the interlopers shift two days later to another disembarkation point five miles away on the far side of the bay, disgorging several hundred men who begin gathering salt under the protection of a screen of harquebusiers. De Arroyo—his garrison now reinforced from Margarita Island by a company of Spanish soldiers and native archers under Capt. Jorge Gómez—dispatches 50 men to harry these poachers, eventually succeeding in driving them away in discouragement on January 24. When another seven Dutch ships appear in two flotillas a few days afterward, they do not attempt any disembarkation.

MAY 20, 1623. The Portuguese naval captain Luís Aranha de Vasconcelos reaches Belém (Brazil) from Lisbon and Pernambuco with a dozen soldiers aboard his 8-gun, 60-ton caravel, accompanied by other reinforcements from São Luís do Maranhão aboard a launch, to spearhead a joint expedition with Capt. Pedro Teixeira, which is aimed at pushing foreign settlers out of the nearby Amazon Delta. With a total of 70 Portuguese and 400 native allies crammed aboard the caravel, launch, and 40 canoes, Aranha de Vasconcelos sets out again on June 11, circling northwestward around Joannes Island to surprise the twin Dutch outposts called Forts Oranje and Nassau, situated southeast of the Xingu River mouth, five days later. The victors subsequently retire with 36 Dutch captives, plus 100 local Indians and Angolan slaves; meanwhile, Belém's senior commander Bento Maciel Parente arrives off the delta with yet another force.

This second Portuguese expedition gradually sweeps over Tucujus Island and along the Amazon's western shoreline toward the English settlement at the Okiari River confluence—established three years previously by Roger North's Amazon Company—where the surviving Dutch, English, and Irish residents rally under captains Ita of Flushing and Charles Parker. On August 22, Aranha de Vasconcelos returns with his caravel from depositing his prisoners at Belém, joining Maciel Parente at Sapanapoco. Both Portuguese contingents then attack the foreigners at Okiari, failing to overwhelm Ita and Parker's combined units, despite compelling the former to torch his 2-gun, 32-man Dutch flagship when it runs aground.

Aranha de Vasconcelos concludes this campaign by standing away for Europe—being intercepted before arriving by two Moroccan vessels out of Salé, in concert with a Dutch warship—while Maciel

Parente retires to Mariocai or Mariocay to build the 50-man Fort Santo Antônio do Gurupá atop the vestiges of the Dutch outpost on the eastern banks of the Amazon, before eventually regaining Belém.

FEBRUARY 27, 1624. “*Nassau Fleet*.” A Dutch squadron emerges around Cape Horn into the South Pacific, intent upon reconnoitering Spain’s American empire and possibly gaining a foothold in this region. This expedition has been assembled by Prince Maurice of Nassau, with financial backing from the Dutch East India Company and States-General, so it is commonly referred to as the “*Nassau Fleet*.” Its commanders are the 42-year-old Huguenot Jacques L’Hermite “the Younger” of Antwerp and 24-year-old Gheen Huygen Schapenham of Rotterdam.

THE NASSAU FLEET

Name	Guns	Tons	Men	Commander
<i>Amsterdam</i>	42	800	237	Leendert Jacobszoon Stolck
<i>Delft</i>	40	800	242	Witte Cornelis de Witte
<i>Orangien</i>	32	700	216	Laurens Janszoon Quirijnen
<i>Hollandia</i>	34	600	182	Adriaen Tol
<i>Eendracht</i>	32	600	170	Jan Ijsbrantszoon
<i>Mauritius</i>	32	560	169	Jacob Adriaenszoon
<i>Arend</i>	28	400	144	Meyndert Egbertszoon
<i>Koning David</i>	16	360	79	Jan Thomaszoon
<i>Griffioen</i>	14	320	78	Pieter Corneliszoon Hardloep
<i>Hoop</i>	14	260	80	Pieter Harmanszoon Slobbe
<i>Hazewind</i> or <i>Windhond</i>	4	60	20	Salomon Willemszoon

After weathering a storm in the Le Maire Strait, during which a yacht and Portuguese prize sink, this formation proceeds up the South American coast out of sight of land, in hopes of intercepting the annual convoy bearing Peru’s silver toward Panama.

MARCH 15, 1624. After a seven-week transatlantic voyage, the Dutch privateer Pieter Schouten of Vlissingen arrives at Barbados, having been dispatched by the WIC to conduct an extensive Caribbean reconnaissance with the 24-gun *Hoop* of Capt. Willem Jacobszoon, the 14-gun *Eendracht* of Capt. Hillebrandt Janszoon, and the 8-gun yacht *Trouwe* of Capt. Hendrik Worst. Over the next three months, Schouten—a veteran of previous West Indian cruises—explores the Spanish mainland as far west as the Gulf of Maracaibo, plus all of Santo Domingo and southern Jamaica, gathering valuable intelligence and establishing friendly relations with local natives.

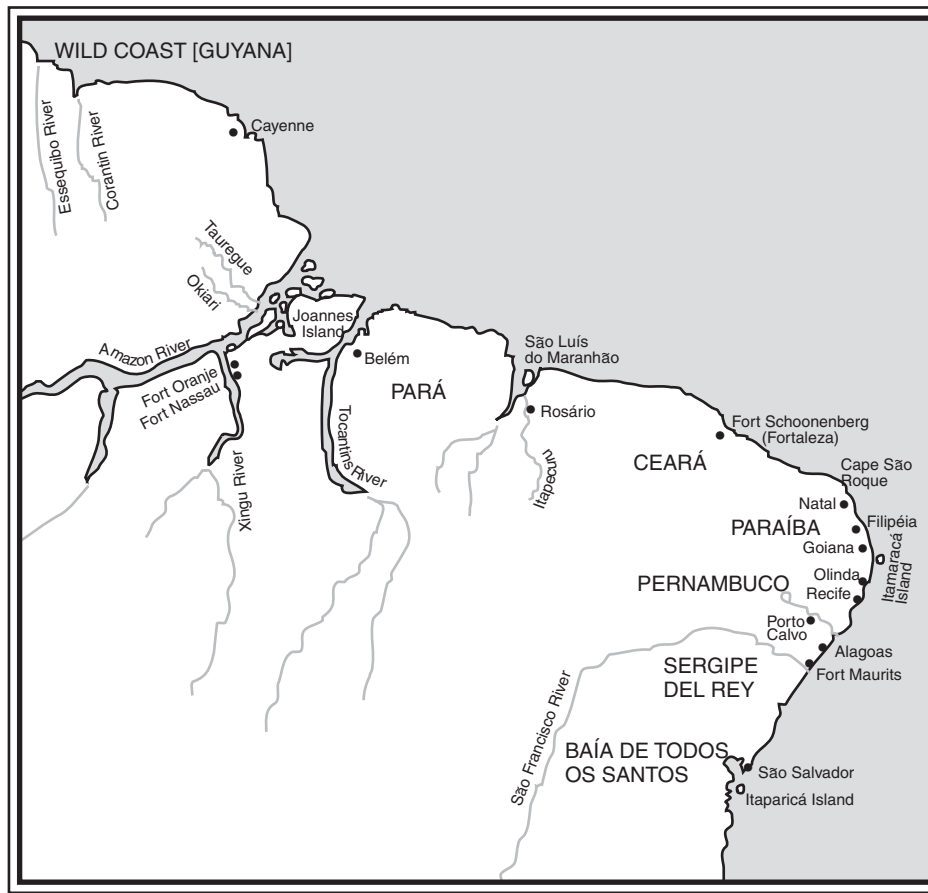
EARLY MAY 1624. The Dutch ship *Nieuw Nederland* arrives at Manhattan (New York) with 30 Protestant Walloon families to establish a colony under

Gov. Cornelis Jacobszoon Mey. Only 8 of these individuals remain on the island, more than half the families choosing to continue up the Hudson River to found Fort Orange (Albany).

MAY 7, 1624. *Callao Blockade*. The “*Nassau Fleet*” is spotted bearing down upon Lima’s port, alarming its residents. The Spanish silver convoy—comprising the private galleon *Santiago*; the 400-ton, 32-gun *San José*, vice-flagship of the *Armada del Mar del Sur* or “South Sea Fleet”; and the 16-gun *San Felipe y Santiago*—has departed Callao for Panama four days previously, bearing 8 million pesos in treasure. The only men-of-war left on station are the damaged, 900-ton armada flagship *Nuestra Señora de Loreto*—none of its 44 guns being mounted—plus the 150-ton, 8-gun auxiliary *San Bartolomé*. Hastily summoned from a bullfight only the previous day, the viceroy Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Marqués de Guadalcazar and Conde de las Posadas, has ordered every able-bodied militiaman called out.

Not realizing that they have already missed their chance at the bullion, several hundred Dutchmen attempt to disembark on the morning of May 9 between Márquez and Bocanegra beaches to march upon Lima, being discouraged by the waiting presence of three Peruvian infantry and two cavalry companies. The Spaniards meanwhile strengthen Callao’s defenses, so when the Dutch try to penetrate its harbor in boats two days later and set fire to some of its 40–45 anchored vessels, they find its garrison alert and are repelled with some losses. The attackers now settle down to blockade the port from offshore San Lorenzo Island, prompting the Spaniards to build a number of armed launches and floating batteries. Eventually, L’Hermite dies of disease on June 2, being succeeded by the more youthful and inexperienced Schapenham.

MAY 8, 1624. *Capture of São Salvador*. Adm. Jacob Willekens of Amsterdam and Vice Adm. Pieter Pieterszoon Heyn of Rotterdam materialize off Brazil with a large invasion fleet. The Amsterdam squadron consists of the 28-gun, 180-man, 300-ton flagship *Hollandia*; the 36-gun, 130-man, 300-ton *Zeelandia*; and the 20-gun, 89-man, 250-ton *Provincie van Utrecht*, each bearing 100 soldiers. The WIC contingent is comprised of the 20-gun, 40-man, 250-ton *Eendracht*; the 18-gun, 40-man, 250-ton *Sint Christowfel*; the 18-gun, 40-man, 200-ton *Hoop*; the 16-gun, 40-man, 190-ton *Nassau*; the 17-gun, 40-man, 240-ton *Vier Heems Kinderen*; a 16-gun, 40-man, 180-ton unnamed



Dutch Brazil.

ship; the 16-gun, 40-man, 200-ton *Overijssel*; as well as the 18-gun, 40-man, 250-ton *Haan*, all of them carrying 50 soldiers apiece.

The Zeeland squadron is made up of the 26-gun, 100-man, 350-ton vice-flagship *Tijger*, with 150 soldiers aboard; the 18-gun, 50-man, 300-ton *Gulden Zeepaard* with 125 soldiers; and the 8-gun, 40-man, 60-ton *Postpaard* with 25 soldiers. The Rotterdam or Maeze squadron includes the 28-gun, 187-man, 240-ton *Neptunus*; the 20-gun, 93-man, 200-ton *Oranjeboom*; the 10-gun, 52-man, 70-ton yacht *Zeejager*; and the 10-gun, 41-man, 65-ton yacht *Hazewind*. The Noorderkwartier squadron from Hoorn is represented by the 34-gun, 110-man, 300-ton *Sampson* with 110 soldiers; as well as the 18-gun, 42-man, 300-ton *Oude Roode Leeuw* and the 14-gun, 42-man, 250-ton *Oranjeboom* bearing 50 soldiers each. The Stad en Landen squadron consists of the 24-gun, 98-man, 300-ton *Groningen* with 150 soldiers aboard; the 20-gun, 40-man *Ster* and 12-gun, 35-man, 120-ton yacht *Vos*, each carrying 50 soldiers; and the auxiliary *Sint Martien*.

The landing force is to be directed by the 38-year-old colonel Johan van Dorth, Lord of der Horst and Pesch, who is furthermore to assume office as governor of any newly conquered territories. This WIC expedition has been sent out to secure a permanent trading outpost in the New World, Brazil having been chosen because its Portuguese inhabitants are resentful of Spanish rule and have shown themselves to be friendly toward Dutch smugglers. Among the invaders is Dierick Ruyters, a captain captured by the Portuguese at Sergipe in 1618 and who spent two and a half years imprisoned at São Salvador—the capital city of Baía de Todos os Santos—before escaping.

The Spanish governor Diego de Mendoza Hurtado has had four months' advance warning of a possible invasion attempt, yet local concern has dissipated with the passage of time, so he can now muster only a token defense. São Salvador is protected by the octagonal, four-gun Fort San Antônio da Barra to its east and the four-gun Fort San Filipe to its west, while a temporary six-gun battery covers

its beach and other guns dot its ramparts. Civilians begin fleeing into the interior, and the 3,000 Portuguese militiamen supposedly available to de Mendoza—mostly reluctant peasant levees and black slaves—either fail to muster or desert in droves. The Dutch fleet sweeps into the bay on May 9, dividing into two squadrons: one, comprising 16 ships under Heyn, anchors opposite the city and opens fire, while another of five ships proceeds toward San Antônio Beach—some distance from São Salvador's walls—to begin disembarking 1,500 troops. A land assault against the São Bento Gate is checked, but the seaward defenses are neutralized overnight by Heyn's efforts. The next morning, more than 1,000 Dutch soldiers begin circling above the city, dragging two fieldpieces and probing for a weak spot. As the Spanish governor is now left with only 60 loyal troops, the walls are soon breached, and at a cost of 50 Dutch casualties São Salvador is easily overrun and de Mendoza Hurtado captured.

Willekens and Heyn immediately install a new garrison, planning to leave the city under van Dorth, while they depart on further missions in accordance with their instructions from Holland. Four ships are therefore detached to carry news of this victory, as well as booty and de Mendoza Hurtado, to the Netherlands, while São Salvador's defenses are improved by the Dutch occupiers—by deepening its Tororó Moat between the São Bento and Carmo gates plus erecting additional ramparts—after which numerous Portuguese slaves are enticed to switch allegiance with promises of freedom and land.

Nevertheless, Brazilian resistance coalesces west of the city along the Vermelho River banks, so the hinterland remains hostile to the invaders—guerrilla warfare springing up at the urging of Bishop Marcos Teixeira, who has escaped from the capital. On July 17, van Dorth is killed near Água de Meninos by one such Tupinambá band under Francisco Padilha, while the Dutch commander is leading 200 men on a reconnaissance toward Fort São Felipe. His successor, Col. Albert Schouten, soon meets a similar fate. When Willekens finally departs for home on July 28, and Heyn sails for West Africa on August 5, São Salvador seems secure, its garrison enjoying improved defenses, three to four months' provisions, plus the promise of timely relief from Holland—yet morale is low.

Portuguese reinforcements under Francisco Nunes Marinho reach the besiegers overland by September, assuming military command from Bishop Teixeira, who dies of disease the next month.

JUNE 1624. In the Gulf of Mexico, Schouten raids and destroys Zilam and Sisal (Yucatán) before striking out toward Cuba and hovering off its approaches until August.

JUNE 6, 1624. Schapenham decides to detach two contingents from his squadron to raid other points along the Pacific coast, while his main body maintains its blockade of Callao. The first of these forces—the *Mauritius* and the *Hoop*, under Vice Adm. Jan Willemszoon—arrives undetected off Guayaquil, sweeping up three frigates, two brigantines, and four lesser craft in the estuary before falling upon the mainland towns of Guarmey, Cherrepe, and Santa Fe. Caught by surprise, local *corregidor* Diego de Portugal and his 200 ill-prepared militiamen can do little more than cover their civilians' flight. Having ransacked the dwellings, the Dutch retirement toward their boats is harried by Spanish riders, resulting in some losses. After plundering nearby Puná Island and burning most of his prizes, Willemszoon withdraws southeastward to rejoin the main body.

JUNE 11, 1624. Schapenham's other detachment—the *Eendracht*, the *Koning David*, the *Griffioen*, and the *Hazewind*, under Cornelis Jacobszoon—reaches Paracas to fall upon Pisco but enjoys less success as its boat parties are sighted before they can disembark, the initial landing being repulsed from the beaches by Capt. Diego de Carvajal y Vargas's 600 men. The next dawn, seven boatloads of Dutchmen slip ashore nearby and begin marching upon Pisco. Cavalry shadow their advance, and the attackers are unable to fight their way through Pisco's trenches, so they retreat back to their ships a few days later after losing five men, finally sailing away by June 15.

JULY 1624. Captain Janszoon's *Eendracht*, having become separated from Schouten's small formation, intercepts the annual pair of Honduran galleons off western Cuba's Cape San Antonio, capturing the *San Juan Bautista* of Francisco Hernández y Moreno. The exultant Janszoon begins towing his prize home, only to wreck his own ship on Florida's Dry Tortugas Bank shortly thereafter. Transferring aboard the galleon, he continues his voyage and eventually reaches Vlissingen on September 13, with a booty comprising 1,600 chests of sugar, 3,000 hides, a large amount of sasparilla, and several chests of silver.

AUGUST 5, 1624. Having forsaken his blockade of Callao, Schapenham attempts a second assault against

Guayaquil with four ships and 600 men. They penetrate as far as the Ataranza shipyards before dawn and burn two brigantines upon the stocks, plus other vessels anchored close inshore. The ensuing conflagration helps illuminate the Dutch assault (while also consuming the Santo Domingo and San Agustín churches, plus many other wooden structures along the city waterfront); however, Schapenham's disembarkation is repelled in the streets by Ecuadorian militiamen under the city *corregidor* José Castro y Grijuela. Schapenham tries more disembarkations on August 25, again without success, and suffers 28 men taken captive. He then sails away toward New Spain.

OCTOBER 28, 1624. Schapenham's squadron makes its way into Acapulco Bay without opposition. The Spanish garrison commander, Pedro de Legorreta, is without ammunition and leaves the Dutch undisturbed for a week, after which time they depart northwestward in hopes of intercepting the annual Manila galleon. Failing to find it, Schapenham quits the Mexican coast a few weeks later, striking out across the Pacific.

DECEMBER 1624. Francisco de Moura reaches Baía de Todos os Santos (Brazil) as its new *capitão-mor*, inspiring the Portuguese besiegers of the Dutch garrison holding São Salvador with news that a counterexpedition will sail to their relief in the spring.

JANUARY 1625. The first full stone bastion is completed on the coastal keep that Governor de Arroyo is erecting at Ancón de Refriegas (Venezuela), and he christens the emergent edifice as Fort Santiago de Arroyo de Araya—later changed to Santiago de León de Araya.

MID-MARCH 1625. Lucifer's *Zwarte Arend* deposits a new Dutch colony—including 80 soldiers under Capt. Nicolas Oudaen—at Wiapoco (modern Oya-pock) in the Amazon Delta, followed a few weeks later by Geleyn van Stapels's 8-gun, 90-ton *Vliegende Draak*.

MARCH 29 (EASTER SATURDAY), 1625. *Reconquest of São Salvador.* A joint Hispano-Portuguese fleet appears off Padrão Point outside Baía de Todos os Santos (Brazil), comprising six squadrons. The Spanish *Armada del Mar Océano* includes the 55-gun, 120-man flagship *Nuestra Señora del Pilar y Santiago* with 368 soldiers on board; the 36-gun, 60-man

Fort Santiago de Araya

On July 22, 1619, King Philip III named Capt. Diego de Arroyo y Daza as his new governor for Nueva Andalucía, with headquarters at Cumaná (Venezuela). The son and grandson of Spanish military officers, de Arroyo had already served the Crown for 34 years. He had fought aboard galleons and galleys in Italy and on transatlantic voyages. A veteran officer was needed to deny the nearby Araya salt pans to Dutch interlopers. Within a year of assuming office as Cumaná's governor, de Arroyo reported that it was impossible to defend the pans without a coastal keep to guard the Ancón de Refriegas anchorage.

Madrid approved the construction of this new fort on March 13, 1622. A force of 100 Spanish troops would also be sent out, along with 10 guns and an artillery company supplied with powder and 500 cannonballs, to man its garrison. That same November, the royal ministers further instructed the military engineers Cristóbal de Rodas and Juan Bautista Antonelli to travel from Cartagena to choose the best site. On April 24, 1623, de Arroyo held a joint meeting with them and Gov. Andrés Rodríguez de Villegas of Margarita. It was decided to erect the new fort atop Daniel Hill. When work started under Antonelli, de Arroyo took part despite the scorching heat to set "an example for the rest."

Even during the earliest phases of its construction, the fort's position made Dutch access more difficult. Once its first stone bastion was completed in January 1625, the keep became nearly impregnable. The proud governor named it after himself, Fort Santiago de Arroyo de Araya. The next spring, he defended it so well against the Dutch fleet of Admiral Hendricksz that he was commended by the king. To offset his personal expenses, the Crown promised de Arroyo more than 2,000 ducats (although it appears he was never paid).

In the coming decades, more bastions were added and improvements made. Fort Santiago was damaged by an earthquake in 1684 and repaired. Then the Araya salt pans were flooded by a hurricane in 1725, rendering them useless. It wasn't until another governor of Cumaná, José Diguja, finally suggested, in 1761, that Fort Santiago be abandoned that its garrison was withdrawn. Its ramparts were blasted the next year.

San Nicolás Tolentino with 300 soldiers; the 24-gun, 57-man *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria* with 169 soldiers; the 24-gun, 60-man *Santísima Trinidad* with 290 soldiers; plus the storeships *San Salvador* of 30 guns, 70 men, and 180 soldiers; *Enrique* of 20 guns, 60 men, and 80 soldiers; *San Pablo* of 18 guns, 54 men, and 70 soldiers; *Rey David* of 18 guns, 56 men,



Fort Santiago de Araya, on its headland. (Department of Tourism, Venezuela)

and 60 soldiers; *San Miguel* (alias *Turquillo* or “Little Turk”) of 20 guns, 62 men, and 80 soldiers; *Puerto Cristiano* of 16 guns, 70 men, and 100 soldiers; and *Esperanza* of 18 guns, 70 men, and 80 soldiers.

The Spanish squadron from the Strait of Gibraltar consists of the 60-gun, 110-man vice-flagship *Santiago de Oliste* with 380 soldiers aboard; the 32-gun, 80-man *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* with 216 soldiers; the 26-gun, 80-man *San Juan Bautista* with 144 soldiers; the 20-gun, 70-man *San Miguel* with 150 soldiers; and the 20-gun, 60-man *San Pablo* with 200 soldiers.

The Biscayan squadron is made up of the 40-gun, 90-man *San Juan Bautista* with 319 soldiers aboard; the 24-gun, 60-man *Santa Teresa* with 338 soldiers; the 20-gun, 80-man *San José* with 124 soldiers; and the 22-gun, 60-man *Nuestra Señora de la Atalaya* with 210 soldiers.

The Spanish squadron from the *Cuatro Villas* or “Four Towns” is comprised of the 40-gun, 90-man *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* with 264 soldiers aboard; the 26-gun, 70-man *Santa Ana la Real* with 250 soldiers; the 20-gun, 60-man *San Juan de la Veracruz* with 220 soldiers; the 22-gun, 64-man *San Pedro* with 159 soldiers; the 24-gun, 55-man *San Francisco* with 348 soldiers; and the 22-gun, 65-man *Santa Catalina* with 210 soldiers.

The Spanish squadron from Naples includes the 60-gun, 120-man *Concepción de la Siempre Virgen María* with 415 soldiers aboard; the 54-gun, 80-man *Nuestra Señora de la Anunciación* with 352 soldiers; plus the tenders *Carmen* of 14 guns, 40 men, and 60 soldiers; and *San Jorge* of 16 guns, 46 men, and 70 soldiers.

The Portuguese squadron consists of the 60-gun, 150-man *São Martinho* with 390 soldiers aboard; the 30-gun, 128-man *Santana* with 338 soldiers; the 26-gun, 80-man *São José* with 256 soldiers; the 16-gun, 30-man *São Pedro* with 186 soldiers; the hired transports *Sul Dourado* of 18 guns and 40 men, with 140 soldiers; *São Martinho* of 12 guns and 16 men, with 196 soldiers; *São João* of 14 guns and 20 men, with 100 soldiers; *São Luís* of 12 guns and 30 men, with 108 soldiers; *São António* of 14 guns and 25 men, with 124 soldiers; *São Roque* of 16 guns and 20 men, with 110 soldiers; *São Sebastião* of 10 guns and 20 men, with 104 soldiers; *São Bartolomeu* of 12 guns and 16 men, with 136 soldiers; *São Alberto* of 14 guns and 20 men, with 154 soldiers; *Caridade* of 16 guns and 30 men, with 126 soldiers; *Santa Isabel* of 14 guns and 18 men, with 131 soldiers; *São Mateus* of 12 guns and 20 men, with 70 soldiers; *Varejão* of 10 guns and 20 men, with 180 soldiers; as well as



Portuguese map of the siege and reconquest of São Salvador, March to May 1625. (Map Library, Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations)

São Estêvão of 12 guns and 16 men, with 154 soldiers; plus the storeships *Cão Caçador* of 14 guns, 26 men, and 60 soldiers; *Grifo* of 12 guns, 30 men, and 80 soldiers; and *São João* of 16 guns, 34 men, and 80 soldiers. There are furthermore five caravels, two Marseillan tartans, and four Biscayan pinnaces in company.

The entire fleet is under the command of the 45-year-old admiral Fadrique de Toledo y Osorio, Marqués de Villanueva de Valdueza and Knight of the Order of Santiago. His Spanish vice admiral is Juan Fajardo de Güevara, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and his rear admiral is Martín de Vallecilla, Knight of the Order of Santiago. The Portuguese contingent is led by Adm. Manoel de Menezes, Knight of the Order of Cristo, while military forces are commanded by Pedro Rodríguez de Santiestéban, Marqués de Cropani and Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and seconded by the veteran *sargento mayor* Diego Ruiz. This huge formation is Madrid's response to the fall of São Salvador, which has been reported to the Spanish capital earlier than at The Hague.

Forming into a huge crescent on March 30 to prevent any escape out to sea, de Toledo anchors his

fleet the next afternoon and lands 4,000 troops at São Antônio Beach, three miles outside the city, to join up with local guerrillas under Francisco de Moura and occupy the São Pedro high ground. The Dutch are forced back within their walls, warping their 18 ships beneath the protection of the water-front batteries. Siege batteries open fire on April 6, and a protracted bombardment ensues; the Spaniards drive sap-lines toward the Dutch ramparts, while the defenders launch sporadic counterattacks. During one of these sallies, *maestre de campo* Pedro Osorio and 71 Spanish officers and soldiers are killed and another 64 seriously wounded—yet the besiegers' progress continues unabated. One night, the Dutch also launch two fireships against the anchored Spanish fleet, without success. Heyn's squadron reappears from West Africa during the siege on April 18; however, the squadron is now reduced to only five ships and is powerless to assist the beleaguered garrison, so it stands away for Espírito Santo.

When the siege-lines finally reach São Salvador's moat on April 30, the Dutch request terms, and a capitulation is signed whereby 1,912 Dutch, English, German, and French defenders surrender to

the Spaniards on May 9, being allowed to exit the next day with their baggage and personal weapons intact, to be transported back to Holland. The triumphant de Toledo enters the city and takes possession of 18 flags, 260 cannon, 500 *quintales* or “hundredweight” of gunpowder, 600 black slaves, plus considerable amounts of money and merchandise.

MAY 2, 1625. At Belém (Brazil), Governor Maciel Parente delegates the veteran captain Pedro Teixeira to attack Oudaen’s new Dutch outpost at Mandiutuba on the eastern bank of the Xingu River in the Amazon Delta with 50 soldiers and 700 native auxiliaries. After a stealthy approach, two Portuguese columns surprise the Dutch defenders at dawn on May 23 and slay seven or eight men, the survivors fleeing downriver that night in hope of uniting with English and Irish settlers at the Okiari River mouth.

Teixeira sets off in pursuit and overtakes some 80 foreigners in open country near the Felipe River on Tucujus Island, slaying 60 and capturing the rest, including Capt. James Purcell. Another 20-man stronghold some 40 miles away is also invested and surrenders without a fight.

MAY 22, 1625. Some 33 Dutch ships bear down upon Baía de Todos os Santos in two columns, being a belated relief force under Adm. Boudewijn Hendricksz and Vice Adm. Andries Veron. The Spanish commander de Toledo, having advance warning of their approach, is prepared to receive them. The population of the surrendered Dutch garrison is being held aboard 5 German storeships in the harbor, and all shore batteries are fully manned.

Six Spanish men-of-war exit, hoping to lure these latest Dutch arrivals into a murderous cross-fire. Hendricksz refuses to be drawn into the trap once he perceives the huge Spanish fleet anchored inside the bay, instead veering back out to sea. Spanish warships attempt a half-hearted pursuit, which ends abruptly when the galleon *Santa Teresa* runs aground. No further action is taken, the Dutch sailing away northeastward to refresh their supplies at Traição Bay in Pernambuco, leaving the Spaniards in uncontested possession of São Salvador. Both the Dutch and Spanish leaders are later criticized for not taking sufficient action—Hendricksz faulted for abandoning São Salvador without a fight, de Toledo, for suffering a major enemy fleet to roam unchallenged up Brazil’s coast.

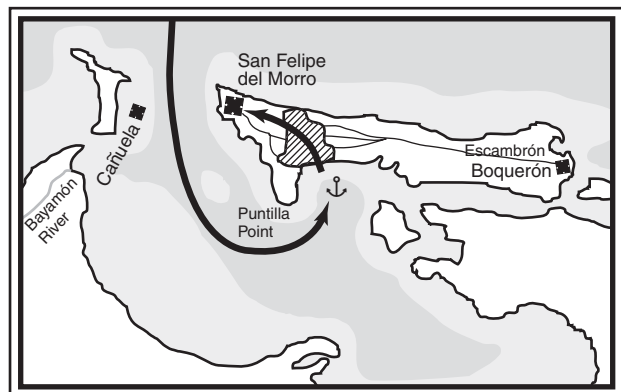
When the Spanish admiral subsequently departs

the city with his fleet, a 1,000-man Portuguese *terço* or “regiment” is left behind as a permanent garrison; and when the veteran *mestre de campo* Diogo Luíz de Oliveira arrives the next year as governor general for Brazil, he will continue to improve São Salvador’s defenses.

JULY 1625. Hendricksz implements the second part of his instructions by dividing his fleet and quitting Brazil. His vice admiral, Veron, heads toward Africa with a dozen sail, a convoy of prizes is detached for Holland, and Hendricksz himself steers his 18 remaining vessels northward on August 4 to assail the Puerto Rican capital of San Juan. He arrives at the island of Saint Vincent by late August, pausing two weeks to refresh and attend to his many sick, then continues his voyage—weathering a hurricane with the loss of the *Geele Sonne* before gaining Puerto Rico.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1625. *Hendricksz’s Defeat.* This afternoon, 17 Dutch ships bear down upon San Juan de Puerto Rico, whose Spanish governor—naval and military veteran Juan de Haro—has been in office less than a month. Nevertheless, he prepares to receive this enemy as best he can, sending his predecessor Juan de Vargas to nearby Boquerón with militiamen to hinder any landings in Escambrón Inlet.

Hendricksz, however, implements a much bolder plan: the next day at 1:00 p.m., the entire Dutch fleet—consisting of the *Roode Leeuw*, the *Witte Leeuw*, the *Leyden*, the *Blauwe Leeuw*, the *Goude Valck*, the *Utrecht*, the *Nieuw Nederlandt*, the *Hoop van Dordrecht*, the *Kleyne Tijger*, the *Hoorn*, the *Medemblik*, the *Gouden Molen*, the *Vlissingen*, the *West Kappel*, the *Goude Sonne*, the *Koningin Hester*, and the *Jonas*—sails directly into



Hendricksz’s failed attack on San Juan de Puerto Rico.



Seventeenth-century Spanish painting commemorating Hendricksz's defeat at San Juan de Puerto Rico, by Eugenio Caxés. (Prado Museum, Madrid)

San Juan's harbor. They exchange shots with the harbor castle, inflicting superficial damage and slaying four Spaniards before gaining a safe anchorage within the roadstead off Puntilla Point, beyond the range of de Haro's artillery. However, shoals then prevent an immediate disembarkation by Dutch landing parties, allowing Spanish noncombatants time to flee inland, while the governor marshals his slender strength within San Felipe del Morro Citadel. Six additional bronze 12-pounders are installed in its embrasures, 330 men gathering inside (only 220 being effective, but with abundant supplies).

On September 26, Hendricksz leads 700–800 men ashore and occupies the empty city, plus its smaller Cañuela fortress two days later; yet the main citadel proves impossible to storm, so the Dutch begin digging sap-lines and installing a six-gun battery atop the Calvario heights by September 29. The next morning at 9:00 a.m., Hendricksz calls upon de Haro to surrender, which is rejected, so action resumes. Capt. Jan Jasperz de Laet of the *West Kappel* exits on October 1 to chase away a Spanish

ship arriving with supplies. On the night of Friday, October 3–4, the Spaniards sally out of their citadel in two companies of 40 men apiece under captains Sebastián de Ávila and Andrés Botello, accomplishing little. But they enjoy better fortune at noon of October 5, when 50 men under Capt. Juan de Amezcuita y Quijano destroy the advance Dutch works, killing a captain, a sergeant, and eight sappers.

Guerrillas from the interior under Capt. Andrés Vázquez Botello de Carrera also begin plaguing the besiegers; on the night of October 5, they slay the *Nieuw Nederlandt's* captain and a 20-man boat party in the harbor, then 10 days later destroy another similar force up Bayamón River. By October 16, the guerrillas have grown so bold as to reconquer Cañuela fortress, using two launches and 30 men to kill two of its Dutch occupiers, capturing another 14. Faced with this increased pressure, Hendricksz finds himself trapped inside the harbor. He once more calls upon de Haro to capitulate on October 21, threatening to burn his city, yet is rebuffed.

San Juan is therefore put to the torch, and the Dutch reembark at 10:00 the next morning, hotly pursued by Puerto Rican units. The invaders must now run the gauntlet of Spanish artillery in order to escape, hesitating for a full fortnight before finally dashing past on November 2. The 30-gun, 450-ton *Medemblik* runs aground and is left behind for the exultant Spanish, Juan de Amezcuita boarding and extinguishing the slow fuse burning toward its magazine. De Haro is unable to savor this victory because a cannon explodes near him during these final exchanges, spraying him with two dozen fragments, which eventually cause his death.

Hendricksz, meanwhile, retires into San Francisco Bay for a month to recover from this setback. In addition to the lost *Medemblik*, numerous other Dutch vessels have sustained damage, and 200 men have perished (as opposed to 17 Spanish fatalities during the siege). Hendricksz nonetheless detaches his five best vessels on a privateering cruise toward Santo Domingo before attempting to lead his entire fleet west again in late November. Driven back by storms, he cruises south toward Margarita (Venezuela), despite advance warnings preceding him.

FEBRUARY 22, 1626. Hendricksz bears down upon Margarita's port of Pampatar, dividing his fleet so that one squadron approaches its fortress of Santiago de La Caranta and opens fire, while another deposits 500 men in nearby Lance de los Burros inlet. After an hour-and-a-half exchange, a chance

Dutch shot explodes the fort's only bronze cannon, putting an end to stout Spanish opposition. Hendricksz's arrival overland with his landing party breaks the last of the defenders' will, forcing them to flee under Gov. Andrés Rodríguez de Villegas, after which this elevated keep is stripped of its ordinance and razed, along with the tiny town nearby.

Yet when the Dutch press on into the southern harbor of Puerto del Mar (modern Porlamar), two miles south of the island capital of Asunción, they are again checked by Spanish soldiers and native archers. Discouraged by this resistance, the shallow harbor approaches, and the island's poverty, Hendricksz withdraws in quest of better targets.

Over the next few weeks, he raids such minor places as Coche and Cubagua islands, Mochima, and Santa Fe, before his 16 warships materialize off Araya on March 4, leaving 4 at anchor off the partially completed Fort Santiago de Araya and a like number at the mouth of Cumaná's main harbor, while the remainder raid that island's coastal villages. Governor de Arroyo leads 30 troops from Fort Santiago to shadow the pillagers at Cumaná, killing 11, while his garrison at Araya under Lt. Juan de Arroyo also mounts a 25-man sally that slays 12 Dutchmen and captures 6. Hendricksz finally stands away from the Spanish Main on April 5, intercepting a frigate three days later bearing dispatches, then lays in a course for Bonaire.

APRIL 10 (EASTER SUNDAY), 1626. Hendricksz arrives at Bonaire, there rustling many sheep and gathering wood. The Dutch admiral now decides to attempt the third part of his instructions by attacking the Spanish plate fleet as it traverses the Gulf of Mexico between Veracruz and Havana. He begins working northwestward, timing his movements so as to arrive off Cuba by midsummer when the silver convoys traditionally depart. During this advance, his fleet splits into units of three to four vessels apiece, so as to sweep the Caribbean. Numerous captures are made, and in the Mona Passage, the Dutch are reinforced by two men-of-war under Lucifer, who has come north after provisioning a new small Zeeland colony in the Amazon. After rendezvousing off San Felipe Key near Isla de Pinos, the entire fleet rounds Cape San Antonio at the western tip of Cuba.

JUNE 14, 1626. At 8:00 on this Sunday morning, Hendricksz's 15 large and 8 small vessels enter the port of Cabañas in northwestern Cuba, encounter-

ing no resistance. Its few Spanish residents are supervising construction of a new galleon for Juan Pérez de Oporto and flee inland. The Dutch spend three days refurbishing their supplies before burning this half-built galleon and standing back out to sea.

JUNE 19, 1626. Hendricksz arrives before Havana and institutes a close blockade. The plate fleet has not yet appeared from Veracruz, yet Dutch hopes are dashed when their commander suddenly dies on July 2 from illness. His successor, Adriaen Claeszoon, is unable to maintain the weary fleet intact, most captains opting to return to Europe. After pausing at Matanzas to deposit more than 50 prisoners, refresh their provisions, and burn prizes they do not want, the Dutch disperse into the Florida Strait.

JULY 6, 1626. A fresh Dutch fleet arrives at Barbados, having been sent out to relieve Hendricksz. The recently promoted Heyn commands from aboard his 40-gun, 140-man, 300-ton flagship *Amsterdam*, bearing 64 soldiers. His vice admiral, Cornelis Claeszoon Oele, sails the 30-gun, 150-man, 280-ton vice-flagship *Walcheren*, with 25 soldiers. Rear Adm. Pieter Stoffelszoon van Eyken (Cromeijk) has the 20-gun, 107-man, 230-ton *Neptunus*, with 37 soldiers.

The rest of Heyn's ships consist of the 34-gun, 130-man, 300-ton *Geldria* of Jan Karstenszoon (Christiaenszoon), with 50 soldiers; the 33-gun, 152-man, 300-ton *Oranjeboom* of Gerrit Janszoon Eisens; the 30-gun, 134-man, 300-ton *Hollandia* of Jan Janszoon Zuyl and the 28-gun, 111-man, 170-ton *Zutphen* of Pieter Gerritszoon Roodt, each carrying 44 soldiers; the 28-gun, 119-man, 250-ton *Gouden Leeuw* of Hendrik Best, with 71 soldiers; and the 18-gun, 66-man, 100-ton *Pinas* of Laurens Simonszoon van der Graft. Also in company are the following yachts: the 12-gun, 60-man, 80-ton *Arend* under Claes Pieterszoon Wittebaerd; the 16-gun, 80-man, 70-ton *Vos* of Jan de Braam; the 14-gun, 58-man, 60-ton *David* of Thomas Cornelis Cond; the 5-gun, 14-man, 15-ton *Raaf* of Willem Joosten; and the 4-gun, 19-man, 15-man *Spenver* of Jan Coenraedszoon.

Heyn quickly resupplies, then sails to join Hendricksz off Cuba. In late August, he learns from a Spanish coaster taken near Cape San Antonio of the latter's death, then receives word that the Mexican plate fleet has already entered Havana. Heyn therefore takes up station off Florida's Dry Tortugas Bank in hopes of snaring some Spanish stragglers.

He is still lying here when the Tierra Firme treasure fleet appears, escorted by 13 powerful galleons



Piet Heyn, as depicted in a 1629 copy of a portrait painted four years earlier by Jan Daemen Cool. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

under Adm. Tomás de Larraspuru. Despite being tempted, the Dutch must suffer this rich Spanish convoy to pass. Frustrated, Heyn waters his ships at Cape Canaveral before striking out into the Atlantic to fulfill the next phase of his instructions: a descent upon Brazil. Contrary winds and currents force him to circle as far eastward as the Azores and Africa before finally steering back toward South America.

MARCH 1, 1627. Heyn at Salvador. The Dutch admiral appears off Brazil, and two days later his nine ships and five yachts stand boldly into Baía de Todos os Santos, where he anchors his flagship *Amsterdam* between the Portuguese flagship and vice-flagship of a 26-vessel convoy anchored under the protection of Salvador's city batteries. Within 10 minutes of launching his boats, both Portuguese galleons fall to Heyn, whose ships continue exchanging fire with the forts as Heyn's cohorts continue boarding and then removing 22 Iberian ships out of range by nightfall. Jan Zuyl's vice-flagship *Hollandia* is so riddled with shots during this action that 37 of its crewmen lie dead and another 77 are wounded,

Piet Heyn

Piet Pieterszoon Heijn was born on November 25, 1577, in the port of Delft, today part of Rotterdam. The modern spelling of his last name is "Heyn" or "Hein." He was the eldest of four sons of a herring-ship owner. Little is known about Heyn's early life beyond the fact that he went to sea as a teenager. He was captured by the Spaniards late in 1598 and toiled as a galley slave at Sluis until he was exchanged in 1602.

Heyn had been free for scarcely a year when he sailed to the West Indies in 1603 as master of the *Kleine Neptunus* and was again imprisoned at Havana. Two years later, the merchant Jan Gerritszoon Meerman learned of Heyn's fate while on a trading voyage to Cuba with his *Wassende Maen* and made it possible to secure Heyn's release by 1607.

Unfazed, Heyn shipped out from Texel on December 22, 1607, as a junior officer aboard the 600-ton Indiaman *Hollandia*. Its convoy rounded the Cape of Good Hope to Goa by September 18, 1608, and spent the next three years trading for spices in the Moluccas. Because of the death of his captain, Heyn assumed command of the *Hollandia*. He left Bantam with a rich cargo of cloves on October 13, 1611, and returned into Texel by July 19, 1612. Two months later, he married the wealthy widow Anneke Claesdochter de Reus at Rotterdam.

Now a prosperous merchant, Heyn bought his own ship and a fine home in Leuven by May 1614. Four years later, he sailed the *Neptunus* to Venice, only to be pressed into service in their war against Naples. Heyn sold his ship to the Venetians in 1621 to be able to return home overland. Through the influence of his wife's cousin, he was appointed the next year as one of three *burgermeesters* at Rotterdam. As such, Heyn also became involved in the WIC preparations for the war against Spain.

At a robust 45 years of age, he was named vice admiral for Rotterdam on November 2, 1623. A gifted seaman and veteran of war, Heyn was trusted by superiors and admired by his sailors, for he never lost the common touch. Although the WIC expedition against São Salvador was reversed, Heyn did well in its initial landing, as well as in the later blockading of the Portuguese slaving station of Luanda in West Africa. The WIC promoted him to full admiral and captain-general on March 28, 1626, sending him in relief of Hendricksz.

Heyn shone during this Brazilian campaign, yet achieved his greatest glory by intercepting the Mexican plate fleet in 1628. The next March, he was elevated to the highest rank of Lieutenant Admiral of Holland, with Maarten Tromp as his flag captain. But in a chance encounter with three Ostend privateers on June 17, 1629, Heyn was struck in the left shoulder by a cannonball and killed.

and it is abandoned and torched at midnight. Another 100 Dutchmen have been slain among the other ships, and Heyn himself is slightly wounded.

Nevertheless, their booty totals more than 2 million florins' worth of gold, silver, hides, tobacco, rare woods, cotton, and 2,500 chests of sugar. The Dutch fleet remains inside the bay for another 20 days before exiting out into the South Atlantic. Heyn's bold strike marks the beginning of a brilliant, summer-long privateering campaign during which he will terrorize the Brazilian coast and seize countless prizes, some of which are used to augment his own fleet.

MARCH 3, 1627. Having departed Zeeland on January 22, Lucifer arrives off the Amazon Delta with his 20-gun, 180-ton, 73-man flagship *Ter Veere*; the 20-gun, 200-ton, 69-man *Leeuwine* under Capt. Jan Pieterszoon; and the 14-gun, 90-ton, 42-man *Vliegende Draak* under Capt. Geleijn Stapels. Together, they are bearing Jan van Ryen and 35 colonists to reinforce the recently created WIC outpost at Wia-poco or Oyapock (see "Mid-March 1625" entry). Heavy weather prevents the vessels from reaching this site until four days later, only to find it abandoned.

Two ships are detached to locate some local Galibi Indians and discover what has happened. The vessels return the next day with two natives, who guide them to the nearest village. Its inhabitants flee, having attacked the original colonists when they tried to disembark nearby. The Dutch retrieve the only three survivors the next day.

A small new fort is erected, and van Ryen takes up residence with his colonists before Lucifer proceeds for Barbados. Native attacks will soon resume, and the Dutch will forsake this outpost before the year is out.

MARCH 25, 1627. Lucifer arrives at Barbados with his three ships. After refreshing, the Dutch touch at Grenada and Blanquilla Island before reaching the vicinity of La Guaira by late April. Lucifer helps an English ship, which is desperately short of supplies.

MAY 4, 1627. Lucifer's trio of vessels encounters the Dutch ships *Kater* and *Bruijnvis*, and they join forces. Six days later, they find a Spanish ship adrift. Having been plundered and abandoned by an English privateer, the Dutch strip it of a few useful items, then torch the remains.

Shortly thereafter, a Portuguese slaver is intercepted with 225 captives from West Africa. The Dutch claim 22 before letting the ship go.

MAY 26, 1627. Lucifer and his five ships sight Haiti; they hover off its coast for 15 days before deciding to split up to increase their chances of sighting a Spanish vessel. Three of the Dutch ships sail along the south coast of Jamaica, while the other two do the same along the south coast of Cuba. They meet again soon afterward.

A frigate out of Mexico is then captured off Cape San Antonio at the west end of Cuba, being relieved of 26 bales of silk and then added to the Dutch formation.

JUNE 10, 1627. Heyn penetrates into Baía de Todos os Santos once again, snapping up a few more vessels and two days later attacking a new Portuguese anchorage up the Pitanga River, defended by musketeers behind a parapet under Governor de Oliveira. The Dutch crews line their bulwarks with bundles of captured hides so that they are able to move within point-blank range and inflict numerous casualties—including the Portuguese captain Francisco Padilha—before withdrawing.

Heyn then dispatches four ships back to the Netherlands in July with booty. He finally quits Brazilian waters altogether by October, sailing home to a hero's welcome.

JULY 8, 1627. Lucifer's formation sights two large Spanish galleons from Honduras as they are approaching Havana. After catching up to them, the *Kater* and the *Ter Veere* attack the Spaniards opposite Cojimar, soon followed by Lucifer aboard the *Leeuwinne*. The Spanish galleons are so fast that the Dutch have difficulty closing, and their smaller vessels will make it hard to board. However, the Honduran *almiranta* or "vice-flagship" *San Antonio* of Capt. Miguel Ramírez lags behind, so its Spanish companion must slow down to help.

The *Leeuwinne* becomes caught between both galleons and suffers considerably before winning free. Grenades tossed aboard the *San Antonio* start a fire, though, therefore it is boarded and seized after a heated fight, during which Lucifer receives a wound. The prisoners are set aboard the Mexican prize and released, while the Dutch examine their booty: 1,404 chests of indigo, 4,280 hides, and assorted other items of merchandise. The Honduran flagship escapes and enters Havana on Monday, July 12.

By then, the Dutch are homeward bound across the Atlantic. Lucifer will die of his wound before his squadron can arrive on September 5. The value of his Honduran prize is so great that it will net the

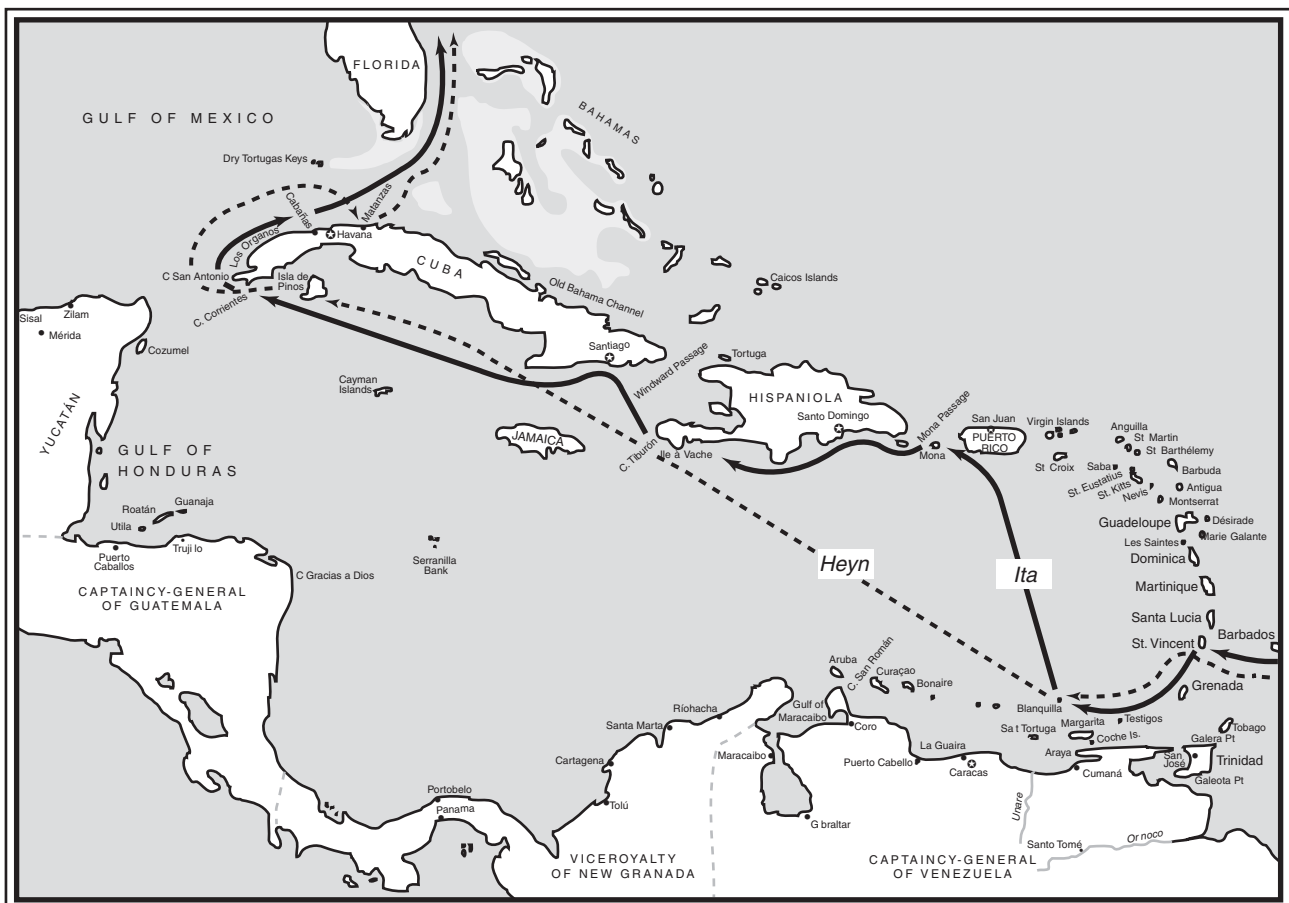
expedition's shareholders a profit of 1.2 million guilders. Lucifer's mulatto son Jacob Hendrickszoon Lucifer, a rover who will become better known among the Spaniards as "Diego the Mulatto," succeeds his father in command of the *Ter Veere* that December.

LATE JULY–EARLY AUGUST 1627. Lt. Diego Vázquez de Hinestrosa (also Hinostrosa or Hinostroza), commander of three Cuban coast-guard vessels and 150 men, guides some Honduran merchant ships into Havana through the Dutch blockade. Skirmishes are reportedly fought all the way from Cape San Antonio to the Cuban capital's entrance.

AUTUMN 1627. While homeward bound to Zeeland from Brazil, the Dutch captain Joachim Gitszoon touches at Tobago and discovers this island to be uninhabited. His report will inspire Jan de Moor, the *burgemeester* or "mayor" of the seaport of Vlissingen or "Flushing," to authorize Jacob Mo-

ersby or Maerszoon to establish a foothold there the next spring.

MARCH 15, 1628. The first of what is supposed to be a joint WIC fleet of a dozen men-of-war begins gathering off the Caribbean island of Saint Vincent, having departed from various ports around the Netherlands to unite under the veteran Admiral Ita to conduct a privateering sweep through the West Indies. The Zeeland contingent will comprise the 30-gun, 160-man, 280-ton flagship *Walcheren* under Capt. Jan Mast; the 16-gun, 79-man, 100-ton *Leeuwin* of Jan Pieterszoon; the 8-gun, 40-man, 30-ton *Nordsterre* of Cornelis Huygens; the 20-gun, 103-man, 160-ton *Fortuin* of Geleyn van Stapels; and the 8-gun, 46-man, 30-ton *Zuidsterre* of Adriaen Adriaenszoon. The Amsterdam squadron is supposed to consist of the 30-gun, 107-man, 130-ton *Dolfijn*; the 24-gun, 202-man, 250-ton *Roode Leeuw* of Albert Hendrikszoon; the 16-gun, 65-man, 90-ton *Kater* of Joachim Gitszoon; and the 18-gun, 86-man, 100-ton *Pinas* of Claes Franszoon



Ita and Heyn's campaign through the Caribbean.

de Vries. The Maeze or Rotterdam will contribute the 20-gun, 80-man, 100-ton *Eendracht* of Anthonius Corneliszoon Condé, while the Stad en Lande is to send the 18-gun, 74-man, 140-ton *Vriessche Jager* of Jan Braems. The auxiliary *Cuba* will complete the fleet.

However, without waiting for all these vessels to assemble, Ita allows the first few to disperse and cruise independently through the Antilles before rendezvousing again at Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti).

LATE APRIL 1628. Having set sail from Vlissingen on March 3, the laggard ships *Fortuin* and *Zuidsterre* reach the island of Tobago, depositing 68 colonists under Jacob Moersby or Maerszoon to claim it as Nieuw Walcheren. A stronghold named Fort Vlissingen will soon be erected near modern Plymouth in Great Courland Bay, and the fledgling settlement will be reinforced by more than 100 settlers the next year, and again in 1632, eventually coming to total 200 permanent inhabitants—despite many deaths due to illness.

JUNE 4, 1628. Having captured four substantial Spanish prizes during their Antillean sweep, Ita's re-assembled squadron is overtaken at the Cape Tiburón rendezvous by the last ship *Fortuin*, and together they continue westward, contemplating an assault against Santiago de Cuba. This plan is discarded, though, after some Portuguese vessels are taken and reveal to the Dutch that a pair of rich Spanish treasure galleons is preparing to depart Honduras for Havana. Ita therefore rounds Cape San Antonio and takes up station off Florida's Dry Tortugas Bank, hoping to intercept.

JULY 12, 1628. Another powerful Dutch fleet arrives at Saint Vincent under 51-year-old Piet Heyn, now the WIC's senior admiral. This huge force (which includes some of Ita's missing ships) is also intended to intercept Spanish plate fleets before arriving in Havana. Heyn begins stealthily working his way westward, with stops only at Blanquilla Island and Isla de Pinos, refraining from any overt hostilities that might forewarn the Spaniards of his presence.

DUTCH FLEET UNDER PIET HEYN

Ship	Tons	Guns	Sailors	Soldiers	Commander
<i>Amsterdam</i> (flag)	500	50	166	84	(flag captain) Witte Corneliszoon de With
<i>Hollandsche Tiin</i> (vice-flag)	400	36	130	67	Allert Janszoon
<i>Hollandia</i>	300	30	125	50	Thomas Sickenszoon
<i>Gelderland</i>	300	32	125	52	Pieter Gerritsz Root
<i>Provincie van Utrecht</i>	300	30	131	53	Hendrik Jacobszoon Kat
<i>Witte Leeuw</i>	250	26	?	?	Jan Janszoon van Hoorn
<i>Zwarte Leeuw</i>	180	24	75	32	Pieter Franszoon
<i>Vergulde Valk</i>	150	26	85	42	Marcus Martenszoon
<i>Roode Leeuw</i>	250	24	120	41	Albert Hendrikszoon
<i>Haarlem</i>	220	22	120	42	Frans Claeszoon
<i>Pinas</i>	100	8	60	26	Claes Franszoon de Vries
<i>Muiden</i> (yacht)	60	16	(48 men total)		Cornelis Leendertszoon
<i>Naarden</i> (yacht)	60	14	(15 men total)		Hans Cools
<i>Eenhoorn</i> (yacht)	60	10	(47 men total)		Hendrik Janszoon Lang
<i>Zwarte Ruiter</i> (yacht)	60	14	(50 men total)		Michiel Gijsbrechtszoon
<i>Langebark</i> (yacht)	20	2	(20 men total)		Jacob Barents
<i>Neptunus</i> (vice-flag)	200	24	100	55	Joost van Trappen (Banckert)
<i>Tijger</i>	120	24	106	45	Lucas Pol
<i>Goude Zon</i>	160	18	(109 men total)		Willebrod Danen
<i>Postpaard</i> (yacht)	70	12	66	12	Willem Corneliszoon Domburgh
<i>Oud Vlissingen</i> (yacht)	50	12	(45 men total)		Willem Willemszoon
<i>Utrecht</i> (rear admiral)	300	35	159	50	Cornelis Claeszoon Melkmeid
<i>Dordrecht</i>	250	24	106	41	Willem Gerritszoon Ruijter
<i>Neptunus</i>	230	26	102	53	Bastiaan Jakobszoon
<i>Tijger</i> (yacht)	57	14	70	20	Cornelis Jakobszoon Gleijnbeet
<i>Monnikendam</i>	300	30	(168 men total)		Cornelis Symonszoon Groen
<i>Griffoen</i>	250	32	141	53	Jan Corneliszoon Keerlekoe
<i>Ooievaar</i> (yacht)	90	14	55	22	Samuel Willemszoon
<i>Goude Leeuw</i>	250	28	143	47	Pieter Walighszoon
<i>Dolfijn</i> (yacht)	150	20	98	34	Hendrik Corneliszoon Dreven
<i>Vos</i> (yacht)	70	12	(74 men total)		Jan de Braams



Ita's flotilla of small Dutch ships intercepting de la Cerda's pair of Honduran galleons near Havana. (Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam)

AUGUST 1, 1628. Off Mariel, Ita's ships intercept a small Honduran *patache* or "tender" at dawn, learning that the 20-gun, 400-ton treasure galleons *San Onofre* and *Santiago* are following close astern, bound into Havana. The Spanish pair appears shortly thereafter, and the Dutch give chase. The galleons' commander, Álvaro de la Cerda—having been forewarned of these blockaders before departing—has reinforced his vessels with 100 additional musketeers under Ens. Juan de las Herrerías. Fleeing toward Havana, the Spaniards are overtaken around noon by Ita's faster ships, and a fight erupts when the tiny *Leeuwin* opens fire against the vice-flagship *Santiago*, while the *Fortuin* and the *Dolfijn* close in upon de la Cerda's flagship *San Onofre*.

Hard-pressed, the Spanish work close inshore by late afternoon and run aground on a sandbank two or three miles short of Havana's La Punta fortress in a desperate bid to at least save their cargoes. The *Leeuwin* also runs aground and, despite losing its mainmast, continues exchanging shots with both galleons, while the *Fortuin* and the *Dolfijn* sheer off and continue firing from a distance. Two Cuban coast-guard frigates and another smaller vessel—bearing a total of 180 men under the *sargento mayor* Diego Vázquez de Hinestrosa—sally from Havana,

only to be driven back by Ita, whose *Walcheren* then bears down upon the stranded *San Onofre*.

Already wounded three times, de la Cerda orders his flagship set ablaze and abandoned by its crew, yet Ita's boarders manage to extinguish the flames and tow it off the sandbank with its indigo, ginger, silver, and hides still intact. The *Kater*, the *Eendracht*, and the *Vriessche Jager* also seize the grounded vice-flagship, yet the *Santiago* cannot be worked free, so it is stripped of booty before being torched. The triumphant Dutch then depart into the Florida Strait, having suffered 13 killed and about 50 wounded, mostly aboard the dead Pieterszoon's *Leeuwin*.

As their prize proves to be leaky, the victors empty the *San Onofre* on August 15 and set it ablaze a mile off the coast of Florida before proceeding toward the Netherlands with a haul worth 1.2 million guilders. Behind them, their dramatic attack and retirement from before Havana convinces many Spaniards ashore that Cuban waters are now safe—little realizing that on that same August 1, Heyn's much more powerful fleet has been sliding into position off the Dry Tortugas.

AUGUST 22, 1628. After three weeks out of sight of land, Heyn's fleet closes upon Havana and institutes

a blockade, anticipating the arrival of a plate fleet. The Spanish governor—the *mariscal de campo* Lorenzo de Cabrera y Corvera, Knight of the Order of Santiago—attempts to send warnings across the Gulf of Mexico to the plate-fleet commander at Veracruz, but at least nine boats are either intercepted or arrive there too late. The Dutch, meanwhile, struggle to remain on station, being driven almost 60 miles east to the vicinity of Matanzas by the evening of September 7 due to contrary winds and currents.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1628. *Capture of the Mexican Plate Fleet.* Early this Friday morning, Heyn learns that one of his outlying ships has captured a Spanish vessel, which is an advance unit from an approaching bullion fleet. Veering northeastward, the Dutch admiral sights 12 more sail, capturing 9 of them over the course of the morning. Around noon, he spots another 9 or 10 vessels to the southeast, a half-dozen looming so large that they are doubtless the Spanish flagship and its consorts—the only ships authorized to carry bullion. In fact, they are the flagship *Santa Ana María* of Adm. Juan de Benavides y Bazán, Knight of the Order of Santiago, the vice-flagship *Santa Gertrudis* of Baltasar de Amezquita, plus the galleons *San Juan Bautista* of Alonso de Ayspuru and *Nuestra Señora de la Antigua* of Francisco Ortuño de Olano, as well as a couple of lesser craft. They have departed Veracruz a month previously, only to be scattered by a storm, which causes them to blunder past the proper longitude for Havana.

Heyn immediately orders a pursuit, his vice admiral Joost van Trappen (alias Banckert) hastening ahead of the Spaniards with nine sail to prevent any flight eastward, while Heyn's main body steers southwestward to cut off any retreat into Havana. Toward evening, the encircled Benavides leads his galleons into the open bay of Matanzas, hoping to make a stand inside until the king's bullion can be off-loaded. Unfortunately, his heavy galleons run aground on uncharted shoals inside the bay, their broadsides not bearing upon Matanzas's entrance. Panic spreads among the Spanish crews as numerous Dutch ships gather in the moonlight, firing upon the Spaniards' boats as they ply to and from shore. Discipline dissolves, and the four Spanish galleons and two smaller ships are boarded the next morning without a fight. More than 300 Spaniards die overnight, and another 600 are wounded, against negligible Dutch losses. Heyn takes a full year's Mexican silver shipment, plus countless private hoards. All captives are released ashore, while the Dutch occupy themselves over the next eight days transferring riches aboard

their vessels for the return home. Eventually, all except the four large Spanish galleons and another prize are burned. Heyn weighs anchor from Matanzas by September 17.

(He and his vice admiral, Hendrick Corneliszoon Loncq, are given a joyous reception upon regaining Holland, the gross profits from their coup totaling 11.5 million guilders. Spain is plunged into a commensurate financial crisis by the loss of its entire Mexican fleet. Benavides and his second-in-command Juan de Leoz, Knight of the Order of Santiago, are court-martialed upon returning; the admiral is eventually executed in Seville on Thursday, May 18, 1634, while Leoz is banished to an African garrison for the remainder of his life.)

APRIL 1629. A mixed colonizing expedition of Dutch, Irish, English, and French settlers reaches the Amazon Delta from Holland, erecting a stockade known as Fort Tauregue (Forte Torrêgo to the Portuguese) on the banks of the Tareíú River, near the Maracapucu confluence. Some 40 Portuguese soldiers and 800 Indians under Capt. Pedro da Costa Favela are dispatched one month later out of Belém by Gov. Manuel de Sousa d'Eca, arriving to dig siege-trenches in June. The defenders under Capt. James Purcell resist successfully, though, obliging the Portuguese to withdraw into Fort Santo Antônio do Gurupá to recuperate and await reinforcements.

APRIL 1, 1629. A Dutch fleet under Adriaen Janszoon Pater arrives off Grenada, dividing into two smaller squadrons to raid Spanish America. Having once served three years as a galley slave at Cartagena (arrested for poaching salt at Araya by Adm. Luis de Fajardo), Pater bears the Spaniards little love. For more than two months, his contingents—reinforced by numerous foreign mercenaries living in the Antilles—roam unchecked, until a rendezvous of the fleet is effected off southwestern Cuba.

JUNE 1629. His command reunited and further augmented by two Zeeland ships, plus other reinforcements from Holland under Vice Adm. Jan Janszoon van Hoorn, Pater rounds Cape San Antonio and takes up station off Florida's Dry Tortugas Bank, in hopes of intercepting another treasure fleet. The Spaniards—fully aware that 26 Dutch ships are hovering near Havana—refuse to budge from Portobelo, Cartagena, or Veracruz. Nevertheless, this blockade helps deepen Spain's financial crisis by preventing any silver bullion from crossing the Atlantic this year.

SEPTEMBER 1629. Tired of blockading Havana, Pater sends nine ships and prizes home from the Bahamas while leading the remainder of his fleet southeast to Barbados, arriving by early November. He thereupon detaches van Hoorn to investigate conditions on Saint Kitts and Nevis following de Toledo's campaign (*see* "September 16, 1629," entry in "Other Colonial Struggles"), while he proceeds with his 20 other ships under the alternate vice admiral Maarten Thijssen to probe the nearby Orinoco.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1629. Having departed Belém on September 1, Teixeira appears a half mile from the new Anglo-Dutch outpost of Fort Tauregue, on the Tareíú River in the Amazon Delta, with 120 Portuguese soldiers and 1,600 native auxiliaries aboard 100 boats. After disembarking, they advance the next day, completely encircling the outnumbered garrison by September 30. Numerous sallies and counter-sallies ensue, until Purcell requests terms on October 17. Teixeira proves generous, and an armistice is arranged two days later, with the actual surrender to take place on October 22 and the interlopers being allowed to evacuate with their goods for Lisbon.

At the last moment, though, Purcell asks for a three-day extension, having secretly learned that a relief ship has arrived off the coast from Zeeland, accompanied by 100 new English colonists under William Clovell aboard the 90-ton *Amazon* of Capt. Francis Neville and the 50-ton *Sea Nymph* of the master John Ellinger. When the Portuguese also discover this fact, they immediately compel the 80 defenders to capitulate on October 25, razing their fort before withdrawing the next day into Fort Santo Antônio do Gurupá.

The *Amazon* and the *Sea Nymph* appear off this latter place on October 29 with a captured pinnace, suffering four men killed by native archers when they attempt a disembarkation, then stand away.

OCTOBER 18, 1629. Learning of projected Dutch invasion plans, a small reinforcement of 327 soldiers arrives from across the Atlantic at Olinda, capital of the Brazilian Captaincy of Pernambuco, followed a couple of months later by its 32-year-old native son Matias de Albuquerque Coelho, Knight of the Ordem de Cristo (and later Conde de Alegrete), who has been appointed by Madrid as "war superintendent" for Brazil's northern region.

DECEMBER 1629. It takes Pater and Thijssen three weeks to work up the Orinoco to Santo Tomé,

which they attack with a landing force several hundred strong and with 14 siege-guns. Gov. Luis de Monsalve is absent (he is visiting the island of Trinidad), so Spanish resistance quickly collapses. The Dutch occupy this town for three days before disease and harassing counterattacks—which together will eventually claim 200 lives—compel them to torch its 100 shacks and return into the Caribbean to visit a like treatment upon Blanquilla Island, Bonaire, and Puerto Rico.

FEBRUARY 14, 1630. *Pernambuco Occupation.* A Dutch colonizing expedition of 52 ships and 15 sloops under Hendrick Loncq (Heyn's former vice admiral; *see* "September 8, 1628" entry) appears off Cape Santo Agostinho in the Brazilian province of Pernambuco, bearing a total of 1,170 guns, 3,780 sailors, and 3,500 soldiers under Col. Diedrick van Waerdenburgh. The next day, this host bears down upon the harbor of Recife below its capital city of Olinda, advance elements dueling against the two recently refurbished strongholds that guard the parallel reefs leading into its sheltered anchorage: an outer "sea fort" known as Forte São Francisco da Barra, nicknamed Picão, and the inner "land fort" called Forte São Jorge.

Having been forewarned eight days previously by a vessel arriving from Cape Verde of the approach of this Dutch force, Matias de Albuquerque successfully counters their initial bombardment by joining his gunners inside Forte São Jorge and preventing an immediate Dutch penetration into the bay. However, while the Portuguese defenders are thus distracted, 16 enemy ships sail still farther northward to Pau Amarelo Beach and disembark the bulk of van Waerdenburgh's invasion army; 3,000 soldiers advance in three regiments on the morning of February 16 down the coast toward Olinda (population 4,800). Albuquerque consequently hurries 850 men back into his threatened hilltop capital but is too late to check the enemy advance upon Olinda by manning the trenches that he has interposed at the Doce and Tapado river mouths.

Immediately upon gaining the heights outside the capital, Lt. Col. Adolph van Elst's vanguard regiment drives against Olinda's fortified Jesuit convent, while van Waerdenburgh's main body also carries Misericórdia Church atop Sé Height, despite heroic resistance from captains André Pereira Temudo and Salvador de Azevedo. The Portuguese will evaporate once it is learned that a few hundred more Dutch troops are also disembarking south of the city; Albuquerque is therefore compelled to retreat



A young Dutch adventurer. A 17th-century oil painting by Pieter Codde. (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

across the inner bay with his few-score regular troops into the tiny harbor town of Recife on Antônio Vaz Island, while his Brazilian militia volunteers and civilians flee inland. To deny entry to the enemy fleet, however, the Spanish governor scuttles eight ships in its narrow channel. After the Dutch ships unsuccessfully bombard both harbor forts again on February 18 and 19, a land column under van Waerdenburgh advances down the peninsula from Olinda to besiege Fort São Jorge. Its 37 defenders under Capt. Antonio Lima resist bravely until March 2, but upon their capitulation, the Dutch are able to move across the harbor the next day to take Recife without opposition, installing van Waerdenburgh as governor and optimistically renaming Pernambuco Nieuw Holland.

Albuquerque has meanwhile torched two-dozen anchored merchantmen, then retreated only three or four miles westward to begin construction on March 4 of a new stockaded, earthen, moated headquarters called Forte, or Arraial, do Bom Jesus—located atop a hillock on the banks of the Capibaribe River (in the modern Casa Amarela neighborhood of Recife's suburb of Torreões). From here, he hopes to organize a guerrilla campaign aimed at impeding a permanent Dutch occupation.

A thrust inland two weeks later by 2,000 Dutch troops is repulsed, as is a counterattack by Albuquerque against the Dutch enclave at Recife. Afterward, Recife's occupiers—now becoming diseased and worried about a possible Hispano-Portuguese counter-expedition out of Europe—decide on March 19 to concentrate all their strength around the anchorage, for van Waerdenburgh believes that the larger hill-top city of Olinda can "only be defended through great expense and a very considerable military force."

The Dutch therefore dig in at Recife, adding a new redoubt called Fort Bruijn or Brum on the Lingueta Peninsula. They also enclose the 20-year-old Franciscan convent of Santo Antônio on Antônio Vaz Island with a stockade, to become Fort Ernestus, and start a new pentagonal fort farther south that same autumn to guarantee access to the *cacimbas* or "water wells" on the mainland and prevent shallow-draught vessels from sneaking across Afogados Bar. (When completed, its moat being flooded with seawater in December 1630, this stronghold is christened Fort Frederik Hendrik in honor of the Prince of Orange, although it is soon nicknamed Vijfhoek or "Five-Point" by its Dutch garrison and Cinco Pontas by the Portuguese.) To resist river-borne descents out of the interior, a

small water fort dubbed Fort Waerdenburgh is initiated at the confluence of the Capibaribe and Beberibe rivers, while lesser defenses are also scattered along both banks.

FEBRUARY 26, 1630. Pater's 20 sails descend upon Santa Marta (Colombia) at 3:00 this Tuesday afternoon, having learned from intercepted letters of its weakened condition. Their initial bombardment silences the Spaniards' only four bronze cannon and kills the ancient gunner, after which 1,000 Dutchmen disembark from 18 swivel-armed boats and overrun both this fortress and town within the next few hours. Spanish governor Gerónimo de Quero flees up the Mamatoco River with 50 loyal militiamen, leaving Santa Marta to its fate. Pater remains a week, wreaking much destruction—although allegedly sparing a few dwellings in exchange for a ransom of 5,500 reales, raised by the local clergy—before retiring out to sea on March 5.

Shortly thereafter, Pater sails for home in late April, despairing of further reinforcements reaching him from the Netherlands or of intercepting the Spanish treasure fleets. He arrives to a hero's welcome in June.

MAY 5, 1630. Six Dutch ships with 655 men quit Recife under Commo. Dierick Ruyters as belated reinforcement for Pater in the Caribbean, followed shortly thereafter by another eight with 545 men under Admiral Ita (leaving only 17 Dutch ships stationed at Pernambuco).

Both squadrons arrive in the Antilles to find Pater already departed, so they cruise independently. On August 17, they unite with a small fleet under Jan Gijsbertszoon Booneter, which has also been prowling the Caribbean, to blockade Havana. Learning of this deployment, the Spanish admiral de Larraspuru—commanding this year's Tierra Firme plate fleet—resorts to the extraordinary expedient of sailing his vessels directly out of the Caribbean via the Windward and Caicos passages rather than touch at Cuba. This gamble pays off when he reaches Spain safely with 7 million pesos in silver.

APRIL 14, 1631. Pater returns to the Americas, arriving at Recife with 17 ships to bolster its occupying garrison by almost 1,000 men. (Other vessels have earlier preceded him out of Holland under his vice admiral Thijssen.)

The Dutch use this renewed strength to launch a counterattack against the Hispano-Portuguese

guerrillas who are bedeviling them by sending an expedition, under the recently promoted German-born colonel Sigmund von Schoppe and the 38-year-old Polish-born colonel Christoffel d'Artischau Arcisweski, 35 miles northward with 20–30 sail to land in the Captaincy of Itamaracá by May 22. Upon withdrawing from this raid a few days later, the Dutch decide to leave behind a small offshore citadel on the southern face of Santa Cruz Channel to impede Portuguese traffic. The engineer Pieter van Bueren designs a square, four-pointed fort of earthen ramparts and a wooden stockade, which is initially christened as *Geduld* or “Patience” and later renamed Fort Oranje. A garrison of 366 men is installed under Arcisweski.

Upon regaining Recife, Pater then allows seven or eight of his largest ships to cruise southward as far as Baía de Todos os Santos in search of prizes.

APRIL 17, 1631. A Dutch squadron materializes off Havana under Booneter, who maintains a close blockade until May 18, then stands away the next day to refresh provisions at Matanzas. He then steers out into the Florida Strait on June 4 for Holland.

APRIL 26, 1631. Commo. Jonathan de Neckere departs Recife to reinforce Booneter in the Caribbean with his 22-gun, 260-ton, 105-man flagship *Domburg*; the 16-gun, 180-ton, 60-man vice-flagship *Otter* under Cornelis Corneliszoon Jol; and the 12-gun, 120-ton, 50-man *Phoenix* under Reynier Pieterszoon. Jol, already a veteran of three previous New World cruises, is better known to the Dutch as Houtebeen or “Peg Leg”—the Spaniards calling him *Pie de Palo*—and he will further burnish his reputation during this forthcoming campaign.

De Neckere reaches Barbados by May 12, visits adjacent Saint Vincent, then arrives at Ile à Vache by mid-June, missing Booneter by three days (who has gone on ahead to blockade Havana). De Neckere therefore prowls south toward Santa Marta, taking several prizes. He then sails for Europe, leaving Jol to continue hunting independently.

JULY 10, 1631. Six *piraguas* arrive at Tortuga Island (also known as Salt Tortuga Island, Venezuela), disembarking 40 Spanish militiamen and 117 native auxiliaries under veteran captain Benito Arias Montano. They have been dispatched by Gov. Francisco Núñez Melián to chastise Dutch interlopers in these waters. After concealing themselves throughout the

day, a small platoon under Pedro Lobera reconnoiters two Dutch merchantmen anchored offshore—one of 600 tons and 20 guns, the other of 300 tons and 6 guns—which have set landing parties ashore to load water and salt.

After nightfall, Arias divides his company in two, sending one contingent under his subordinate Felipe Gómez de León to ambush the Dutch shore parties, while he himself leads the remainder to attack the anchored vessels with boats. He approaches quite close before being discovered and carries the larger ship by storm, killing its captain, sailing master, quartermaster, and several crew members. Its smaller Dutch consort attempts to flee but is likewise subdued; Gómez de León also wins his encounter on land. The interlopers' huts are burned and their craft carried triumphantly into La Guaira by Arias six days later.

JULY 11, 1631. This night, a score of Hispano-Portuguese men-of-war and 35 transports under Adm. Antonio de Oquendo, Vice Adm. Francisco de Vallecilla, and Rear Adm. Nicolás de Massibradi begin entering Baía de Todos os Santos over the next couple of days, depositing 2,000 troop reinforcements conveyed from Lisbon. This fleet is to return shortly for Europe, escorting the homeward-bound Brazilian sugar convoy.

AUGUST 19, 1631. Word reaches Pater and the authorities at Recife of the arrival of de Oquendo's fleet farther to the south, so the Dutch admiral prepares to sortie when it reemerges on its homeward leg. Because of a shortage of crews, Pater does not actually quit port until August 31, then steers southward with only 18 ships, reinforced by troops from Recife's garrison.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1631. De Oquendo exits Baía de Todos os Santos with a combined Hispano-Portuguese fleet. They are protecting 10 unarmed Brazilian caravels bearing 1,200 troops under the veteran Neapolitan-born commander Giovanni Vincenzo de San Felice, Conde de Bagnuoli (often rendered as Bagnoli or Bagnuolo in the New World); 1,000 are intended to reinforce the resistance movement in Pernambuco, and 200 are for the Captaincy of Paraíba. The fleet is furthermore protecting 20 Lisbon-bound sugar merchantmen.

Standing away from the coast, this entire formation is driven southeastward by contrary winds and currents into the vicinity of the Abrolhos (a rocky agglomeration 200 miles off Brazil at a latitude

DE OQUENDO'S FLEET

Name	Tons	Guns	Seamen	Soldiers
<i>Spanish Ships</i>				
<i>Santiago de Oliste</i> (flag)	900	44	180	284
<i>San Antonio</i> (vice-flag)	700	28	126	218
<i>Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso</i>	700	28	110	219
<i>San Buenaventura</i>	500	22	83	160
<i>San Martín</i>	450	18	75	166
<i>San Pedro</i>	450	20	74	170
<i>San Bartolomé</i>	444	18	73	155
<i>Nuestra Señora de la Concepción</i>	601	30	105	185
<i>Nuestra Señora de la Anunciada</i>	622	26	112	172
<i>San Carlos</i>	550	24	87	173
<i>San Blas</i>	400	20	70	147
<i>San Francisco</i>	400	20	68	172
<i>San Antonio</i> (requisitioned)				
French pinnace <i>Lion d'Or</i>	183.75	10	38	38
<i>San Pedro</i> (requisitioned)				
French pinnace <i>Saint Pierre</i>	134.5	8	35	41
<i>Portuguese Ships</i>				
<i>São Jorge</i>	433	28	99	143
<i>São João Baptista</i>	440	19	106	110
<i>Santiago</i>	450	20	97	110
<i>Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres (Maior)</i>	381	18	98	99
<i>Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres (Menor)</i>	305	18	90	98
<i>San António</i>	70	—	18	14
<i>Santa Cruz</i>	120	—	22	13
<i>Nossa Senhora da Boa Nova</i>	100	—	20	14
<i>Nossa Senhora do Rozario</i>	120	—	22	28
<i>São Jeronimo</i>	80	—	20	11

of 18° S, its name derived from the Portuguese phrase *abre olhos* or “open eyes,” intended as a warning of these half-submerged dangers). On the evening of September 11, the Hispano-Portuguese fleet is sighted by Pater, who clears for action overnight.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1631. *Los Abrolhos.* During his approach, two of Pater's ships have become separated, leaving the Dutch admiral with the following:

DUTCH FLEET AT LOS ABROLHOS

Name	Tons	Guns	Sailors	Soldiers
<i>Prins Willem</i> (flag)	1,000	46	150	150
<i>Geunieerde Provintien</i> (vice-flag)	800	50	159	—
<i>Hollandia</i>	600	30	125	93
<i>Walcheren</i>	560	34	85	166
<i>Provincie Utrecht</i>	600	38	115	147
<i>Groeningen</i>	600	32	110	100
<i>Dordrecht</i>	500	24	106	41
<i>Amersfoort</i>	400	28	47	55
<i>Goeree</i>	340	28	61	109
<i>Griffioen</i>	500	32	141	53
<i>Oliphant</i>	240	30	62	73
<i>Medemblik</i>	300	22	85	15
<i>Fortuijn</i>	320	20	?	?
<i>Nieuw Nederlandt</i>	200	14	54	24
<i>Mercurius</i>	400	26	68	51
<i>'t Wapen van Hoorn</i>	220	20	86	?



Admiral de Oquendo, about 1626, with the red sash and baton of a Spanish captain-general. (Museo Naval, Madrid)

At first light, he summons his captains for final instructions and then drinks a toast with Brunswick beer to their success. The Dutch bear down on faint east-northeasterly breezes against de Oquendo, who is six miles distant and has ordered his 17 Spanish and Portuguese galleons to interpose themselves in a half-moon crescent between the enemy formation and their own convoy. The *Anunciada*, the *Buenaventura*, the *San Carlos*, and the *San Bartolomé* lag astern.

Fighting erupts around midmorning when Vice Admiral de Vallecilla's *San Antonio* opens fire against Thijssen's advancing *Geunieerde Provintien*, which closes in along with the *Provincie Utrecht* to board. Ten or fifteen minutes later, de Oquendo's galleon and four others open fire against Pater's flagship, which steers directly toward the *Santiago de Oliste*, along with the *Walcheren*. The Dutch hold their opening broadsides until coming within point-blank range, then fire and grapple. A murderous engagement ensues around each flagship and vice-flagship, both sides firing repeatedly into their opponents yet proving unable to board. The smallest Portuguese

Antonio de Oquendo

Antonio de Oquendo de Zandátegui was born in the Guipuzcoan seaport of San Sebastián (Donostia) in October 1577. He was the second son, and third child out of six children, born to the recently promoted Spanish admiral Miguel de Oquendo de Segura. His father died 11 years later when his flagship exploded just as it was reentering his home port after the “Invincible Armada” campaign. Of 400 men aboard, only an African slave boy was thrown clear and survived.

Young Antonio apparently first went to sea in December 1593 to serve aboard Neapolitan galleys under Adm. Pedro de Toledo against the Turks in the Mediterranean. De Oquendo received his first commission in the Royal Spanish Navy on June 10, 1600, and the next year sailed under Adm. Luis Fajardo. De Oquendo first gained distinction by exiting Lisbon with his *Dobladilla* and *Delfin de Escocia* on July 15, 1604, to pursue some English privateers. He chased them down near Cadiz on August 7, capturing one and scattering the rest. This action earned him the thanks of Spain’s new monarch, King Philip III.

In June 1607, de Oquendo succeeded Martín de Bertendona as commander of the Vizcaya Squadron, a post his father had once held. (On appointing him, the king even agreed that de Oquendo’s formation should be renamed the “Guipúzcoa Squadron,” but because of protests from Biscay, it was changed to the “Cantabria Squadron.”) De Oquendo patrolled against Dutch threats to homeward-bound plate fleets. Then, four years later, he was entrusted with his first plate-fleet command. He departed Cadiz on July 31, 1611, to escort 36 merchantmen across to Veracruz with his two 600-ton galleons. A second crossing in 1613–1614 was rewarded with membership in the Order of Santiago.

But de Oquendo’s third transatlantic voyage proved more difficult. Before departing Seville on March 15, 1623, he launched the 600-ton galleon *Santiago* in his home port, which proved a poor flagship. His orders were to rush a cargo of mercury to Cartagena and Portobelo (Panama), then hurry back with the king’s silver, as the Treasury was bankrupt. Instead, his vice-flagship *Santísima Trinidad* and the galleon *Espíritu Santo* rolled over in calm weather that autumn, taking down their bullion. De Oquendo decided to winter over in Havana, so did not regain Seville until late May 1624.

He therefore was jailed and tried in the castle at Sanlúcar de Barrameda. The secrecy of these proceedings sparked many rumors. Although cleared of the most serious charges by June 1625, de Oquendo was banned from commanding any more plate fleets and fined 12,000 ducats. Yet the verdict had also called for leniency, and he had gained a full knighthood in the Order of Santiago by December 29, 1626. And the next year, he was once more entrusted with a sea command.

After vainly waiting at the Azores for the plate fleet of 1628, which the Dutch admiral Piet Heyn intercepted off Cuba, de Oquendo relieved the Spanish outpost of Mármora on his passage home. In 1627, he was promoted to *Almirante General de la Armada del Mar Océano*. In 1637, he was named to the Consejo de Guerra. He died on June 7, 1640, at La Coruña.

galleon, the *Nossa Senhora dos Prazeres (Menor)* of Capt. Cosme do Couto Barbosa attempts to support the *Santiago de Oliste*, only to drift helplessly beneath the combined guns of the *Prins Willem* and the *Walcheren* and be sunk. Its place is taken by the much larger *Concepción* of Capt. Juan de Prado.

Eventually, at about 4:00 p.m., a chance shot from de Oquendo’s flagship starts a blaze aboard the *Prins Willem*, which the Spanish admiral cleverly directs his musketeers to fire at so as to hamper Dutch fire-fighting efforts. The flames gain hold and finally drive Pater into the water with a few survivors, where he drowns. About that same time, de Vallecilla’s vice-flag *San Antonio* breaks up and goes down by its stern, taking most of the complement, while its Dutch foe *Provincie Utrecht* sheers off in flames, to later sink. Thijssen’s *Geunieerde Provintien* is battered, yet in possession of a single prize—the *Buenaventura* of Capt. Alonso de Alarcón y Molina, who has sailed to the *San Antonio*’s side during the fighting, only to lose both his life and his ship. The remaining Dutch

vessels content themselves with long-range firing—the *Hollandia*, the *Amersfoort*, and the *Fortuijn* being the only others to become closely engaged—while the Spaniards respond in kind.

The day ends in a Spanish victory, although their losses prove somewhat greater, a vice-flagship and a galleon being sunk, plus another taken, for a total of 585 dead and missing (240 aboard the captured *Buenaventura*) and 201 wounded. The Dutch flagship and another man-of-war disappear beneath the waves, leaving 350 dead and missing, plus more than 80 crewmen seriously wounded. However, Thijssen shows no inclination to renew action the next day, preferring to limp back into Recife with his mauled fleet on September 21–22. De Oquendo meanwhile deposits Bagnuoli’s reinforcements at Barra Grande of Porto Calvo—only 700 of whom actually reach the Portuguese forces that are holding Fort Arraial do Bom Jesus—before continuing toward Europe with his sugar convoy. The Dutch garrison subsequently abandons and torches Pernambuco’s former

hilltop capital of Olinda on November 25 so as to concentrate their strength around more-defensible Recife, located down beside the anchorage.

DECEMBER 5, 1631. Five boats from three large Dutch ships attempt a cutting-out operation at La Guaira, only to be repelled by Gov. Francisco Núñez Melián.

APRIL 20, 1632. The disgruntled, youthful Brazilian mestizo Maj. Domingo Fernandes, nicknamed "O Calabar"—a landowner and proprietor of three sugar mills, as well as a brave militia officer—switches allegiance from the Portuguese cause. He will prove a knowledgeable and invaluable adviser to the Dutch occupiers of Recife.

APRIL 30, 1632. A trio of Dutch ships is spotted at sundown, stealing upon La Guaira again. The next morning, they are engaged and driven off by Governor Núñez Melián as their boats attempt to tow them into the harbor.

MAY 15, 1632. Having stabilized the situation at Recife by depositing more Dutch troops and leaving behind a squadron under Commo. Jan Mast of the *Walcheren*, Admiral Thijssen arrives at Barbados with 22 ships to cruise against Spanish possessions in the Antilles. His summer-long campaign proves uninspired, failing to surprise any significant target. After vainly blockading Havana throughout August in hopes of intercepting a plate fleet, Thijssen departs for the Low Countries by early September.

NOVEMBER 1632. After residing on the uninhabited island of Sint Maarten for more than a year under WIC representative Jan Claesoon van Campen, a group of Dutch settlers completes a 34-gun fortress capable of sustaining a 100-man garrison.

DECEMBER 10, 1632. After a year spent recruiting some 300 men on Margarita Island and at Caracas, a Catalan-born doctor of laws named Juan de Orpín or Urpín leads an advance party of 100 out of San Sebastián to establish Spanish control over

Calabar

It is believed that Domingo Fernandes, nicknamed "O Calabar," was born near Porto Calvo in the Captaincy of Alagoas early in the 17th century. The son of an unknown Portuguese man and an Indian woman named Ângela Álvares, his racial mixture was known as a *mameluco*. Although as an infant Fernandes may have been baptized in Porto Calvo's parish church, he and his cousin Antônio were baptized again on March 15, 1610, at the hermitage of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda near Olinda. Young Domingo also received a good education from the Jesuits and prospered.

By the time the Dutch invaded Pernambuco in February 1630, Calabar was a minor landholder and owned three sugar mills. He had also risen to the militia rank of major. Two years later, however, he switched to the invaders' side. Contemporary letters indicate that he acted out of patriotism, believing Brazilians would fare better under the Dutch. He proved his value to the Dutch within 10 days by leading a column in a raid against Igaraçu. Over the next two and a half years, Calabar won the trust, admiration, and friendship of commanders such as von Schoppe and Lichthart.

The Portuguese authorities were determined to punish his treason. In March 1634, Captain-General de Albuquerque promised Calabar's cousin Antônio "any grant he wished, if he should kill him." Yet all such attempts failed. On September 20 of that same year, Calabar baptized his son in the Dutch Reformed Church at Recife. Von Schoppe, Lichthart, and many other high-ranking officials were present as witnesses.

Early the next year, Calabar helped guide the Dutch offensive that seized Porto Calvo. But on July 19, 1635, he had the misfortune to still be inside when Albuquerque's retreating army appeared. The Dutch garrison commander tried to have him spared, but Calabar insisted that he was "a Brazilian who would die for the freedom of his country." On surrendering, he fell subject to "the mercy of the King." He received none. After a quick trial, Calabar was cruelly executed, drawn, and quartered on the evening of July 22.

Two days later, von Schoppe and Arcisweski entered the empty town with their pursuing army. They were furious to find their friend's remains still dangling from its walls. These were lowered, and Calabar was buried with full military honors. His wife, three children, and mother also received generous pensions. Even before the Dutch were driven from Brazil 20 years later, Portuguese authors were already deriding the turncoat as a former smuggler and criminal who had met his just end for treason. Throughout the colonial era, Calabar was remembered as a traitor. Modern Brazilian historians, however, would prove more generous. Today, he is regarded as an early patriot who refused to accept the racial restrictions imposed by Portugal.

the stretch of Venezuelan coastline around Cumaná, inhabited by the Cumanagoto Indians. Eight days later, he establishes the town of Santa María de la O de Manapire, but after pressing on to the Urinare River, he is checked for three days by hostile Palenque Indians. His efforts at conquest being deemed a failure, de Orpín's commission is revoked by the Audiencia of Santo Domingo on December 5, 1633, and instead temporarily granted to the wealthy Caracan *maestre de campo* Domingo Vázquez de Rojas.

FEBRUARY 7, 1633. As part of the Dutch push out of their confinement at Recife toward the São Francisco River, a column of 600 troops under von Schoppe assaults the newly erected, two-gun Brazilian fort, which is located a mile from the Formoso River mouth. They carry it on the fourth attempt, after suffering 80 casualties. Eighteen of the twenty-one defenders lay dead, only Capt. Pedro de Almeida Albuquerque and two others surviving.

MARCH 24, 1633. Guided by the mestizo turncoat Calabar, 1,200 Dutch troops slip out of Recife under Col. Laurens van Rembach and launch a surprise attack against the nearby Portuguese earthen stockade known as Arraial do Bom Jesus, defended by 200 men and four guns. However, native guerrillas under the 33-year-old Luís Barbalho Bezerra and other chieftains so bedevil the Dutch with counterattacks outside its ramparts that their column is obliged to retreat, van Rembach emerging mortally wounded.

APRIL 26, 1633. Veteran commodore van Hoorn quits Recife with four ships, three yachts, and three sloops, manned by 500 sailors and 400 soldiers (among them the gifted captain “Peg Leg” Jol). Van Hoorn's original instructions have been to attack the coastal fortress guarding the Brazilian province of Ceará, visit the two-year-old Dutch base of Sint Maarten in the Windward Islands, and then raid Trujillo, staging port for the Honduras galleons. Instead, though, with the consent of the Dutch authorities at Recife, he reconnoiters the Brazilian port of Maranhão before proceeding directly for Barbados to commence his West Indian campaign.

MAY 14, 1633. The free black leader Henrique Dias of the Captaincy of Rio Grande do Norte arrives at Arraial do Bom Jesus with a contingent of followers to join the Luso-Brazilian resistance.

JUNE 22, 1633. Some 55 Spanish sail—24 of them being men-of-war—appear off Saint Barthélemy under Adm. Lope Díez de Aux y Armendáriz, Marqués de Cadereyta, and his veteran vice admiral Carlos de Ibarra, Knight of the Order of Alcántara. This force is comprised of three distinct fleets: the annual Tierra Firme convoy under Adm. Luis Fernández de Córdoba; the Mexican convoy under Adm. Lope de Hoces y Córdoba, Knight of the Order of Santiago; and Cadereyta's own battle group. In addition to fetching Spain's American silver, this expedition is intended to eradicate the newest Dutch settlement in the Antilles: Sint Maarten.

Arriving by mistake off neighboring Saint Barthélemy, the next day the Spaniards sight five interloper vessels anchored off its southern coast, four of which immediately get under way, abandoning the fifth (a 10-gun vessel) to its fate. Cadereyta then learns from his *sargento mayor* Juan de Irrazaga that this is Saint Barthélemy, so he lays in a course overnight for Sint Maarten.

JUNE 24, 1633. *Reconquest of Sint Maarten.* At noon, a Spanish reconnaissance reveals that the Dutch settlers have a 22-gun fortress covering Sint Maarten's approaches, so Cadereyta sends an emissary ashore from his flagship, the *Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu*, to demand the garrison's surrender. (This officer is Capt. Benito Arias Montano [see “July 10, 1631” entry], recently created governor of Araya and Cumaná, who is returning to Venezuela aboard the Tierra Firme fleet to take up his new post.) Approximately 150 Dutch defenders and 40 black auxiliaries under “Lambert Franchrisperi” (perhaps a Spanish misspelling of Jan Claesz van Campen) reject Cadereyta's overture.

Several Spanish galleons therefore bear down, engaging this fortress in a heated exchange during which seven Spanish crew members perish, while smaller boats seek a disembarkation point. At 2:00 the next morning, 1,000 troops and 300 sailors are set ashore under Vice Admiral de Hoces and the *maestre de campo* Luis de Rojas y Borgia, Duque de Granja, with two small fieldpieces. They make an arduous march through the jungle, suffering at least six deaths from heat exhaustion, before finally emerging behind the Dutch fortress and storming its walls on June 26. Musket fire halts them, and many receive crippling wounds, including de Hoces, who is shot in his left elbow and side. The Spaniards consequently inaugurate a formal siege, bringing four heavier guns ashore to install in a battery. They then

launch another 100-man assault on the night of June 28, during which the veteran naval captain Tiburcio Redín is injured.

By July 1, a badly wounded van Campen and his 62 Dutch and 15 black survivors request terms, which are granted. Cadereyta occupies the fortress the next day. He decides to keep it for Spain, therefore strengthening its works by adding four 24-pounders, four 18-pound demiculverins, and five 10- to 12-pounders to its armament plus a permanent garrison of 250 Spanish soldiers and 50 auxiliaries under Capt. Cebrián de Lizarazu, Knight of the Order of Santiago. The Spanish fleet then clears for San Juan de Puerto Rico, arriving with its prisoners and three Dutch prizes by July 13.

JULY 15, 1633. Van Hoorn's 10 vessels steal upon Trujillo (Honduras), surprising this port and battering it into submission within two hours, at a cost of seven Dutch lives. However, most of its Spanish inhabitants succeed in fleeing inland, leaving van Hoorn with a few cannon, plus some hides, as booty. Subsequent ransom demands also produce meager

results—20 pounds of silver—so that van Hoorn sails away six days later, intending to attack Campeche.

No Dutch raider has yet penetrated this deep into the Gulf of Mexico, but van Hoorn is encouraged by an accompanying mulatto rover named Diego de los Reyes (or Diego Grillo, born a slave at Havana and better known to his Spanish American victims as Diego the Mulatto, or Diego Lucifer). Having once resided at Campeche, Diego is familiar with its roadstead and defenses, so he leads the way.

AUGUST 4, 1633. Off Los Órganos Keys (northwestern Cuba), the Spanish galleon *Triunfo de la Cruz* of Capt. Miguel de Redín—separated from Adm. Lope de Hoces's convoy bound toward Veracruz—is engaged from dawn until 10:00 a.m. in a brutal exchange with a 46-gun Dutch ship. De Redín's leg is blown off by the second Dutch broadside, killing him along with 15 of his crew plus wounding many more. The two battered antagonists eventually drift apart, leaving de Redín's second-in-command, Juan de Llano, to pilot the *Triunfo* into Havana 10 days later.



Sea battle between Dutch and Spanish warships, about 1630, by Cornelis Verbeeck. (National Maritime Museum, London)

AUGUST 11, 1633. *Van Hoorn's Sack of Campeche.*

Thirteen sail bear down this Friday noon on Campeche. More than 500 Dutch, English, French, and Portuguese raiders under Diego the Mulatto and peg-legged Cornelis Jol land on its outskirts the next morning to advance against the defenses. Although a cluster of armed boats cover their approach from offshore, the attackers' initial assault is repelled by 50 harquebusiers under Capt. Domingo Galván Romero, who is entrenched along its western circuit with three artillery pieces.

When this assault recedes, however, the defenders rise from their trenches and set off in pursuit, only to be trapped out in open countryside. Galván and 10 or 12 others are shot down, the way into Campeche lying open. The invaders pour into the city streets, unchecked until they encounter another 300 Spaniards drawn up in its main square. A ferocious firefight ensues, ending with more than three dozen Spanish dead and many more captured, while terrified survivors flee toward San Francisco Campechuelo.

Van Hoorn, Jol, and Diego remain in Campeche over the next two days, and although they strip it of everything of value and seize 22 vessels lying in its roads, they are unable to extort ransoms from the interior. They therefore spike its guns and sail a dozen miles up the coast before releasing their captives, retaining nine prizes and selling another four back to the Spaniards; they burn the rest. Van Hoorn departs for Holland on August 24, leaving Jol and Diego to continue operations.

AUGUST 25, 1633. At Cumaná, the new governor,

Bernardo Arias Montano, inaugurates his rule by organizing an expedition of 95 Spanish militiamen and 200 native archers to sail westward aboard 14 *piraguas* to investigate reports of an intruder colony at the Unare River mouth in central Venezuela—one of the few openings along its coastal mountain range that leads into a vast fertile basin. During this voyage, he is reinforced by 25 natives from Borracha Island, plus another 30 from Cumanagoto.

On August 28, Arias's flotilla reaches Uchire Beach and disembarks, dispatching two scouts inland at noon. They return early that same afternoon with news of a Dutch fortress and 10 ships at the nearby Unare salt pans, prompting Arias to leave 2 Spaniards and 50 natives behind to guard his *piraguas* while he marches overland with his main body. Arias comes within sight of his objective at 8:00 p.m., causing a stir within the Dutch stronghold.

The next dawn, the Spaniards storm its walls despite fire from eight cannon and the ships offshore, slaughtering 80 Dutch defenders and capturing another 36—among them Capt. Wybrand Corneliszoon—at a cost of only 5 or 6 badly wounded attackers. The vessels in its roadstead flee out to sea, leaving the Spaniards victorious. Later this same afternoon, some Spanish soldiers are attacked by native allies of the Dutch, suffering a number of casualties. The next day, August 30, Arias orders the fortress razed, then retires with his captives and booty.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1633. Shortly after returning to

Cumaná, Arias leads 12 *piraguas* on a second foray, 75 miles west-northwestward, against the Dutch salting operation on Salt Tortuga Island. The operation is easily overrun—a few Dutchmen being slain ashore and five anchored vessels chased away—before the intruders' huts are burned and the salt pans flooded.

DECEMBER 8, 1633. Having failed in previous at-

tempts to subdue the neighboring Brazilian province of Paraíba, a Dutch expedition of four ships and seven yachts out of Recife, under the 32-year-old admiral Jan Corneliszoon Lichthart, materializes this morning off Negra Point, disembarking 800 troops who march overland under the supervision of Councillor Mathijs van Ceulen to secure the hapless town of Natal—capital of Rio Grande do Norte Province—by nightfall. The Dutch also take two Portuguese caravels under Francisco de Vasconcelos da Cunha that are anchored in the Potengi River estuary.

The next day, a column of troops furthermore proceeds to the nine-gun Três Reis Magos harbor castle at the northern extremity of Meio Beach, which guards the Potengi River entrance. Its 86-man garrison resists under the regional *capitão-mor* Pero Mendes Gouveia; the Dutch, therefore, ferry siege-artillery ashore and install batteries amid the surrounding dunes, pounding this fortress into submission by sunup of December 12. Eight days afterward, it is renamed Castle Ceulen and entrusted to the new garrison commander, Maj. Joris Garstman.

MARCH 1–2, 1634. Overnight, the veteran Bra-

zilian militia captain Martim Soares Moreno advances from Arraial do Bom Jesus with 500 men, attacking the Dutch defenses at various points around Recife before retiring.

MID-MARCH 1634. *Seizure of Pontal.* With Portuguese attention diverted northeast of Recife, a sudden seaborne descent 20 miles to its south by a dozen Dutch ships under Lichthart, bearing 1,500 troops under von Schoppe, surprises the 350 Brazilian militiamen—mostly local fishermen—who have been left behind under Pedro Correia da Gama to man the defenses around the five-gun Fort Nazaré, guarding the bar at the southern extremity of Cape Santo Agostinho. Despite losing three vessels, the Dutch force their way past, bombarding and seizing the town of Pontal at the cape's northern tip.

Lichthart's nine remaining ships are apparently trapped inside the bay, but the Brazilian turncoat Calabar shows the Dutch a low stretch of land in mid-peninsula where they are able to cut a passage through at low tide and exit. The belated arrival of Portuguese reinforcements under Albuquerque and Bagnuoli proves unable to dislodge the Dutch garrison ensconced within Pontal or adjacent Bordges Island, thereby effectively denying them the use of Cape Santo Agostinho as a strategic port.

MARCH 30, 1634. A Dutch column advances out of Recife and assaults the Portuguese garrison at Arraial do Bom Jesus, being repelled.

MAY 1634. Capt. João da Silva sends a force of 150 Brazilian militiamen and 300 native auxiliaries on a sweep from Cunhaú and Paraíba into the neighboring territories of the Tapuia Indians, who are allies of the Dutch.

JUNE 1634. The battle fleet of Admiral de Oquendo, escorting the Tierra Firme treasure convoy of Vice Adm. Nicolás de Judice y Fiesco across the Atlantic from Spain, pauses during its outward-bound passage at Sint Maarten to resupply this Spanish garrison.

JUNE 23, 1634. The Dutch ships *Groot Hoorn* of 40 guns, *Eenhoorn*, *Brack*, *Engel Gabriel*, and two Biscayan sloops arrive at Barbados bearing 400 men—225 of them soldiers—to secure a new WIC base in the Antilles, now that Sint Maarten has been lost. Their commanders are Johannes van Walbeeck, an experienced commander in his thirties, and Pierre le Grand, a professional French Huguenot soldier who has distinguished himself in Brazil and is charged with the military contingent. Together, they are to conquer Curaçao and Bonaire, guided by Jan Janszoon Otzen, a man who has visited these islands as a Spanish captive.

The next day, this expedition reaches Saint Vincent, where the yacht *Brack* is detached to reconnoiter La Guaira. The main body meanwhile proceeds to uninhabited Bonaire, where van Walbeeck awaits his scout's return before finally standing toward Curaçao on July 6. Through Otzen's faulty intelligence, the Dutch sight their objective only to be carried too far west by winds and currents, continuing as far as Santo Domingo before eventually beating back to Bonaire by July 26. During this digression, they capture a Spanish bark and are joined by another Dutch ship, plus the vessel of the mulatto privateer Diego de los Reyes.

JULY 28, 1634. *Seizure of Curaçao.* Van Walbeeck appears off this island for a second time, this time entering unopposed in single file through narrow Saint Ann Bay, emerging into the spacious harbor he dubs the Schottegat. The only Spanish inhabitants are Lope López de Morla and some 40 men, women, and children, plus several hundred Indians. They are powerless to contest a Dutch disembarkation, although López stations about 50 Indians in a trench opposite the main beach. After two days' reconnaissance, van Walbeeck starts landing his troops with seven boats, while Diego de los Reyes parleys with López from offshore. By the time the Spaniard realizes that this is a full-scale invasion rather than a mere foraging raid, the Dutch are already ashore.

The next day, July 31, López abandons his principal settlement, after setting it ablaze and poisoning its wells. The Dutch press the defenders inland, suffering a brief setback at Santa Bárbara on August 5 when they are attacked in a driving rainstorm by native archers, losing 25 men because their powder is damp. By August 17, however, they have overrun the tiny hamlet of Ascensión in the western part of the island, nailing a surrender demand addressed to López upon a tree. He is at last cornered in the San Cristóbal Hills four days later and compelled to capitulate, being transported to Venezuela along with 32 Spanish followers, plus 402 loyal Indians, aboard two Dutch yachts and a Spanish fishing boat; they are released about 15 miles outside Coro. Van Walbeeck remains in possession of Curaçao, from where the Dutch will eventually occupy Aruba and Bonaire as well.

OCTOBER 1634. A contingent of Dutch troops under Arciswesi, supported by Tapuia allies, seizes a small Portuguese fortress at the Bar of Cunhaú before proceeding up the Mamanguape River and

penetrating into the Captaincy of Alagoas. The rich sugar plantation at Cunhaú, which belongs to Paraíba's regional governor, Antônio de Albuquerque Maranhão, is confiscated and sold.

NOVEMBER 25, 1634. *Conquest of Paraíba.* Lichthart sets sail northward from Recife with 21 ships and 11 yachts in two separate squadrons, the former bearing 940 troops of a Dutch invasion army under von Schoppe, the latter, 409 soldiers, in addition to almost 1,000 sailors manning both formations. Arriving above the Jaguaribe River at the easternmost tip of Brazil by December 3, Lichthart deposits the first 600 soldiers the next day, who scatter the few Portuguese defenders operating under Gov. Antônio de Albuquerque Maranhão. More Dutch troops then disembark, and three companies under Capt. Gaspar van der Ley march up the southern peninsula of the Paraíba River and, at its mouth, invest 24-gun Fort Santa Catarina do Cabedelo, whose defenses have recently been strengthened by the engineer Diogo Paes.

Von Schoppe's main body joins up, formal siege-batteries are installed, and a bombardment ensues during which the elderly garrison commander Capt. João de Mattos Cardoso dies on December 12, being succeeded by Capt. Jerônimo Pereira (who in turn perishes and is followed by Gregório Guedes Souto Maior). Lichthart meanwhile shells the recently completed São Bento bastion on Restinga Island at the river mouth, taking it by storm. When the Dutch besiegers ashore begin lobbing mortar shells directly into Fort Cabedelo, the citadel finally capitulates on December 19, having suffered 82 dead and 103 wounded. The defenders of the nearby bastion known as Santo Antônio request three days' grace before capitulating, and the Dutch find it empty by December 23. They also seize old Fort São Felipe three miles inside the estuary.

The invaders then penetrate another dozen miles unopposed down the bay, until they come to Paraíba's confluence with the Sanhauá. On December 24, they occupy the regional capital of Filipéia de Nossa Senhora das Neves (modern João Pessoa), which lies largely abandoned by its 1,500 inhabitants. It is promptly renamed Frederikstad in honor of the Dutch Stadhouder Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange. Fort Cabedelo is to be repaired and expanded, as the Dutch settle in for a permanent occupation, expropriating the province's 18 largest sugar plantations and slowly welcoming back many of its inhabitants.

MARCH 3, 1635. With Dutch strength at Recife augmented to 4,000 troops and 1,500 sailors, thanks to recent reinforcements, it is decided to overwhelm the last few Portuguese strongpoints still resisting throughout northeastern Brazil. Consequently, a 1,200-man army under Arcisweski advances to lay siege to the 547-man garrison under Col. André Marim holding nearby Arraial do Bom Jesus, von Schoppe leads a similar-sized force to invest Fort Nazaré at Cape Santo Agostinho, and Lichthart makes a seaborne descent that takes the newly erected Forte do Bom Sucesso earthwork from its Portuguese defenders under Bagnuoli at the mouth of the Manguaba River at Porto Calvo, strengthening and garrisoning it.

MARCH 15, 1635. Having returned into the West Indies with dispatches from Holland, "Peg Leg" Jol's *Otter*—now mounting 18 guns—sorties from Curaçao on March 3, accompanied by the *Brack* of Capt. Cornelis Janszoon van Uytgeest. Twelve days later, they bluff their way past the batteries guarding the narrow channel at Santiago de Cuba's harbor entrance by masquerading as Spanish men-of-war. (In addition to flying false colors, the Dutch captains disguise themselves as members of the Spanish military orders of Cristo and Santiago and hail its harbor castle in Spanish, thus being allowed to pass.)

Once deep inside the bay, they approach the city and prepare to anchor offshore to storm its beaches. At this point, they are approached by Santiago's pilot boat, whose officer belatedly realizes their true identity; but he is already so close that he is fired upon and killed, after which his crew surrenders. This outburst, however, warns the batteries ashore, who open up on the intruders. The Spaniards are caught so unprepared that at first only 14 gunners man their posts, under Gov. Juan de Amezquita y Quijano, before more militiamen can be summoned from the surrounding countryside.

Frustrated in their attempt to take the city by surprise, the Dutch search the half-dozen merchantmen in its roadstead, hoping to find rich cargos of copper ore. Most prove to be empty, though, although during a lull the privateer commander coolly offers to ransom the vessels and his prisoners, which the Spanish governor spurns, and the battle rages on until evening. Getting under way with the land breeze, Jol and van Uytgeest carry out a fully laden Spanish frigate (after vainly attempting to burn the remainder), unloading and torching this

lone prize outside the harbor before releasing all their captives two days later and standing away.

APRIL 19, 1635. *Last Gasp of Pernambucan Resistance.* Arcisweski's besiegers attempt an assault against beleaguered Arraial do Bom Jesus, only to be repelled. Shells are nonetheless lobbed regularly into its interior, while starvation saps the will of its garrison and civilian dependents, thanks to Dutch control over the Capibaribe River. Finally, bereft of supplies or ammunition, as well as having endured 100 dead and 140 wounded, the defenders request terms on June 6. Some 500 surviving troops, 150 *mazombo* warriors, and 1,250 civilians are marched out two days later for Recife to post ransoms for their release, while Arraial do Bom Jesus is destroyed. The defenders of Fort Nazaré also capitulate on July 2 and are taken to Recife as well, from where Capt. Barbalho Bezerra—among others—is deported to Holland (although he is freed shortly thereafter).

SUMMER 1635. Having prowled past Havana, Jol stations himself off Cartagena with the *Otter* and another yacht, one day pursuing a pair of Spanish coasters close inshore. Four coast-guard frigates suddenly emerge to give chase, forcing Jol out to sea, where he meets another pair of Dutch vessels under Pieter Janszoon van Domburgh, who joins him to engage this quartet. The Spanish vice-flagship is captured after a hard-fought battle, while the other three Spanish ships escape.

Jol releases his 150 prisoners with a note to Cartagena's governor asking him to reciprocate in kind. When only two Dutchmen, a few hens, and some fruit are returned, Jol burns his prize. After cruising through the Caribbean and making numerous more captures, Jol then sails for Europe by autumn.

JULY 19, 1635. While retreating into the Captaincy of Bahia with his 140 remaining Portuguese troops, as well as the free black companies of Dias and the warriors of the Potiguar Indian chieftain Antônio Filipe Camarão of Paraíba, Gov. Matias de Albuquerque surprises the 360-man Dutch garrison under Maj. Alexandre Picard, which is holding Porto Calvo, taking it after a clash in which Dias loses his left hand.

Among the captives is the mestizo turncoat Calabar, who is tried and garroted three days later. Before Arcisweski and von Schoppe can arrive to retake the town on July 24 with their pursuing forces, Albuquerque resumes his retirement, even-

tually shepherding 7,000–8,000 civilian refugees into Bahia.

NOVEMBER 26, 1635. Some 30 Spanish and Portuguese ships appear off Jaraguá Point, near the Dutch base of Recife in Pernambuco. The Spanish fleet is led by Adm. Lope de Hoces and Vice Adm. José de Meneses, while the Portuguese are directed by Adm. Rodrigo Lobo da Silveira, Conde da Sazedas, and Vice Adm. João de Sequeira. Together they examine the Dutch defenses and nine vessels anchored in Recife's roadstead from a distance, demurring to launch an attack against its impregnable defenses. Instead, they steer southward to land supplies, artillery, and 2,400 Spanish, Portuguese, and Neapolitan reinforcements at the Lagunas under veteran general Luis de Rojas (*see* "June 24, 1633" entry), who is to assume command of the guerrilla campaign from Matias de Albuquerque.

This disembarkation requires a fortnight to complete, during which time the Hispano-Portuguese fleet is menaced by 11 small Dutch vessels, which retire on December 5 without pressing home any attack. Two days later, de Hoces's fleet stands back out to sea to continue its voyage toward Baía de Todos os Santos; Albuquerque sails with them, having been recalled to Spain, where he will eventually stand trial for his Pernambucan defeats. De Rojas meanwhile fortifies his camp ashore, divides his army into a Spanish contingent under the *maestre de campo* Juan Ortiz and a Portuguese one under Soares Moreno, and sends out scouts to assess the Dutch defenses.

JANUARY 6, 1636. *Mata Redonda.* After a series of conferences during which Bagnuoli recommends against assuming the offensive, de Rojas marches northward from his camp with 1,400 effectives and a host of native warriors under Camarão (now elevated to a knighthood in the Order of Cristo by a grateful king), while Bagnuoli remains behind to guard the base with 700 troops. One week later, the vanguard of de Rojas's army under Capt. Francisco Rebelo reaches Porto Calvo and engages its outnumbered Dutch defenders under von Schoppe, who resist until nightfall before retreating to Barra Grande so as to retire toward Recife.

De Rojas's main army enters Porto Calvo on January 15 and sets off in pursuit of von Schoppe, then returns to the town. He sorties again two days later to confront almost 1,500 approaching Dutch soldiers under Arcisweski. Both armies clash on January 18 at nearby Mata Redonda, the Spanish

general being killed early on during this struggle. His defeated and disorganized troops are chased back into Porto Calvo, where Bagnuoli will eventually assume command. Meanwhile, the victorious Dutch regroup at Peripueira, installing a garrison there, before Arcisweski's main body withdraws toward Sirinhaém.

FEBRUARY 14, 1636. De Hoces departs Baía de Todos os Santos with his flagship, vice-flagship, and an auxiliary to assault Curaçao. During his passage up the Brazilian coast, he is attacked by eight smaller Dutch vessels, fighting a running battle on February 19–20 before finally driving them off. At this point, the Spanish admiral decides to turn back into Baía and repair damages incurred. He exits again on Wednesday, March 26, to escort the Brazilian sugar convoy partway out into the Atlantic, before parting company and laying in a course for the Spanish Main.

APRIL 25, 1636. Some 50 Dutch colonists under Pieter van Corselles, sponsored by the Zeeland Chamber of the WIC, disembark from Jan Snouck's vessels to found a settlement on uninhabited Sint Eustatius. They erect Fort Oranje atop the ruins of an abandoned French redoubt installed seven years previously, plant crops of tobacco, and temporarily rechristen the island as Nieuw Zeeland. Meanwhile, Snouck returns to Vlissingen (Flushing) to verify the claim before the WIC. The island settlers soon come to flourish so well that four years later a contingent under Vice Cmdr. Jan Zegers will occupy adjoining Saba as well, building another small fort there.

MAY 9, 1636. De Hoces arrives at Cumaná with his trio of warships, to be joined on May 25 by Sancho de Urdanivia's four storeships and four tartans out of Spain. Together they are to mount a counter-invasion against Dutch Curaçao. However, because de Urdanivia has lost the Spanish siege-train during his passage (his flagship *San Salvador* having been wrecked on the reefs east of Martinique), and because his remaining four ships are to immediately continue toward Cartagena, this plan is abandoned. Criticism is eventually leveled against de Hoces upon his return to Spain for not having achieved more—either in Brazil or Venezuela.

SUMMER 1636. Juan de Orpín or Urpín resumes his efforts to reestablish Spanish control over the coast inhabited by the Cumanagoto Indians, who

have been dealing with visiting Dutch ships. Generally through peaceful means, he resurrects the abandoned town of Santa María de la O de Manapire and founds Nueva Barcelona and Nueva Tarragona, thus preserving this region for Spain.

DECEMBER 1636. Reinforced by a company of 40 Spanish militiamen sent by Margarita's governor, Juan de Eulate, Capt. Martín de Mendoza raises a sizable contingent—allegedly 400 soldiers and 3,000 native auxiliaries—from the towns of Santo Tomé in eastern Venezuela and San José de Oruña on the island of Trinidad to launch a counteroffensive against the foreign establishments on Tobago and in northeastern Trinidad. He takes a fortification at Galera Point, plus two more on Tobago (the main 65-man Dutch stronghold of Fort Vlissingen under Cornelis de Moor and Jacques Onsiel falling by January 1, 1637), gathering 160 captives of diverse nationalities and 42 cannon. Most of these prisoners are subsequently hanged on Margarita, and their leaders are transported to Spain.

JANUARY 23, 1637. *Fall of Porto Calvo.* An able and energetic new governor general for Netherlandic Brazil—32-year-old Johan Maurits, Graaf or “Count” van Nassau-Siegen—reaches Recife with four ships and 350 men. One week later he sends von Schoppe overland with 3,000 troops to unite with another 800 sailing around by sea under Arcisweski, so as to together oust Bagnuoli's Portuguese guerrillas from their base of operations at Porto Calvo. The two Dutch contingents join up on February 17 at the Uma River mouth, fighting their way past Barra Grande shortly thereafter to besiege the 500-man garrison holding Forte do Bom Sucesso.

When Nassau arrives with heavy siege-guns after a difficult passage along the Pedras River, the defenders are compelled to surrender by March 3, after which the victors lay waste to Alagoas and compel the defeated Bagnuoli to retire into the Captaincy of Sergipe del Rey, south of the São Francisco River. To consolidate this waterway as Netherlandic Brazil's new frontier, Nassau orders the construction of a small fort at the São Francisco River mouth, as well as a much larger border keep, christened Fort Maurits, 18 miles upriver at Penedo, which is completed by the next year. The Dutch now entirely control Brazil's coast from the São Francisco River as far northeast as Paraíba, which the count intends to transform into a stable and prosperous commercial colony.

JULY 22, 1637. At dawn, a small Dutch expedition under Groenewegen from Essequibo (Guyana) bursts upon the newly reconstructed Santo Tomé, which earlier this year has been shifted to a new locale farther up the Orinoco River under the direction of Cristóbal de Vera. Its inhabitants succeed in fleeing inland, along with Gov. Diego López de Escobar and a handful of troops, so the Dutch put its empty buildings to the torch before withdrawing.

JULY 25, 1637. To bolster Portugal's claim over the Amazon, Captain Teixeira departs Belém to chart the enormous river's entire course. Striking upriver from Cameté four months later with 13 officers, 70 soldiers, and 1,000 native auxiliaries aboard 45 boats, he will succeed in reaching the Amazon's distant headwaters, returning almost two years later.

AUGUST 3, 1637. Once more in the Caribbean, "Peg Leg" Jol sights 26 sail of the Tierra Firme treasure fleet as it departs Cartagena under Vice Adm. Francisco de Mexía, escorted by the battle fleet of Adm. Carlos de Ibarra, Knight of the Order of Alcántara. The Dutch are no match for this strength, Jol's new 260-ton, 28-gun flagship *Zwolle* being accompanied by a gaggle of smaller yachts—mostly independent privateers out of Curaçao, with scant discipline. The rovers scatter when the Spanish men-of-war bear down upon them, re-forming once danger passes to follow in the plate fleet's wake in hopes of snapping up a straggler. But when a Spanish merchantman lags behind during the subsequent crossing to Havana, the pursuers are so jealous of sharing any booty with each other that they allow this victim to escape in their confusion. Disgusted, Jol takes up station off Cuba, hoping for a second chance.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1637. Jol sights 16 Spanish merchantmen standing out of Havana, escorted by 4 men-of-war. The *Zwolle* and its smaller accompanying privateers fall in astern, but at this moment another 33 Spaniards emerge from port, threatening to trap Jol's vessels between both formations. The Dutch sheer off, Jol taking a single small prize from Puerto Rico. He then returns to Holland, where his complaints about these missed opportunities gain him command of a major WIC expedition, intended to help reconquer Brazil's Baía de Todos os Santos and intercept a Spanish plate fleet in the Caribbean.

OCTOBER 7, 1637. Two hours before sunrise, the Dutch rover Abraham Hendriksz's 17-gun ship

overtakes a small Spanish frigate approaching Sint Maarten after a lengthy chase. It proves to be conveying the garrison's annual *situado* or "payroll" from Veracruz, guarded by Ens. Francisco Fernández Núñez and three soldiers. They resist the Dutch boarding parties as best they can but are quickly overwhelmed and captured, along with the money chests. (Spanish reports indicate Hendriksz also intercepted Puerto Rico's *situado* the previous year.)

OCTOBER 14, 1637. A small Dutch expedition from the Wild Coast destroys San José de Oruña (modern Saint Joseph, seven miles inland from Trinidad's capital of Port of Spain). Not only are this town's buildings thrown down but, when the Dutch retire and San José's inhabitants attempt to return, they find its local natives hostile as well. It is not until Capt. Martín de Mendoza y Berrio arrives with a small contingent that peace is restored.

NOVEMBER 1637. Von Schoppe advances out of Recife (Brazil) to attack the Portuguese in the neighboring Captaincy of Sergipe del Rey, compelling Bagnuoli to retreat within 40 miles of Baía de Todos os Santos' capital of São Salvador, where the Neapolitan commander furthermore becomes embroiled in disputes with the disappointed governor general, Pedro da Silva. The northern Captaincy of Ceará is also overrun before year's end by two companies of soldiers under Major Garstman, who repair the small, semi-abandoned Portuguese fortress of São Sebastião. They guard its bar and remain in undisputed possession over the next seven years, exploiting the local salt and ambergris deposits.

LATE MARCH 1638. *Maurits's Defeat.* Learning of the dissension existing between the high command at Salvador and believing Hispano-Portuguese resistance to be on the verge of collapse, the count decides to launch a preemptive strike against this last remaining stronghold, even before Jol can recross the Atlantic to reinforce Recife. Maurits therefore sets sail with 3,600 Dutch troops and 1,000 Brazilian auxiliaries aboard 45 vessels, penetrating Baía de Todos os Santos on April 16 to disembark his army unopposed at São Braz and Escada beaches; they then circle up onto the headland to march upon the city.

The defenders' resolve is stiffened by this threat, Governor-General da Silva deferring all military decisions to Bagnuoli, and the initial Dutch assault on April 20 against São Salvador's northern Carmo

Gate is repelled. Denied a quick victory, the attackers instead redeploy to besiege the city, while the garrison feverishly strengthens its walls—Bagnuoli holding the strategic Casa da Torre de Garcia d'Avila on the north side, while *mestre de campo* Barbalho Bezerra also distinguishes himself by speedily erecting the bastion that will bear his name. Maurits unsuccessfully storms the outer perimeter on May 1, and 17 days afterward mounts a second major effort that fights its way right up to the ramparts before being ejected at nightfall in desperate hand-to-hand combat around Carmo Gate.

Having lost 500 men during his protracted siege, the count feels compelled to withdraw shortly thereafter, abandoning considerable materiel and returning into Recife by May 26.

MAY 8, 1638. At Salt Tortuga Island (Venezuela), 150 Spanish soldiers and a like number of native auxiliaries arrive before dawn aboard 13 *piraguas*, led by Cumaná's governor, Bernardo Arias Montano and the military engineer Juan Bautista Antonelli (the Younger), to expunge its newly constructed

Dutch fortress. After being discovered by an anchored Dutch ship and three guard boats, Arias captures one of the latter and disembarks his forces on the western tip of Tortuga, marching upon the interlopers' wooden stockade.

The stockade boasts eight small artillery pieces, sharpened stakes, and other defenses, so Arias does not attack until sunrise of that following Sunday, fighting his way inside after a four-hour firefight to massacre its 40 defenders, at a cost of seven Spaniards and four natives killed, plus 20 wounded. The eight Dutch ships flee out to sea, after which Arias orders the fort destroyed and its harbor channel obstructed so as to discourage future Dutch encroachments. By early June, he is back at Cumaná installing the eight Dutch cannon into Araya's fortress.

JUNE 8, 1638. Jol arrives at Recife to prepare for another cruise against Spanish plate fleets in the Caribbean, with his 54-gun, 600-ton flagship *Salamanca*; the 44-gun, 500-ton *Hoop*; the 34-gun, 500-ton *Oranje*; the 32-gun, 400-ton *Graaf Ernst* or *Ernestus*; the 26-gun, 400-ton *Mercurius*; the 24-gun, 340-ton

Maurits's City

When the Dutch seized Olinda and its Recife anchorage in February 1630, they judged the hilltop capital to be too exposed. As a result, they concentrated all their strength around the tiny village of Recife. A circuit of defenses was erected to guard its anchorage, while a WIC warehouse and other permanent structures were added. Deserted Olinda was stripped for construction materials before its ruins were torched in late November 1631. Accustomed to river life in the Low Countries, the new Dutch residents were not even fazed when the Capibaribe River overflowed its banks in July 1633.

Soon after the energetic Maurits, Graaf van Nassau-Siegen, arrived as the new governor general, he found Recife's untidy clump of narrow houses on its crowded spit to be unsuitable as a capital. Brazilian natives suggested that Olinda might be rebuilt, while Dutch citizens proposed that an entirely new city be created on Itamaracá Island. Instead, Maurits opted to lay out a new city on the far side of Recife's anchorage, on low-lying Antônio Váz Island.

This marshy terrain was surveyed in 1638 by his personal architect, Pieter Post. An oblong grid of streets resulted, enclosed by ramparts. Locks were included to control river tides, because the ground stood only seven feet above water level. A canal and triangular inner basin were featured to permit boat access. A church was raised at the city core, shade trees were planted against the oppressive heat, and a cross-harbor ferry service was inaugurated with Recife. In honor of its founder, it was named Mauritsstad or "Maurits City," sometimes Latinized as Mauritia.

The count started construction in 1639 on a splendid villa, which became Vrijburg Palace. One of its twin towers served as the harbor lighthouse, the other as an observatory for the scientist Georg Markgraf, a favorite in Maurits's retinue. The villa's gardens eventually boasted thousands of rare trees, botanical specimens, ponds for raising fish and shellfish, a small zoo, and so on. When they learned of such grandiose schemes, the West India Company directors reprimanded Maurits for his extravagance, but took no further action as Vrijburg was paid for out of his private funds.

After Portugal revolted against Spain in December 1640, a truce was arranged in Europe the next June. Lisbon grudgingly recognized Dutch sovereignty over Pernambuco in exchange for assistance against Spain. Mauritsstad and Recife enjoyed another spurt of peaceful growth. In a goodwill gesture, the count allowed some Brazilian residents to resettle at Olinda. But Mauritsstad and Recife already had a combined population of almost 6,000 inhabitants. Bridges between both, and across to the mainland, were completed by early 1644.

Guarda, and *Carmen*. They are escorting seven merchantmen and a smaller *patache* or “tender.”

AUGUST 31, 1638. *Los Órganos*. At sunrise, the Dutch fleet steers in two squadrons toward the Spaniards, who form up in single column to await them near Los Órganos Keys, protecting the more distant convoy. De Ibarra’s *San Mateo* is soon grappled by Jol’s *Salamander*—seconded by the *Wapen van Rotterdam* and the *Tholen*—while de Ursúa’s *San Marcos* is attacked by Roosendaal’s vice-flagship and the Dutch rear admiral Jan Mast engages Sancho de Urdanivia’s 20-gun *Carmen* (which is prominently displaying two pennants, giving the impression that it is another flagship). A fierce eight-hour battle rages in which the huge Spanish men-of-war acquit themselves well, repulsing every attempt at boarding. Both Roosendaal and Mast are killed, after which de Ursúa’s *San Marcos* moves to the aid of de Ibarra’s flagship, obliging Jol to retire three miles out of range.

The Dutch admiral is furious to learn that many of his ships have not joined but remained in the middle distance viewing the battle. Jol reproves the recalcitrant captains and attempts to renew the engagement an hour later, only to notice the same reluctance, so he abandons his second attack before nightfall. The Dutch suffer approximately 50 dead and 150 wounded this day, as opposed to 82 dead and 134 injured among their Spanish opponents. Both fleets also sustain considerable damage so spend the next two days repairing their ships within sight of each other. Jol tries to resume the fight on September 3 with 13 ships, but the Spaniards now enjoy the wind, and some Dutch commanders remain as laggard as before. Only the crippled *Carmen* is further damaged before the Dutch draw off at the approach of de Ibarra’s menacing *San Mateo*. The rescued galleon, with 20 dead and 28 wounded, seeks refuge in nearby Bahía Honda, from where it will eventually be escorted into Havana by two Cuban coast-guard galleys.

De Ibarra persists in trying to gain Havana until the afternoon of September 5, when he reverses course to sail across the Gulf of Mexico and seek sanctuary in Veracruz. Jol’s ships remain off Cuba until September 17, when they cruise as far west as the Órganos, vainly searching for their vanished prey. The Spanish treasure fleet enters Veracruz one week later, amid great rejoicing at their safe delivery. When word of this action reaches Madrid, de Ibarra is elevated to the title of Marqués de Taracena. Jol

meanwhile sends one of his squadrons back to Brazil and allows another to prowl through the Caribbean; he returns to Holland with his remaining ships. There he is awarded a gold chain and medal for his efforts, while seven of his captains are court-martialed for cowardice.

JANUARY 1639. Some 46 Hispano-Portuguese ships reach Baía de Todos os Santos under the Portuguese admiral Fernando de Mascarenhas, Conde da Torre, bearing 5,000 reinforcements for Brazil. However, another 3,000 have succumbed during their lengthy transatlantic passage, prompting da Torre to ignore his instructions for an immediate assault against Dutch Recife in favor of recuperating his men’s health at São Salvador and training Brazilian auxiliaries for an offensive the next year.

FEBRUARY 1639. A group of Dutch rovers raid Guanaja Island, north of Trujillo (Honduras).

JULY–AUGUST 1639. Dutch raiders prowl along northern Honduras, landing at Puerto Cabellos or Caballos (today Puerto Cortés) before coasting westward to the Ulúa River and Omoa, clashing briefly against a Spanish landholder and his retainers. The rovers then proceed into Amatique Bay where a 20-man sloop even penetrates Golfo Dulce—Golfete—to forage, until opposed by the merchant bark of Francisco Santillán.

SEPTEMBER 1639. Two Dutch privateers appear off Utila Island (Honduras), landing to set fire to its tiny Spanish settlement. They then visit a like treatment upon Roatán, frightening its few Spanish inhabitants into fleeing across to the mainland. Over the next few years, these uninhabited islands become an increasingly popular haven for poachers, smugglers, and pirates.

LATE 1639. A lone Dutch ship, supported on land by Indian allies, attacks the Portuguese garrison holding Fort Santo Antônio do Gurupá in the Amazon Delta, being repelled by the defenders commanded by João Pedro de Cáceres.

JANUARY 12, 1640. *Itamaracá*. Having sortied from Baía de Todos os Santos, Admiral Conde da Torre appears this morning off Pau Amarelo Beach with 87 Hispano-Portuguese ships. They steer for the northern point of Itamaracá Island and Goiana to disembark 1,200 troops under *mestre de campo*

Barbalho Bezerra and challenge the Dutch hold over Pernambuco before proceeding toward Europe with the annual Brazilian sugar convoy. Da Torre's battle fleet is comprised of 23 Portuguese warships under Adm. Francisco de Melo e Castro and Vice Adm. Cosme do Couto Barbosa, plus 18 Spanish men-of-war under Adm. Juan de la Vega y Bazán (soon to be appointed governor of Panama) and Vice Adm. Francisco Díaz Pimienta.

Before any disembarkation can be effected, however, 20 Dutch ships emerge from Recife, under Adm. Willem Corneliszoon Loos and Vice Adm. Jacob Huygens, to engage this formation by 3:00 p.m. that same afternoon as it straggles past Ponta de Pedras Beach. Although the action soon degenerates into a confused melee, with Loos being killed after three hours, his second-in-command continues the pursuit the next day from Goiana as far as Cabo Branco and, on January 14, fights another pitched battle against the Hispano-Portuguese fleet off the Paraíba River mouth, capturing the Portuguese galleon of Capt. Antônio da Cunha Andrade with its 250-man crew. A Spanish vessel runs aground on some reefs and is boarded by the men from the dead Loos's flagship *Zwaan*, which also sinks. Another Dutch ship is lost, along with a total of 106 men of the Dutch force.

Although these are the only losses incurred on either side, the battles are regarded as a Dutch victory because the Hispano-Portuguese formation is compelled to divide and continue northwestward without touching land. They withstand another pounding off Cunhaú on January 17 before the Portuguese finally deposit their troops at Touros and Pipa bays near Cape São Roque in Rio Grande do Norte province—much too far away to pose any danger to the Dutch colony in Pernambuco—and then stand out into the Atlantic for the Azores and Europe, while some of the Spanish vessels sheer off for Cumaná. Huygens's dispersed Dutch vessels regroup off the Potengi River mouth and return triumphantly into Recife by February 1. The Portuguese admiral da Torre is arrested and stripped of his titles upon reaching Spain, charged with not doing his utmost during this campaign—further embittering Hispano-Portuguese relations. Barbalho Bezerra meanwhile takes four months to trudge back into Salvador with his small army.

FEBRUARY 20, 1640. Dutch raiders from the Wild Coast penetrate the Orinoco River, torching Santo Tomé (Venezuela). The Spaniards reconstruct

their town once more and two and a half years later receive veteran captain Martín de Mendoza from Trinidad as its new governor.

MARCH 26, 1640. Some 28 Dutch ships, manned by 2,500 soldiers and sailors, arrive at Recife from Holland under the shared leadership of admirals Jol and Lichthart; the former is to exercise seniority during Caribbean operations, the latter during Brazilian ones, as Lichthart is an experienced officer who speaks fluent Portuguese, having lived for many years in Lisbon as well as having previously been stationed in Pernambuco (*see* "December 8, 1633" entry).

Shortly thereafter, Lichthart departs with 1,300 men aboard his squadron to cruise southwestward and raid São Salvador, destroying 27 sugar mills throughout its fertile Recôncavo hinterland before returning into Recife by June. Jol then prepares the entire fleet to hunt a Spanish treasure convoy in the Caribbean.

JULY 4, 1640. A small Dutch colonizing expedition returns to the Unare River (*see* "August 25, 1633" entry) to reestablish the Dutch claim over its salt pans. Although not numerous, this group is well organized, arriving with a prefabricated 22-gun fortress with 60 musket-slits, which they assemble ashore within a week.

JULY 14, 1640. Jol departs Recife with 2,000 sailors and 1,700 soldiers manning his flagship *Salamander*, Lichthart's flagship *Aemilia*, Vice Adm. Bartel Wouters's *Middelburg*, the *Witte Leeuw*, the *Witte Eenhoorn*, the *Alkmaar*, the *Goeree*, the *Utrecht*, the *Zaaijer*, the *Tijger van Amsterdam*, the *Keizerin*, the *Graaf Ernst* (or the *Ernestus*), the *Sint Pieter*, the *Nassau*, the *Kampen*, the *Bol van Hoorn*, the *Haas*, the *Maagd van Enkhuizen*, the *Regenboog*, the *Schop*, the *Tijger van Rotterdam*, the *Leiderdorp*, and the *Cattenbau*. It is Jol's aim to enter the Caribbean and steal upon Cuba, again intercepting a homeward-bound Spanish plate fleet. By August 10, he reaches Ile à Vache (Haiti), pausing a week to refresh provisions before proceeding to his familiar hunting grounds off Havana.

AUGUST 26, 1640. At the Unare River (Venezuela), a Spanish force under Capt. Juan de Orpín or Urpín launches a dawn assault against its newly re-established Dutch fortification. The attackers consist of 80 militiamen from the town of Nueva Barcelona,

40 from Nueva Tarragona, plus numerous native allies. Daunted by its imposing appearance, de Orpín deliberately makes his initial attack with a single weak column, keeping two others in hiding. When this initial force breaks and scatters, the Dutch sally from behind their walls, only to be surprised by the hidden companies and engulfed in a general melee. Francisco Tiquisper, the son of a *cacique* or Indian chieftain, distinguishes himself during this action by personally slaying five Dutchmen.

Once out in the open, the Dutch cannot disengage and must rush forth reinforcements for an action in which they are heavily outnumbered and beyond the protection of their walls. The day ends with a crushing Spanish victory, 100 Dutchmen being slaughtered compared to 17 dead and 14 wounded among the attackers. De Orpín's men pour into the fort, and the surviving Dutch set it ablaze and flee aboard their ships, standing out to sea. The Spaniards extinguish the flames, then leave a garrison behind to hold the place and prevent future Dutch reoccupations.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1640. Jol arrives off northwestern Cuba with 36 sail, having been reinforced during his Caribbean crossing by two yachts from Curaçao, plus 10 privateers. Detaching three vessels to watch over Cape San Antonio and Florida's Dry Tortugas, Jol reorganizes his remaining fleet into squadrons of 7 ships and 4 yachts apiece under his own flag, plus Lichthart's and Wouters's. The Dutch then send a single vessel two days later to look into Havana, confirming that no plate fleet has yet arrived, before settling down to their blockade.

The new Spanish governor, Álvaro de Luna Sarmiento, Knight of the Order of Alcántara, has already learned of Jol's approach, however, and written to warn the treasure fleet commanders at Veracruz and Cartagena. Thus Jol cruises unavailingly until the afternoon of September 11, when his fleet is struck by a hurricane out of the north-northwest. After it blows itself out four days later, seven of his ships are gone: three being driven deep into the Old Bahama Channel while the *Alkmaar*, the *Bol van Hoorn*, the *Keizerin*, and the *Cattenbao* lie wrecked on the coast between Havana and Mariel.

The *sargento mayor* or "garrison commander" Lucas Carvajal is delegated by de Luna to extract salvage from their remains, returning into the capital with 261 Dutch prisoners, 17 bronze cannon, 48 iron guns, and assorted equipment retrieved from around Jarmanita, Bagne, Mosquitos, and Herra-

dura. Jol attempts to ransom his countrymen one week later, on September 20, then quits his blockade altogether by September 28. Pausing at Matanzas to refresh, the Dutch admiral sends foraging parties inland until October 7, when his fleet exits the Florida Strait for Pernambuco.

DECEMBER 1, 1640. Portugal revolts against Spanish rule, proclaiming the 8th Duke of Bragança as King João IV in place of Philip IV. The 60-year-old union with Spain has never been popular with the masses, although some Portuguese nobility and bourgeoisie supported it at first for the security it afforded their empire and the possibilities of tapping into the markets of Mexico and Peru. Spain's decline by 1640 is so palpable, however, that its military support is useless, while Portuguese merchants are systematically being excluded from the Americas. Added to these complaints are the centralizing tendencies of the chief minister at Madrid—Gaspar de Guzmán, Conde-Duque de Olivares—who seeks to subordinate Portugal's administration to that of Castile while steeply elevating taxes to meet Spanish needs.

The Dutch initially greet news of this Portuguese rebellion with enthusiasm, expecting the latter to become their natural allies against Spain; yet this hope soon founders upon the realization that Holland will be expected to restore the Portuguese territories that it has seized during the war.

FEBRUARY 26, 1641. Having sortied from Havana to Cape Corrientes earlier this month to chase away any Dutch interlopers prowling off Cuba's shoreline, the battle fleet of Adms. Gerónimo Gómez de Sandoval and Juan de Vega Bazán has circled around the southern coast to within sight of the port of Cabañas. At 4:00 a.m. the next day, 17 Dutch vessels appear. They pause to form up into battle formation and then charge into the waiting Spaniards five hours later.

The 54-gun Dutch flagship drives its bowsprit straight into the rigging of Gómez de Sandoval's 860-ton flagship *San Marcos*, and a three-hour exchange ensues. The Spaniards aboard note how their opponent has "many people on deck, a thing not seen on a ship from Holland." The *San Marcos* suffers 23 killed and 50 wounded, among the latter being its captain, Francisco de Araya. Vega Bazán's vice-flagship also endures 31 casualties, among them its captain, Pedro de Ursúa. The galleon of Capt. Sancho de Urdanivia furthermore displays two flags

prominently throughout this engagement, so it is heavily attacked as well.

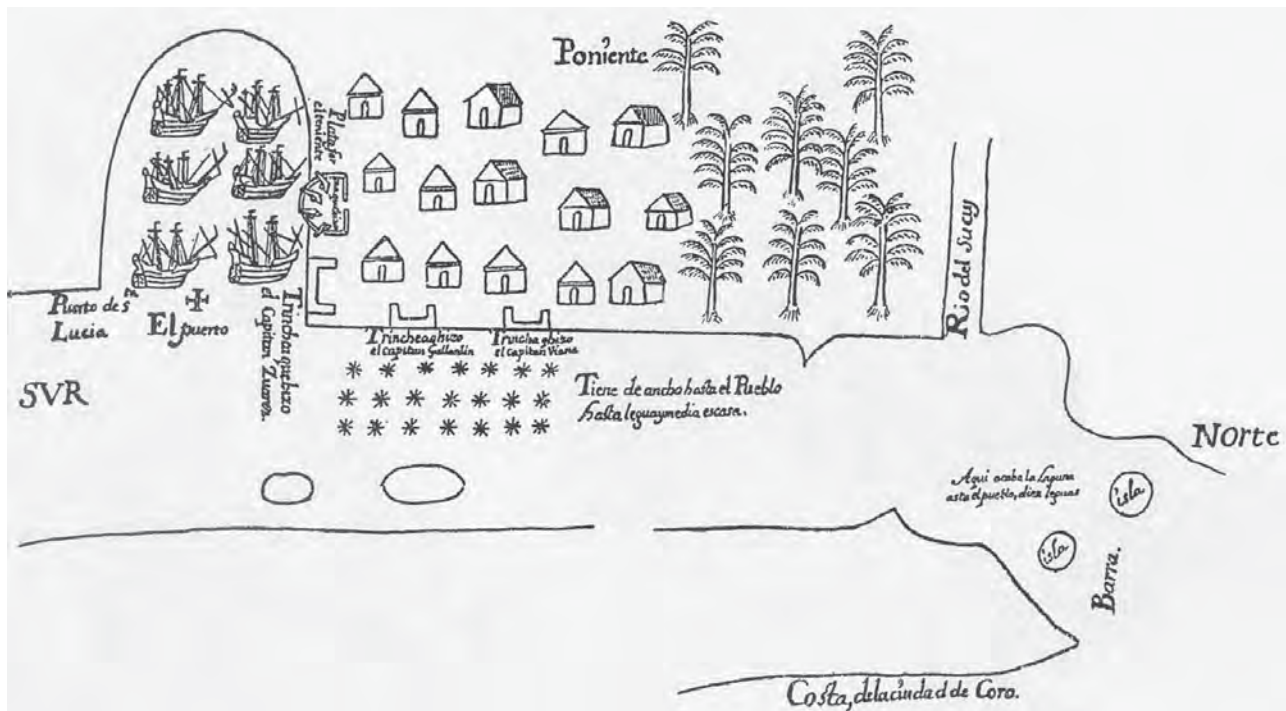
Action is broken off, and the Spaniards circle back around the island toward Havana. On March 3, they are overtaken off Mariel by 13 of their Dutch pursuers and engaged for a second time at 3:00 p.m. Urdanivia's galleon lags behind and becomes surrounded by five Dutch vessels, obliging the main Spanish force to turn back to its rescue. Gómez de Sandoval's flagship endures another eight dead and four wounded before the Spaniards win free. The vice-flagship suffers another 30 casualties, the galleon of Capt. Jacinto Meléndez, a further 25, and 22 casualties occur aboard the *Gallega*, including Don Luis de Nava, Knight of the Order of Santiago.

MAY 30, 1641. Despite hospitably receiving Portuguese and Brazilian peace emissaries at his capital of Recife, Governor-General Maurits vigorously continues prosecuting Holland's war effort by dispatching an expedition of 20 ships, manned by 850 sailors and more than 2,000 soldiers (including 240 Indians) under Jol and Vice Admiral Huygens, to seize Portugal's slaving depots in Angola before any treaty can be officially concluded back in Europe—thereby greatly outraging Portuguese sentiment.

JUNE 12, 1641. In Europe, a 10-year truce is arranged between Portugal and the Netherlands, which is to go into effect in Brazil six months after both governments have ratified it.

OCTOBER 15, 1641. Sack of Gibraltar. Four Dutch men-of-war of 20, 14, 8, and 4 guns apiece—plus a Spanish prize sloop, intercepted as it arrives from Jamaica—appear off Maracaibo's bar under Commo. Hendrik Gerritz. This expedition of 250–275 men has been sent by the new governor of Curaçao, Jan Claeszoon van Campen (a prisoner of the Spaniards eight years previously on Sint Maarten; see "June 24, 1633" entry), to raid the Spanish Main because its defenses are seriously weakened following a massive earthquake on June 11. After seizing a tiny vessel performing salvage work, under Vicente Viaña and Mateo Corneles, on a recently wrecked Spanish frigate just inside this bar, Gerritz works his 20-gun flagship *Neptune* and four consorts across, to approach Maracaibo (then called Nueva Zamora) by Friday, October 18.

Instead of immediately storming its walls, Gerritz bypasses this place the next morning, hurrying across the Laguna in hopes of falling upon the southeastern town of San Antonio de Gibraltar, whose rich tobacco crop has just been harvested.



Modern rendering from a crude sketch (not drawn to scale) of Maracaibo and its anchorage in July 1631; north is toward the right. Note how the bar across its lake entrance is featured at lower right, although it actually lies more than 20 miles from the city. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

Two other Spanish boats are intercepted that same afternoon, and another the next day (June 20), which the Dutch incorporate into their flotilla in place of *Viaña's* prize, which is burned. After landing briefly at Barbacoas de Moporo to plunder, Gerristz presses on toward Gibraltar, encountering Diego Suárez's 6-gun vessel, which has been sent out to reconnoiter. Gerristz chases it into the shallows, where it runs aground and is abandoned, after which the Dutch arrive before Gibraltar. They storm ashore the next morning with 200 men, encountering scant opposition as Gov. Félix Fernández de Guzmán and the citizenry flee inland. Gerristz spends the next five days stripping Gibraltar's outlying districts of tobacco and cacao, as well as refloating Suárez's vessel and incorporating it into his flotilla.

Reversing course after torching Gibraltar, Gerristz visits a like treatment upon the villages of Moporo and Tomocoro before reappearing off Maracaibo the morning of October 31. Its garrison of 230 Spanish militiamen, 120 native auxiliaries, and three artillery pieces is now well prepared to resist under Deputy Gov. Francisco Corneles Briceño, and a heated artillery exchange ensues between 11:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m., until Gerristz sends a flag-of-truce inshore to propose a ceasefire. The Spaniards refuse, loosing off two more shots, but the battle is effectively over. The Dutch hover out of range until nightfall, when they set their prisoners ashore and sail back out of the Laguna three days later. The provincial governor, Ruy Fernández de Fuenmayor (see "January 4, 1634" in "Other Colonial Struggles"), organizes a belated relief force of 100 Spanish troops and 400 Indian auxiliaries at La Guaira and Coro to be shipped aboard three frigates, although this expedition is soon cancelled.

NOVEMBER 24, 1641. *Seizure of Maranhão.* Despite the impending Luso-Dutch rapprochement in Europe, an expedition of 13 ships, 3 brigantines, and 3 minor vessels manned by 1,000 sailors under Lichthart—dispatched from Recife by Maurits—stands into São Marcos Bay and disembarks 1,000 troops under Col. Pieter Baas to seize the Captaincy of Maranhão. The next day, these invaders fight their way into its capital of São Luis via the Desterro Gate, which along with Fort São Filipe is completely unprepared and falls easily despite the efforts of Governor Maciel Parente, captains Francisco de Carvalho and Paulo Soares de Avelar, as well as the gunner Matias João. The Dutch thereby gain control over the entire island of São Luis and the fertile

lowlands along the Itapicuru River to its southeast, hence now occupying more than 1,000 continuous miles of Brazilian coastline.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1642. The refugee plantation owner and former regional governor Antônio Muniz Barreiros, seconded by the militia officers Antônio Teixeira de Melo and Soares de Avelar, initiate a rural revolt against the Dutch occupiers of the Captaincy of Maranhão, overrunning several plantations along the Itapicuru River banks before surprising and massacring 300 defenders at Fort Monte Calvário.

Colonel Baas checks these insurgents' advance against the capital of São Luis during a clash on November 21 at Outeiro da Cruz on the Cutim River yet nonetheless must retreat inside the city to await reinforcements, which appear in the form of 500 men aboard seven ships from Recife. Muniz Barreiros's forces, meanwhile, are increased by 113 Portuguese soldiers and more than 700 native warriors sent by the governor Pedro de Albuquerque of neighboring Pará.

OCTOBER 5, 1642. *Bonaire Counterraid.* In retaliation for Gerristz's foray, Governor Fernández raises (with considerable difficulty) a force of 300 reluctant troops—half Spanish militiamen, half native auxiliaries—to venture out of Caracas and attack Bonaire and Curaçao. Arriving off the former island on the night of October 5 in rough seas, his expedition almost ends disastrously when many boats capsize during the disembarkation. An arduous march toward the distant Dutch stronghold follows. Bonaire's 40-man garrison is so frightened, however, that they set fire to their fort and retreat aboard a single ship, sailing away to advise the newly installed governor of Curaçao, Pieter Stuyvesant.

Fernández remains at Bonaire until October 17, wreaking havoc and slaughtering many horses and cattle to hinder future Dutch reoccupation. He then returns into La Guaira without attacking Curaçao, his strength now being enfeebled by drownings and disease, plus having lost the element of surprise.

LATE NOVEMBER 1642. Seeking to avenge the Spanish attack on Bonaire, Stuyvesant sends a pair of Dutch ships under Captain "Jacob" to assault Puerto Cabello, where they sink four Spanish frigates. A second descent farther west against Coro and adjacent Cape San Román during the second week of December proves less successful, because the

marauders are checked by 18 Spanish militiamen and 50 Indian allies under the *maestre de campo* Joaquín de Velgara. Despite this, the Dutch rustle 2,500 cattle, sheep, and goats to help restock Bonaire.

EARLY JANUARY 1643. Muniz Barreiros's Brazilian insurgents advance out of the Itapicuru River lowlands to besiege the outnumbered Dutch occupiers inside Fort São Filipe, the citadel guarding the anchorage at the provincial capital of São Luis do Maranhão. Baas launches a sally with 420 Dutch troops and 160 native allies, which is repelled after two hours of hard fighting, although Muniz Barreiros is wounded during this clash and dies of his injury on January 16. He is succeeded by his second-in-command, Teixeira de Melo, who maintains a close investiture of the Dutch citadel by fortifying São Luis's Carmelite monastery opposite it. Although confined to their shoreline keep, the garrison remains stubbornly in place for another year, as Dutch mastery over the sea keeps them regularly supplied through São Marcos Bay.

MAY 3, 1643. *Brouwer's Failed Colony.* The WIC ships *Amsterdam*, *Eendracht*, *Vlissingen*, and *Dolfijn* appear off the Chiloé Archipelago, hoping to establish a base among its Araucan natives. The expedition arrives with several engineers, assorted construction materials, and 92 cannon to erect a stronghold capable of resisting Spanish counterattacks.

Its commander, Hendrik Brouwer, has quit Texel on November 6, 1642, with the *Amsterdam*, the *Eendracht*, and the *Vlissingen*, touching at Pernambuco to refresh supplies and gain another two ships—one of which, the *Oranje*, then being lost—before putting to sea again on January 15, 1643, to round Cape Horn.

The Dutch begin their South Pacific sojourn by seizing the tiny Spanish outpost at Carelmapu, then on June 6 disembark a force of musketeers and pikemen near Castro in southern Chile. Gov. Francisco de Herrera attempts to resist with a body of horsemen, only to be killed, after which his followers scatter. Brouwer remains in possession of this town until August 17, when he succumbs to disease. His successor, Elias Herckemans, continues the Dutch progression north toward Valdivia, backed by his Araucan allies. Illness and discord, however, drain his forces. The Dutch therefore dig in instead, erecting a small fort and 60 houses near the seashore.

They remain here for almost a year, enduring want and occasional clashes with the natives. Finally

its survivors sail away, reaching Recife by October 28, 1644. Shortly thereafter, a Peruvian expedition arrives aboard 13 vessels to occupy the abandoned fortification in Chile, installing a 700-man garrison under the *maestre de campo* Alfonso de Villanueva Soberal.

NOVEMBER 25, 1643. Charles Poncet, Seigneur de Brétigny, arrives off the Guianese coast with 400 Norman colonists from Rouen, raised by his Compagnie du Cap Nord or "North Cape Company." This expedition disembarks in the estuary called Mahoury or Mahury, finding five Frenchmen already living there, plus a few Dutch settlers occupying the "Mont Cépérou" height farther northwest, which commands the best anchorage.

Legend has it that Cépérou was the name of the local Galibi chieftain who had originally ceded this spot to the Dutch settlers. Poncet soon reaches a like accommodation with his son "Caïenne" or Cayenne and so is allowed to install his own colony. Plots are distributed, and a temporary Capuchin temple is even erected at "Montabo" on modern Conobé Bay.

But the sweltering heat, epidemics, and starvation will lead to a revolt against Brétigny's hard-fisted rule on March 4, 1644, after which some 60 of his disgruntled followers emigrate to join the more promising Anglo-Dutch settlement at Suriname. Freed from incarceration two and a half months later, Brétigny cannot stem the deterioration of his reduced colony and is killed during an Indian insurrection on June 14, 1645. Some 40 survivors eventually flee to the West Indian island of Saint Kitts, leaving behind another 30 scattered members.

FEBRUARY 28, 1644. After being closely besieged by Portuguese guerrilla forces for more than a year within Fort São Filipe on the fringe of the devastated capital of the northern Brazilian province of Maranhão, its Dutch garrison finally decides to withdraw. Some 450 WIC soldiers and personnel therefore set sail from São Luis for Curaçao under David Adam Wiltshut, arriving there during the first week of April. When provisions on that island also begin to run scarce as a consequence of this unexpected influx, many of the soldiers are shipped farther north to New Netherland (modern New York State) to assist its regional director or "governor," Willem Kieft, in his Indian campaigns.

In Brazil, meanwhile, the Portuguese success in Maranhão—coupled with a diminished aura of

Dutch invincibility—inspires native unrest in the occupied Captaincy of Ceará, where Gideon Morritz is massacred along with his small garrison.

MARCH 20, 1644. *Stuyvesant's Defeat.* Gov. Pieter Stuyvesant of Curaçao leads five large Dutch vessels, a pink, and two tenders on a campaign to reconquer the former WIC base of Sint Maarten. After pausing at Saint Kitts to recruit English and French volunteers, he arrives off the eastern shores of Sint Maarten at dawn on March 20. He is accompanied by a half-dozen merchantmen vessels, which continue northward while Stuyvesant's squadron veers inshore to bombard the lone Spanish fortification, then anchor nearby and disembark several hundred troops. The Dutch spend the next two days installing a three-gun battery atop some heights before calling upon the Spanish governor Diego Guajardo Fajardo on March 22 to lay down his arms. Despite low morale, poor equipment, and insufficient rations, the 120-man Spanish garrison refuses to surrender; Stuyvesant, therefore, initiates a long-range bombardment the next dawn.

A chance Spanish countershot destroys the Dutch commander's right leg while he is standing beside his battery, requiring Stuyvesant to be carried back aboard ship for amputation below the knee. This injury leaves his small army leaderless, undermining their resolve. Nevertheless, on the night of March 31–April 1, an assault column steals under cover of darkness toward the Spanish positions—almost escaping the sentinels' detection because all are musketeers (hence carrying no lit cords). Once discovered, however, a firefight erupts and lasts until dawn, during which at least five Dutch attackers are killed as opposed to a single Spaniard. A second, even more half-hearted attempt is made at 9:00 p.m. on April 3, which is easily repelled; no further assaults are made. On the night of April 15–16, a Puerto Rican coaster under the *sargento mayor* Baltasar de Alfaro lands refreshments for Guajardo's garrison, snapping the besiegers' will. The attackers retire to their ships, and a Dutch rearguard blows up the siege-guns and fires the encampments on April 17, after which the flotilla departs toward Sint Eustatius, then Curaçao. Stuyvesant eventually departs for Holland in August to convalesce from his wound.

On Sint Maarten, meanwhile, the Spaniards— notwithstanding their victory—are more reluctant than ever to remain in such an exposed outpost, being seldom resupplied or reinforced. Consequently, they request evacuation from the Puerto Rican

governor, Francisco de la Riva Agüero, Knight of the Order of Santiago, who finally complies three years later.

MAY 23, 1644. Count Maurits departs Recife for Holland, his administration of Netherlandic Brazil ending in economic depression and simmering unrest.

AUGUST 27, 1644. The Portuguese officer André Vidal de Negreiros visits Recife, ostensibly making a courtesy call whilst en route to Bahia but actually bearing secret instructions from King João IV to foment a local uprising. Despite the uneasy accommodation reached three years previously between Lisbon and The Hague—whereby the former has agreed to recognize Dutch sovereignty in Brazil in exchange for supporting Portugal in its rebellion against Spain—sentiment in Brazil is coalescing in favor of expelling the Dutch, an objective that the Portuguese king also desires but cannot openly embrace while still embroiled in hostilities against the Spaniards.

MAY 23, 1645. Eighteen Pernambucan conspirators secretly meet under the leadership of 43-year-old João Fernandes Vieira, a Madeira-born mulatto planter, planning to initiate a revolt against Dutch rule on June 24—São João Day on the Church calendar, feast day of the Portuguese monarch. By inviting top Dutch officials to attend a fake wedding ceremony, they hope to capture the occupiers' high command at a single stroke, after which other rebels under the Tabatinga plantation-owner Amador de Araújo and the black leader Agostinho Domingos Fagundes will draw troops out of Recife by threatening the southern strongholds of Ipojuca and Cape Santo Agostinho, thereby clearing the way for another column under Antônio Dias Cardoso to seize the undefended capital.

JUNE 13, 1645. The plot being hatched is betrayed to the Dutch. When they order his arrest, Fernandes Vieira is compelled to flee prematurely into the interior with 50 companions to begin raising rebel forces. Four days later, de Araújo and Fagundes initiate the actual insurrection by advancing with 400 volunteers and taking the WIC headquarters at Ipojuca, fortifying themselves inside its monastery until chased out by the approach of a 500-man Dutch counterexpedition out of Recife under Lt. Col. Hendrik van Haus (also spelled Hous). Another 300 Dutch troops under

Major Blaer are also sweeping through the back-bay area known as the Várzea, while a third 100-man company probes northward under Paul de Linge.

Van Haus vainly pursues the elusive guerrillas of Fagundes and de Araújo from Ipojuca, a diversion that allows some 2,400 undisciplined, ill-armed volunteers to rally over the next month and a half under Fernandes Vieira at Covas, the leaders often bickering over the next course of action.

JUNE 28, 1645. Two Portuguese regiments totaling 800 men under the veteran officers Soares Moreno and Vidal de Negreiros disembark at Tamandaré, having been sent from Bahia by the governor general Antônio Teles da Silva—supposedly to help the Dutch quell the rebellion in the province of Pernambuco but actually to provide the insurrection with covert support.

The escort squadron of eight Portuguese warships under the 51-year-old admiral Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides remains at anchor until August 11, when it appears outside Recife and calls upon its garrison to surrender. The ships continue two days later toward Lisbon with the annual Brazilian sugar convoy.

JULY 31, 1645. *Tabocas.* After being visited at Covas by messengers sent by the Petiguar Indian chief-tain Antônio Filipe Camarão of the Captaincy of Paraíba promising that he will soon join them with his small army of native warriors, the main rebel body under Fernandes Vieira and his professional second-in-command Capt. Antônio Dias Cardoso learn that the Dutch column of van Haus is drawing near in pursuit of Fagundes's and de Araújo's guerrillas. The insurgents therefore break camp and proceed to Tabocas Hill—the highest point in the Comocim Range, 30 miles outside Recife—where Dias Cardoso hopes to lure the pursuers into a disadvantageous encounter.

After deploying his 1,600 men into prepared positions, camouflaged behind dense foliage, the Portuguese officer is informed on August 3 that the Dutch are approaching, so he sends skirmishers forward under Capt. João Nunes da Mata to draw the 400–500 pursuers and their 300 Tapuia allies into the trap. As van Haus's column fords the Tapacurá River that afternoon, Fagundes strikes with 40 of his guerrillas and draws them toward the dense vegetation at the foot of Tabocas Hill, where Capt. João Gomes de Melo's 25 concealed musketeers suddenly open fire at point-blank range. When the Dutch charge into the vegetation, they blunder into

a second hidden line of two-dozen musketeers under Capt. Jerônimo Cunha do Amaral, and then a third ambushcade of 40 musketeers under Capt. João Paes Cabral.

Stung, the Dutch retreat back out into open country to regroup. Fagundes emerges from the foliage with 80 of his guerrillas and goads them into penetrating the underbrush once more. Unable to use their superior firepower and discipline to full advantage in such confinement, the attackers are defeated after four hours of heavy fighting, leaving behind more than 100 dead. Van Haus withdraws at sundown, sending his wounded back to Recife, while leading his 250 surviving Dutch troops and 200 Tapuia allies to Casa Forte mill. Brazilian losses total only 33 dead and 30 wounded, for Dias Cardoso's strategy has ensured that his 1,350-man reserve—which does not bear firearms and is led by the priest Simão de Figueiredo—remains unengaged throughout this clash.

AUGUST 10, 1645. The victorious army of Fernandes Vieira and Dias Cardoso unites at Gurjaú with the approaching guerrilla contingents of Henrique Dias and Camarão. Six days afterward they meet up with the Portuguese troops of Soares Moreno and Vidal de Negreiros at Cape Santo Agostinho, who have in the interim helped Capt. Paulo da Cunha Souto Maior subdue the Dutch outpost at Sirinhaém.

The next day, this combined host closes in on van Haus's outnumbered survivors at Casa Forte mill, their initial assault nonetheless being checked and resulting in the death of Fagundes and the serious wounding of Henrique Dias. Still, the odds are so prohibitive that the 250 Dutchmen feel compelled to surrender on condition that they will be deported to Europe; their 200 Tapuia allies are slaughtered.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1645. Inspired by the successful revolt in Pernambuco, Brazilians in the occupied Captaincy of Paraíba also rise up against the Dutch. Porto Calvo surrenders on September 17, and Fort Maurits, on the São Francisco River, surrenders the next day; furthermore, the Moradores of Sergipe del Rey revolt on September 22. All of these reverses mean that the Dutch lose control over most of Brazil's sugar-producing lands, and their 7,000 nationals become largely confined to Recife and its immediate vicinity, with only a handful of ships arriving from the Netherlands over the ensuing winter months to keep them supplied.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1645. The garrison holding Fort van der Dussen—formerly Fort Nazaré—at Cape Santo Agostinho surrenders without firing a shot, for its commander, Col. Dirck Hoogstraaten, is now a convert to Catholicism and a planter. He thus switches allegiance to the Brazilian cause.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1645. A Dutch fleet under Licht-hart attacks 14 Portuguese caravels and 2 lesser craft that have returned across the Atlantic into Tamarandá under Vice Adm. Jerônimo Serrão de Paiva, annihilating this formation. Ten caravels are burned and three others carried into Recife as prizes, while only one manages to escape. More importantly, hidden papers are discovered aboard the captive Portuguese flagship, revealing King João IV's complicity in the Pernambucan revolt, which the Dutch angrily publish.

OCTOBER 1645. To counter the revelation of Portugal's secret involvement and to justify their revolt, the Pernambucan rebels circulate a manifesto abroad that luridly complains of atrocities and abuses suffered under the Dutch West India Company and its Tapuia allies.

NOVEMBER 1645. News of the duplicity behind the insurrections in Brazil reaches The Hague, complicating the negotiations of the Portuguese ambassador Francisco de Souza Coutinho, whose house is threatened by Dutch mobs.

JANUARY 1, 1646. The turncoat Colonel Hoogstraaten, having erected a new fort called Arraial do Bom Jesus on the Capibaribe River banks, has the fort's artillery ceremoniously fire its first volley, signaling the imposition of a new siege of the Dutch within nearby Recife.

MAY 1646. Once the long winter in Europe breaks, a fleet of 20 ships bearing 2,000 troops under colonels von Schoppe and James Henderson departs the Netherlands to relieve the beleaguered Dutch outpost at Recife. The city's half-starved citizens are overjoyed to behold the supply ships *Goude Valk* and *Elisabeth* finally standing into their bay on June 22, followed by the rest of this straggling convoy over that ensuing month.

FEBRUARY 4, 1647. Some 26 Dutch ships sortie from Recife with 2,400 men under Colonel von Schoppe to occupy Itaparicá Island in Baía de Todos

os Santos and raid its rich Recôncavo hinterland, as retaliation for their own lost sugar production in Pernambuco. The initial Dutch disembarkation on February 24 is contained by local Portuguese forces under the governor general Teles da Silva, but an ensuing counterattack by 1,200 Portuguese troops on March 10 is bloodily repulsed, resulting in more than 600 deaths. A second assault on the night of March 17–18 meets the same fate; consequently, the defenders refrain from direct attempts to dislodge von Schoppe's foothold at the island's northern extremity, his anchorage off the Paraguaçu River mouth being well protected by Fortress Sint Laurens (in Portuguese, the Fortaleza de São Lourenço).

MARCH 26, 1647. Appointed by the Portuguese king as *mestre de campo general* or supreme land commander for the Pernambucan revolt, the 31-year-old Peruvian-born Col. Francisco Barreto de Meneses of the Alentejo Cavalry Regiment sets sail from Salvador with a small force aboard five caravels and two pinnaces. Upon approaching his destination on

The Blauvelts' Cruises

In the spring of 1646, Capt. Willem Albertszoon Blauvelt returned into New Amsterdam (modern New York City) with his 6-gun, 50-man privateer *La Garce*. Fresh from its latest Caribbean cruise, it brought in the prize *San Antonio* of Havana, seized with a cargo of sugar and tobacco in the Bay of Campeche. The year before, Blauvelt had returned with two Spanish ships on April 27, 1645, loaded with tobacco, wine, sugar, and ebony. His shipowners profited so nicely that new investors quickly bought shares and sent the *La Garce* back out in December 1646. Another voyage would also be made in 1647.

The brothers Abraham and Willem Blauvelt, originally from Monnikendam near Amsterdam, had joined the English colony on Providencia Island as early as 1630. Three years later, they shifted over to the Central American coast when Sussex Carnock tried to establish a foothold at Cape Gracias a Dios. Although the Englishman gave up by June 1635, the Blauvelts created a small outpost farther south, at the mouth of the Escondido River. Abraham traveled to England in 1637 in a vain attempt to obtain a license for their new colony.

The next summer, Willem apparently sailed to New Amsterdam and obtained a privateering commission from the WIC. The *La Garce* cleared from there on its first cruise in September 1638.



Brazilian caboclo or mestizo militiaman, about 1641, by Albert Eckhout. (Etnografisk Samling, National Museum of Denmark)

May 6, though, they are intercepted by Dutch ships, and the pair of pinnaces is taken. Barreto de Meneses and his second-in-command, Filipe Bandeira de Melo, are both carried into Recife as prisoners.

AUGUST 1, 1647. At dawn, a Portuguese contingent under Capt. Francisco Rebelinho once again attempts to eject von Schoppe's bridgehead from Itaparicá Island in Baía de Todos os Santos, only to retreat in defeat.

AUGUST 10, 1647. After five months of debate, the States-General in Holland agree to finance a 12-ship, 6,000-man expedition to help the WIC retain its outposts in Brazil. Command is offered to the retired Count Nassau, who refuses unless the expedition is doubled in size—which it is not, so the veteran admiral Witte Corneliszoon de With is instead appointed.

OCTOBER 18, 1647. A Portuguese expedition of eight galleons, two frigates, three armed merchantmen, and two caravels sets sail from Lisbon with 1,000 seamen, 2,350 soldiers, and 462 volunteers under Brazil's new governor general designate Antônio Teles de Meneses, Conde de Vila Pouca de Aguiar, followed the next month by seven more ships and 600 men under Salvador de Sá.

NOVEMBER 7, 1647. A new Brazilian fort named Asseca, swiftly erected outside Recife within a span of 23 days, opens fire into the city, prompting its worried Dutch authorities to recall von Schoppe from his lengthy absence at Bahia.

DECEMBER 13–14, 1647. Von Schoppe's expedition demolishes Fortress Sint Laurens and forsakes its occupation of the northern point of Itaparicá Island, sailing out of Bahia to return into threatened Recife. The bombardment from Fort Asseca ceases shortly thereafter, the Portuguese having run out of heavy rounds.

JANUARY 23, 1648. After escaping from confinement in Recife on a dark night with their jailer's aid, Barreto de Meneses and his subordinate Bandeira de Melo reach the main Portuguese encampment at Arraial do Bom Jesus to assume overall command of the rebel forces operating under Vidal de Negreiros, the mulatto leader Fernandes Vieira, the black leader Dias, and the Indian chieftain Camarão.

JANUARY 30, 1648. Peace is officially concluded between the Netherlands and Spain by the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia at Münster. For Madrid, this accord represents the failure of its 80-year quest to subdue the Protestant Dutch rebels. This event is followed in October by the end to the Thirty Years' War in Central Europe—another strategic and religious setback for the Spaniards. Bankrupt and weak, they are left to fight on alone against Cardinal Jules Mazarin's resurgent France, while at the same time being hampered by revolt in Catalonia and hostility emanating from Portugal.

MARCH 18, 1648. Admiral de With reaches Recife with 17 scattered, storm-tossed warships and two-dozen consortships bearing 3,000 sailors and 3,000 soldiers. This reinforcement prompts the Dutch authorities, pent within the enclave, to begin planning on April 4 for a major sally out of their capital, which Barreto de Meneses in turn intends to counter by massing his troops for an all-out counterattack against the Dutch stronghold.

APRIL 16–17, 1648. *First Battle of Guararapes.* With music blaring and flags fluttering, von Schoppe begins crossing southward from Recife to Afogados shortly after midnight with 4,000 men in five regiments commanded by colonels Johan van de Brinck, Cornelis van den Brande, Adolph van Elst, Willem de Hautyn, and Pieter Heerweer. They are supported by 300 Tapuia auxiliaries and 700 black porters. Von Schoppe's immediate aim is to overrun the 86 men under Capt. Bartolomeu Soares Canhaio who are holding a redoubt at Barreta (the modern city's Boa Viagem suburb), then feint an attack against Arraial do Bom Jesus before proceeding to actually take the supply depot at Muribeca and menace the harbor at Cape Santo Agostinho. They will thereby compel the Portuguese to loosen their encirclement of the capital of Dutch Pernambuco. A sixth 500-man regiment under Col. Hendrik van Haus is to destroy sugar operations throughout the Várzea back-bay area before rejoining the main Dutch army.

The small Portuguese detachment defending Barreta is crushed by von Schoppe's host, suffering 47 dead and 7 captured, after which the Dutch encamp overnight around Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem Church to await the arrival of their five fieldpieces, being lightered up the Tejió River. Meanwhile, Barreto de Meneses at Arraial do Bom Jesus—learning of this major sortie's true destina-



The Battle of Guararapes, as depicted by Victor Meirelles de Lima in 1879. (Museu Nacional de Belas Artes, Rio de Janeiro)

tion after a reconnaissance by Dias Cardoso—responds by leaving detachments to defend his base, then marching his 3,200 troops in four columns under Vidal de Negreiros, Fernandes Vieira, Dias, and Camarão for nine miles to confront von Schoppe amid the three hills directly behind the narrow Guararapes Plain (nine miles south of Recife and three miles short of Muribeca). The first Portuguese units arrive there on the evening of April 18, taking up concealed positions on Outeiro or Oitizeiro Hill by 10 p.m., thus controlling the Guararapes' *boqueirão* or "pass."

Von Schoppe resumes his advance for Muribeca early on April 19, encountering 200 Portuguese skirmishers under Dias Cardoso an hour later, who lure them into Barreto de Meneses's lines inside the pass by midday. The Dutch nonetheless gain one hilltop and mount a frontal assault with 1,700 men, but a downhill counterattack by Fernandes Vieira and Camarão on the Portuguese right bloodies the regiments of von Schoppe, van Elst, and Heerweer. After this counterattack, Dias engulfs van de Brinck's and Hautyn's regiments in hand-to-hand combat, where the Dutch advantage in musketry and discipline cannot be seen. The latter two regiments therefore break and flee, leaving behind their artillery and baggage trains; these are recovered once Colonel van Haus's reinforcements arrive and ad-

vance against Dias's ill-disciplined troops, who are busily ransacking the wagons. Still, van Haus is slain and Colonel van den Brande's follow-up counterattack is blunted by a 500-man detachment sent over from Vidal de Negreiros's command to bolster Dias (although they refuse to serve under this black leader, instead fighting independently to little effect).

After three hours of confused struggle, both armies break off, a wounded von Schoppe discovering upon regrouping that some 1,500 of his men are dead, wounded, or missing. The Dutch therefore begin an orderly retirement after nightfall toward Barreta, their retreat masked by heavy rain. Barreto de Meneses finds himself triumphant and alone upon the field the next dawn, having suffered 84 killed—including Camarão—and more than 400 wounded. After gathering up his stragglers and regaining Recife, von Schoppe calculates his own losses at 515 dead or captured, 523 wounded, and two lost artillery pieces. Colonels van Haus and van Elst are listed among the slain, and Heerweer is a prisoner. This victory allows the Portuguese to encircle the Dutch enclave even more closely, re-occupying the old mainland city of Olinda and shelling Recife from across its riverways. The hard-pressed garrison nonetheless survives thanks to Holland's supremacy at sea, as their supply ships continue to enter the port.

MAY 12, 1648. Having been reinforced by four Portuguese galleons and a transport shifted south-westward from Bahia, an expedition under Salvador de Sá quits Rio de Janeiro to sail across the South Atlantic and recuperate the Portuguese slaving stations of São Paulo de Luanda and São Tomé in Angola from Dutch occupation.

AUGUST 4, 1648. Barreto's forces threatening Recife are reinforced by a 300-man Portuguese infantry regiment from Madeira and the Azores, under the *mestre de campo* Francisco de Figueiroa.

SEPTEMBER 15–16, 1648. After a successful sweep in May through the Recôncavo district of Baía de Todos os Santos, Admiral de With confers with von Schoppe and other authorities in besieged Recife about possible future sorties. Learning that Portuguese warships are tentatively venturing out of their safe anchorage up the Matuim River north of Baía de Todos os Santos, the admiral hastens to sea again on September 22.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1648. Admiral de With's squadron arrives outside Baía de Todos os Santos and sights the Portuguese galleon *São Bartolomeu* and the ship *Nossa Senhora do Rosário* patrolling outside its entrance. He therefore detaches four Dutch warships on a favorable wind to engage them before they can regain their protective batteries. The former is captured by the *Overijssel*, but Capt. Pedro Carneiro defends the *São Bartolomeu* against the *Utrecht* and the *Huys van Nassau* until the galleon's magazine explodes, taking down both the Portuguese vessel and the *Utrecht*, while the *Huys van Nassau* emerges so badly damaged as to be abandoned. Some 400 Portuguese seamen lose their lives this day, compared to 150 Dutchmen.

DECEMBER 15, 1648. Despite failing to seize the Portuguese East Indiaman *Santa Catarina*, which anchors safely off the city of Salvador, Admiral de With's fleet prowls inside Baía de Todos os Santos virtually unopposed for a month, destroying 23 sugar mills and carrying away 1,500 crates of sugar. Dutch control of the sea is so complete that, although their presence in Brazil is now reduced to the lone, beleaguered enclave of Recife, Portuguese maritime traffic is almost at a standstill—some 220 of their ships having been intercepted upon the high seas between January 1, 1647, and December 31, 1648.

JANUARY 1649. In Europe, Spain offers to ally itself with the Netherlands against Portugal; however, because of Amsterdam and Friesland's reluctance, no joint declaration of war is made, only a few individual provinces issuing a few letters of reprisal.

FEBRUARY 4, 1649. Inspired by Admiral de With's successful sweep of Baía de Todos os Santos, the Dutch defenders of Recife decide to "sally in the name of God" and break the Portuguese encirclement of their city by challenging their besiegers to a pitched battle.

FEBRUARY 17–18, 1649. *Second Battle of Guararapes.* Because von Schoppe is not yet fully recovered from his wounds, 3,060 Dutch troops in four regiments under colonels Gervase Carpentier, Hautyn, van Elst, and van de Brande; 250 seamen for a half-dozen fieldpieces; 200 Tapuia allies under Chief Pedro Poti; plus 140 black porters begin crossing overnight from Recife into Afogados to march southward under the command of Colonel van de Brinck and confront the Portuguese at Guararapes. Barreto de Meneses learns of this sortie on the morning of February 18. He strikes out from his base camp of Arraial do Bom Jesus for the battlefield with the *mestre de campo* Francisco de Figueiroa's 300 Portuguese regulars in the van, followed by Vidal de Negreiros with another 300, Chief Diogo Pinheiro Camarão's 320 Indians, Dias's 330 black troops, and Fernandes Vieira's 1,350-man rearguard.

The first cavalry detachment of these 2,600 Portuguese troops crests Outeiro Hill by 4:00 p.m. on February 18, where they behold Brinck's army already deploying on the other two Guararapes hills; a confrontation is therefore deferred until the next morning, the Portuguese instead encamping around Novo, Guararapes, and Barachos sugar mills. The next day, Barreto de Meneses positions his troops under shade trees, yet does not attack the exposed Dutch lines. The latter remain sweltering under a blazing sun with little water until 3:00 p.m., when van de Brinck finally orders a retirement, intending to march his army through the rich Várzea district instead in hopes of provoking a direct challenge from the main Portuguese body.

However, just as the first Dutch regiments are repositioning for their march, two squadrons of cavalry storm across the gap under captains Antônio Silva and Manoel de Araújo, followed by Fernandes Vieira's foot soldiers attacking on the left and Vidal de Negreiros's on the right. Van de Brinck's troops

respond well, but in the confusion, a gap appears in the Dutch center through which Barreto de Meneses sends his reserves. Van de Brinck's army disintegrates in confusion, the commander himself falling mortally wounded. After two hours of fierce close-quarter combat, Dutch losses total 927 dead, 89 wounded, and 428 captured, as opposed to 45 Portuguese killed and 245 injured. Abandoning their artillery and baggage trains, the Dutch reel back into Recife, leaving the field to the victorious Barreto de Meneses.

APRIL 3, 1649. A 300-man expedition out of Recife under Matias Beck arrives at Mucuripe Bay aboard five small vessels to reoccupy the coastal outlet for the province of Ceará, abandoned six years previously by its Dutch settlers. Beck's new expedition proceeds to Marajaitiba Creek (modern Pajeú) to reestablish a foothold, and one week later the engineer Richard Carr begins erecting a new fort atop the ruins of its old Portuguese São Sebastião fortress amid the Vila Velha's or "Old Town's" remnants. This new fort is to be named Fort Schonenburgh in honor of Wouter van Schonenburgh, one of Recife's two ruling councilors.

MAY 1649. Admiral de With begins an ineffectual blockade of Rio de Janeiro, returning into beleaguered Recife the next month where many of his long-suffering crewmen begin forsaking this isolated base for the Netherlands. As ship after ship departs, the admiral has no choice but to eventually follow, returning home in discouragement.

A simmering state of Luso-Dutch hostilities will persist for another five years, although with few major confrontations in the New World because of a gradual shift away from conquest in Holland's strategic thinking. Given that the United Provinces only has a population of 1.5 million people at this time, large overseas territories such as Brazil prove a burden that the small nation cannot afford to maintain. Holland therefore prefers to retain a string of trading outposts around the globe for its commercial traffic—now the world's largest. Otherwise, it sheds all extraterritorial ambitions.

When the First Anglo-Dutch War erupts in May 1652, the Portuguese avail themselves of this distraction to finally rid Brazil of its last Dutch occupiers. A fleet of 77 ships appears off Recife on December 20, 1653, under Pedro Jacques de Magalhães and Francisco de Brito Freire, closely besieging its defenders by January 14, 1654. The Dutch capitulate 13 days later, agreeing to surrender not only their capital but all remaining Dutch outposts in Brazil—Itamaracá, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, Fernando de Noronha, and Ceará; they are given three months to depart forever. Many of the 1,200 Dutch colonists, who subsequently evacuate Pernambuco, resettle on Guadeloupe, Martinique, and other West Indian islands, becoming valuable assets. The Hague and Lisbon eventually settle their remaining differences with a treaty signed on August 6, 1661, whereby the latter agrees to pay 4 million cruzados as indemnity for the loss of Dutch Brazil.

OTHER COLONIAL STRUGGLES (1622–1640)

In the shadow of Dutch expansion, other European nations also gain outposts in the New World—first as shore bases for clandestine trade with Spanish America, then expanding into larger plantations for growing cash crops such as tobacco, indigo, logwood, and sugar. Virtually all are owned or operated by private monopolies, which import indentured servants and slaves to work these estates, with little direct involvement from their home governments. These early settlements remain vulnerable to both Spanish and native counterattacks, as well as the vagaries of international politics.

MARCH 22, 1622 (O.S.). *Second Anglo-Powhatan War.* At dawn this Good Friday, the new Algonquian *werowance* or "leader" Opechancanough breaks the truce with Virginia's English settlers by

leading concerted surprise attacks at numerous locales. Opechancanough and his chief adviser—the mystical medicine man Nemattanew, called "Jack of the Feathers" by the English—have patiently crafted

a plan to arm their followers, while at the same time lulling their enemies into a false sense of security. They are helped by tribal resentment against the increasing English landgrabs (spurred by a boom in London tobacco prices), as well as the naive leadership of both the new governor Sir Francis Wyatt and his religious cohort George Thorpe. Opechancanough himself feigns conversion to Anglicanism in late 1621, so when his onslaught begins, the colonists are caught completely unprepared.

The ruthlessness of his attack appalls the English; within the first few days, the Indians butcher 330 people—a third of all the colony's inhabitants—without taking prisoners. Jamestown barely escapes destruction after a friendly Indian gives last-minute warning on the very morning of the attack. Opechancanough's stroke inaugurates the Second Anglo-Powhatan War, and for several weeks the English reel from their losses, which are further exacerbated by famine and disease. Even when they mount some sort of counteroffensive, they find their enemies much more tenacious and skillful than before. In the autumn of 1624, a contingent of Virginia musketeers fights a fierce two-day gun battle with about 800 natives deep within Pamunkey territory, forcing them to retire with the greatest difficulty. Raid and counterraid ensue in which both Indians and colonists are systematically worn down.

A truce is eventually arranged in 1632, yet mutual distrust lingers. While the natives admit defeat, the English remain resentful of their former neighbors, harboring lasting enmity.

JULY 1622. Scottish settlers begin reaching Nova Scotia, authorized by a grant made by James I of Britain to William Alexander, despite prior French claims to this territory.

JANUARY 15, 1624. A feud between the Mexican viceroy Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel, Marqués de los Gelves y Conde de Priego, and Archbishop Juan Pérez de la Cerna erupts into rioting when the latter is ordered deported to Spain, halting all religious services. The unpopular Gelves attempts to summon Mexico City's 4,000 militiamen to his aid, but they ignore his repeated calls, leaving him besieged within his palace, protected by only a handful of ceremonial guards. Toward evening, the mob fights its way indoors, and a disguised Gelves flees to a Franciscan monastery. Mexico is subsequently governed until late October by its audiencia or "high tribunal" until the new viceroy,

Rodrigo Pacheco y Osorio, Marqués de Cerralvo, can arrive from Spain.

JANUARY 28, 1624. *Founding of Saint Kitts.* Sixteen English colonists arrive aboard the small ship of Thomas Warner, who—as a member of North's failed colonizing effort in Guyana four years previously—has reconnoitered this West Indian island for several months before returning to England in 1622. Convinced that it will make a safe and profitable tobacco colony, Warner forms a partnership with a London merchant named Ralph Merifield to underwrite this venture.

Warner's settlers erect a fort, build some houses, and begin planting crops. They are soon joined by a group of French colonists who, having been deposited earlier in Guiana by Captain Chantail of Lyon, have been driven out of that territory by its Indians. Because of their small numbers and fears of Carib hostility, both groups agree to share Saint Kitts.

SPRING 1624. In England, the heir to the throne (soon to become Charles I) and his favorite, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham, persuade Parliament to authorize a naval war against Spain, the government of which is refusing to allow relief to reach the Protestants of Central Europe. Although this cause proves popular with the English people, the House of Commons refuses to vote funds for operations on the Continent, thereby hampering its prosecution. The result is that, while England remains officially at war with Spain for the next six and a half years (until the signing of the Treaty of Madrid in November 1630), its military efforts prove insignificant, and no major expeditions are dispatched into the New World.

SEPTEMBER 1625. A four-gun French brigantine with 40 men under Capt. Urbain du Roissey, Sieur de Chardonville—seconded by his good friend, 40-year-old Pierre Belin d'Esnambuc—engages a Spanish ship off southern Cuba, being badly mauled.

Limping eastward in search of refuge, the Frenchmen chance upon Saint Kitts two weeks later, where they are given sanctuary by its Anglo-French settlers. Erecting a tiny fort at its northern extremity (called Pointe de Sable), du Roissey and d'Esnambuc remain six months before sailing to France with a cargo of tobacco. In the autumn of 1626, they persuade the royal minister, Cardinal Armand Jean du Plessis de Richelieu, to create the Compagnie de

Saint Christophe for the colonization and commercial exploitation of this island outpost.

NOVEMBER 1625. Some 500 Carib raiders arrive on Saint Kitts, only to be repelled by its few-score Anglo-French settlers.

DECEMBER 1625. Another Carib foray is defeated by the Anglo-French defenders of Saint Kitts.

MARCH 1627. In England, recently crowned Charles I—already fighting a listless war against Spain—becomes further enmeshed in France’s religious strife as well by offering succor to its hard-pressed Huguenots within La Rochelle. His declaration of war proves worthless—the royal favorite Buckingham leading a motley force of 6,000 men across the English Channel, only to lose half of them—while drawing England into a two-year conflict with France.

MAY 8, 1627. D’Esnambuc and du Roissey return to Saint Kitts, hoping to convert it into a French colony—for which purpose the former has shipped 322 men aboard his vessel *Catholique* from Le Havre, while the latter brings 210 Bretons aboard the *Vic-toire* and the *Cardinale*. Their transatlantic crossing is difficult, fully half these men reaching the Antilles dead or dying.

Saint Kitts’s Anglo-French inhabitants have suffered a serious falling-out with its natives during the two leaders’ absence, killing many and driving most others off the island. Fearful of Carib reprisals, the English and French agree to cooperate, signing a partition agreement on May 13 whereby d’Esnambuc will govern the northern portion of Saint Kitts around Pointe de Sable, Warner the middle part around Fort Charles, and du Roissey the southern section around Basseterre.

MARCH 1628. The Anglo-French brothers David and Lewis Kirke quit Boston with three ships, armed with a letter of marque, to assault French settlements in Canada. After seizing Miscou Island, they enter the Saint Lawrence Seaway, ravaging Tadoussac and Cape Tourmente before calling upon Governor de Champlain to surrender Quebec City. The latter refuses, and the Kirkes withdraw.

However, below Tadoussac on July 17, they encounter a relief convoy near Barnabé Island arriving from France under Claude Rougemont de Brisson, whom they take the next day after a prolonged ex-

change in which each side fires off 1,200 heavy shot. The Kirkes retire to New England with their prizes.

JULY 22, 1628. An Irish planter named Anthony Hilton arrives at Nevis with 100 men, founding a new English colony.

SPRING 1629. *Quebec Campaign.* Unaware of the peace, New England resumes its offensive against French Canada. William Alexander Jr. lands two shiploads of colonists and soldiers at deserted Port Royal (Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) to erect Fort Charles, while another 60 Scottish settlers reach Cape Breton under James Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, to build Fort Rosamar (later Louisbourg).

Meanwhile, the Kirkes penetrate the Saint Lawrence Seaway as far as Tadoussac, from where 32-year-old David sends his younger brothers Lewis and Thomas with three ships to once more call upon Governor de Champlain to surrender Quebec City. The main New England fleet intercepts a lone French relief ship under Emery de Caen, persuading Champlain to finally capitulate on July 19. The next day, Thomas Kirke goes ashore with 150 men, beginning the evacuation of Quebec City and installing a British garrison. Champlain and the first French prisoners reach Tadoussac by August 1, and Quebec’s final evacuation occurs on September 9.

Off Cape Breton, a French relief fleet arrives too late to save Quebec, so instead drives the Scots out of Fort Rosmar, building a new fort with 40 soldiers nearby before returning toward France. (Three years later, on March 29, 1632, Quebec is restored to French rule by the Treaty of Saint Germain en Laye.)

APRIL 24, 1629. In Europe, the Treaty of La Suze or Susa marks an end to the war between England and France.

LATE JULY 1629. Six French men-of-war arrive at Saint Kitts under François de Rotondy, Sieur de Cahuzac, led by the flagship *Trois Rois*. They have been sent by Richelieu to aid the French settlers against their English neighbors, who have grown much more numerous and contentious. (Originally, the cardinal’s intent has been to dispossess the English altogether, but this objective changes once the Treaty of La Suze is signed in April.) The English governor Sir Thomas Warner being absent in London, his son Edward is told to withdraw certain

colonists who have encroached upon French territory. When the Englishman hesitates, Cahuzac sails to Fort Charles and opens fire upon a half-dozen vessels lying in its roadstead. Three are driven ashore, the remainder cut out by French boarding parties, despite a brisk counterfire from the British batteries. The English sue for terms, so Cahuzac returns his three prizes, and the island's partition treaty is reconfirmed late in August.

Cahuzac thereupon detaches his second-in-command, Captain Giron, to make a reconnaissance throughout the West Indies, while he proceeds to Sint Eustatius to install another French colony and fort. Cahuzac eventually sends the *Cardinale* back to France, allowing two of his other ships to venture on independent cruises against Spanish America.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1629. *Spanish Countersweep.* A Spanish expedition materializes unexpectedly off Nevis, consisting of two fleets: the first under Adm. Fadrique de Toledo and his vice admiral Antonio de Oquendo leading the galleons *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, *Nuestra Señora de la Victoria*, *Santiago*, *San Sebastián*, *San Martín*, *Nuestra Señora de los Angeles*, *San Pedro de Cuatro Villas*, *San Carlos*, *Nuestra Señora de Begonia*, *San Juan Bautista*, *Natividad*, *Jesús María*, *Tres Reyes*, *San Felipe*, and three galleons named *San Bartolomé*. The second is a plate-fleet escort under Adm. Martín de Vallecilla comprising Diego Alberto de Porras's *Santiago*, Sebastián de Anda's *Anunciada*, Juan Bautista de Garay's *Santísima Trinidad*, Felipe de Santa María's *Nuestra Señora de Begonia*, Miguel de Molina's *San Felipe*,



Admiral de Oquendo's red battle flag. (Museo Naval, Madrid)

Juan de Campo's *Tres Reyes*, Francisco Campi's *San Juan Bautista*, Agustín de Vivaldo's *Jesús María*, plus two other unnamed galleons. All are in the 500- to 600-ton range, thereby representing a formidable fighting force, as well as being accompanied by seven merchantmen and other lesser vessels.

The next morning, de Vallecilla probes Nevis's anchorage with 4 galleons, scattering 10 English tobacco ships inside the bay, of which all but 2 are captured as they emerge through the shallows. (One vessel, commanded by the Earl of Carlisle's representative, Henry Hawley, cuts its cable and succeeds in carrying a warning to neighboring Saint Kitts.) Capt. Tiburcio Redín's *Jesús María* runs aground during this pursuit, within range of a two-gun battery at Pelican Point, which strikes it repeatedly until de Oquendo leads a landing party ashore, killing 22 English defenders and driving the rest into the jungle. By the morning of September 18, the English deputy governor, John Hilton—his brother Anthony being absent in England—agrees to capitulate, and shortly thereafter the fort is dismantled, while warehouses and other buildings are put to the torch.

De Toledo then presses on against Saint Kitts, first weathering a brief storm. Once regrouped, his fleet probes du Roissey's defenses at Basseterre, then disembarks a large force near the principal English defense of Fort Charles, on the western side of this island. Its beaches are protected by an extensive trench system, yet the Spaniards fight their way through until the outnumbered defenders finally break and flee inland. Du Roissey and d'Esnambuc hastily evacuate the island's northwestern quarter, 400 people being crammed aboard two ships. The Spanish meanwhile begin demolishing Fort Charles, when they are approached by English and French plenipotentiaries under a flag of truce, who surrender their remaining populations.

De Toledo's booty amounts to 129 cannon, 42 mortars, 1,350 muskets and harquebuses, abundant ammunition, and 3,100 prisoners. Of the latter, 2,300 are repatriated toward Europe aboard a half-dozen prizes, while the remaining 800—all Catholic—are carried to Cartagena when the Spanish fleets depart Saint Kitts on October 4. However, de Toledo does not leave any garrison behind, so these islands are soon reoccupied by Sir Thomas Warner, d'Esnambuc, and Giron.

SPRING 1630. Anthony Hilton—following de Toledo's eradication of his Nevis colony—returns to

gather up its few survivors, transferring them to join a handful of French and English hunters on Tortuga Island (northwestern Haiti). To ensure regular visits by passing merchantmen, Hilton and his lieutenant Christopher Wormeley sign an agreement with England's Providence Company, which is also attempting to colonize the nearby Bahamas. (For a time, therefore, Tortuga becomes known as "Association Island" among the English, although its original Spanish name eventually prevails.) A six-gun battery is erected to cover its southern harbor, while further emigration occurs.

MAY 1630. A new colony is established on the western side of the Amazon Delta, between the Matapi and Ananirapucu rivers. It is named Fort North in honor of the English Guiana Company's principal shareholder, Sir John North; it is also known by its local name, Pattacue.

NOVEMBER 1630. In Madrid, English and Spanish plenipotentiaries sign a peace treaty, marking an end to their six-and-a-half-year-old conflict.

JANUARY 28, 1631. A Portuguese counterexpedition under the *capitão-mor* Jácome Raimundo de Noronha departs Belém with a contingent of soldiers aboard 13 craft, being reinforced at Cametá by another 23 boatloads of native warriors, to press westward and attack the new English settlement of Fort North—also known as Forte Felipe to the attackers—between the Matapi and Ananirapucu rivers in the Amazon Delta. This sickly establishment is surprised and taken on March 1, with 86 of its defenders being slain and another 13 captured. Deputy Gov. Thomas Hixon attempts to escape downriver at night with a boatload of survivors, only to be overtaken by Indians in canoes commanded by Capt. Aires de Sousa Chichorro, who use their paddles to splash water into the English craft and soak their gunpowder, then slaughtering all aboard. Only seven Englishmen succeed in gaining refuge in the jungle. Fort North's defenses are thereupon razed, and all the prisoners are conveyed back into Belém.

JULY 9, 1632. After making a massive sweep through the territory of the Nengaiá Indians, allies to foreign interlopers, a Portuguese host under captains de Sousa Chichorro and Pedro Baião de Abreu captures a new outpost of 40 half-starved Englishmen at Camaú or Cumahu, near Point Macapá

in the Amazon Delta. This outpost's absent leader, Capt. Roger Fry, is also taken when he returns five days later aboard his ship after making a regional reconnaissance. (During his subsequent detention at São Luís do Maranhão, Fry studies the solar eclipse of April 8, 1633, forwarding his observations to John Bainbridge, professor of astronomy at Oxford University.)

MAY 12, 1633. Three militia companies and 50 native auxiliaries quit Margarita Island (Venezuela) aboard three large *piraguas* under Julián de Eulate, eldest son of the island's Spanish governor Juan de Eulate. His mission is to investigate a foreign colony recently established on nearby Trinidad. De Eulate arrives to find a small group of English settlers, capturing 11 of them and 20 Indian allies. Back on Margarita, they confess to being an advance party for Sir Henry Colt's larger colonizing expedition, which has been diverted to Saint Kitts.

MAY 22, 1633. Champlain returns to Quebec.

JANUARY 4, 1634. Four Spanish warships slip out of the city of Santo Domingo with 100 soldiers under Capt. Francisco Turrillo de Yelva (or Yebra), circling round this island to meet up with 150 lancers riding overland toward Bayahá under 30-year-old Capt. Ruy Fernández de Fuenmayor. Both contingents then continue toward Tortuga Island.

JANUARY 21, 1634. *Eradication of Tortuga.* Under cover of darkness, and guided by an Irish lad named John Murphy—who has recently fled this buccaneer colony after killing a man in a dispute—the Spaniards disembark through Tortuga's surf and take its 300 inhabitants completely by surprise. Anthony Hilton, the self-proclaimed English "governor," is butchered along with 194 followers, while another 39 are captured, including three women. (One of the few people who manages to escape is Lieutenant Governor Wormeley—aboard a ship crammed with his own goods and servants; he is later convicted of cowardice and resettles in Virginia.) Tortuga's six-gun battery is thrown down, two prizes in its harbor are burned, and another is sailed back to Santo Domingo laden with 123 captured muskets and ammunition. The Spaniards fail to leave behind any garrison, however, so the remaining buccaneers soon reoccupy their base, eking out a meager subsistence under Nicholas Skinner during 1635–1636 and under William Ludyard until 1640.



Spanish admiral Lope Díez de Aux y Armendáriz, Marqués de Cadereyta. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

FEBRUARY 1635. In Europe, the Franco-Habsburg War erupts as Paris—apprehensive of Spain's support of Austria's Ferdinand II in Central Europe—joins the Thirty Years' War on the side of Holland and other Protestant states. These Franco-Spanish hostilities will persist for more than two-dozen years, concluding with the Treaty of the Pyrenees in November 1659.

LATE JUNE 1635. A French colonizing expedition arrives at Guadeloupe aboard a pair of Dieppe ships under Charles Liénard, Sieur de l'Olive—the former deputy governor of Saint Kitts—and the naval captain Jean Duplessis, Sieur d'Ossoville (a veteran of Cahuzac's West Indian campaign; see "Late July 1629" entry). These settlers are soon to endure famine and disease.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1635. *Occupation of Martinique.* D'Esnameuc, governor of the French half of Saint Kitts, leads 150 subjects southwest to also lay claim to Martinique, his motivation being l'Olive and Duplessis's recent occupation of Guadeloupe, men he

Buccaneers

When the French privateer Charles Fleury visited Plateforme (Haiti) early in 1620, he and his crew met a pair of hunters ashore: a mulatto and a black, slaves who had escaped from Baracoa in Cuba, with 10 large dogs. They offered to supply the French vessel with meat from the cattle and pigs roaming wild on Hispaniola. When Fleury accepted, the hunters killed 18 cows within two days and cured the meat by smoking rather than with salt. They further told him “that if he had a larger ship, in less than fifteen days or three weeks, they could have filled it with hides.”

The thousands of cattle and pigs left behind when the Spanish settlers were removed 15 years earlier had obviously thrived (see “August 2, 1605” entry in “Early Footholds”). They now provided such an easy resource that pockets of such hunters began operating all along Hispaniola’s northwestern coastlines. Arawak natives and runaway blacks were joined by handfuls of sailors from visiting ships. All adopted the Arawak practice for curing meat. Wherever a cow was slain, a wooden *boucan* or “smokehouse” was erected to cure choice cuts over a slow fire. The hunters then retrieved them later.

Such men were called *boucaniers* in French, *bucaneros* in Spanish, and buccaneers in English. In many ways, they were similar to the mountain men who later opened the American West—pathfinders who adapted to local conditions and often excelled in the wilderness. To the Spanish, they were heretical trespassers, and a long guerrilla struggle ensued. As the buccaneers became more numerous, they gathered seasonally for attacks on enemy targets. Leadership among such individuals, who referred to themselves as the *Frères de la Cote* or “Brethren of the Coast,” was selected by popular acclaim.

A quarter-century later, one of William Jackson’s men wrote that Hispaniola was

... well known and frequented by ye English, Dutch, and French nations, who make a great benefit from their industry in hunting of beasts, and preparing ye hides and tallow. For it aboundeth with infinite herds of cattle, which ye Spaniards do not value, but only for their hides and tallow; and to that purpose employ cow-killers yearly to slaughter many thousands, otherwise ye great increase of them would pester ye whole island. There are besides vast numbers of wild hogs, and great store of very fair and serviceable horses.

views as rivals for Richelieu’s favor. Dropping anchor off Rivi re du Fort, d’Esnambuc orders a three-gun fortress erected on its northern bank, naming it Fort Saint Pierre and installing Jean du Pont as its commander, before departing by mid-November. On his passage toward Saint Kitts, d’Esnambuc pauses opposite Dominica on November 17 to set another small force ashore under his lieutenant Philippe Levayer de la Vall e, then completes his sweep by populating Saba before regaining Saint Kitts.

At Martinique, meanwhile, du Pont’s garrison is given a hostile reception by suspicious Caribs, who summon more than 1,000 allies from neighboring Dominica, Guadeloupe, and Saint Vincent to expel these interlopers. Du Pont remains watchful within his fort so that, when this Indian army finally bursts upon the French outpost, he lures them directly beneath its artillery before unleashing a volley of grapeshot. This sudden carnage shatters the Caribs’ resolve, sending them reeling. Over the next several months, du Pont succeeds in winning their confidence, establishing peaceable relations.

JANUARY 26, 1636. *Conquest of Guadeloupe.* The plight of its French colonists having grown so desperate because of want, Governor l’Olive decides to

attack the friendly Indians. His more humane partner Duplessis having died on December 4, 1635, l’Olive is free to launch a surprise attack against a large Carib encampment in the vicinity of modern Basse-Terre. Although only a few casualties are inflicted, this unexpected brutality convinces most of Guadeloupe’s natives to flee to neighboring Dominica and Saint Vincent, from where they will launch harassing raids against the French for the next three years.

JULY 20, 1636 (O.S.). *Pequot War.* In New England, several years of friction between Puritan traders and settlers advancing from the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies into Pequot or Pequod tribal lands in the Connecticut River Valley explodes when the dishonest trader John Oldham and the crew of his bark are slain by Narragansett Indians off Block Island. Outraged reaction in Massachusetts prompts a force of 120 militiamen to depart on August 25 (O.S.) under captains John Endicott, John Underhill, and William Turner, who sweep across the island burning villages and crops, as well as slaying 14 natives.

Unsatisfied with this campaign, Endicott sails on to Fort Saybrook and, despite the protests of its

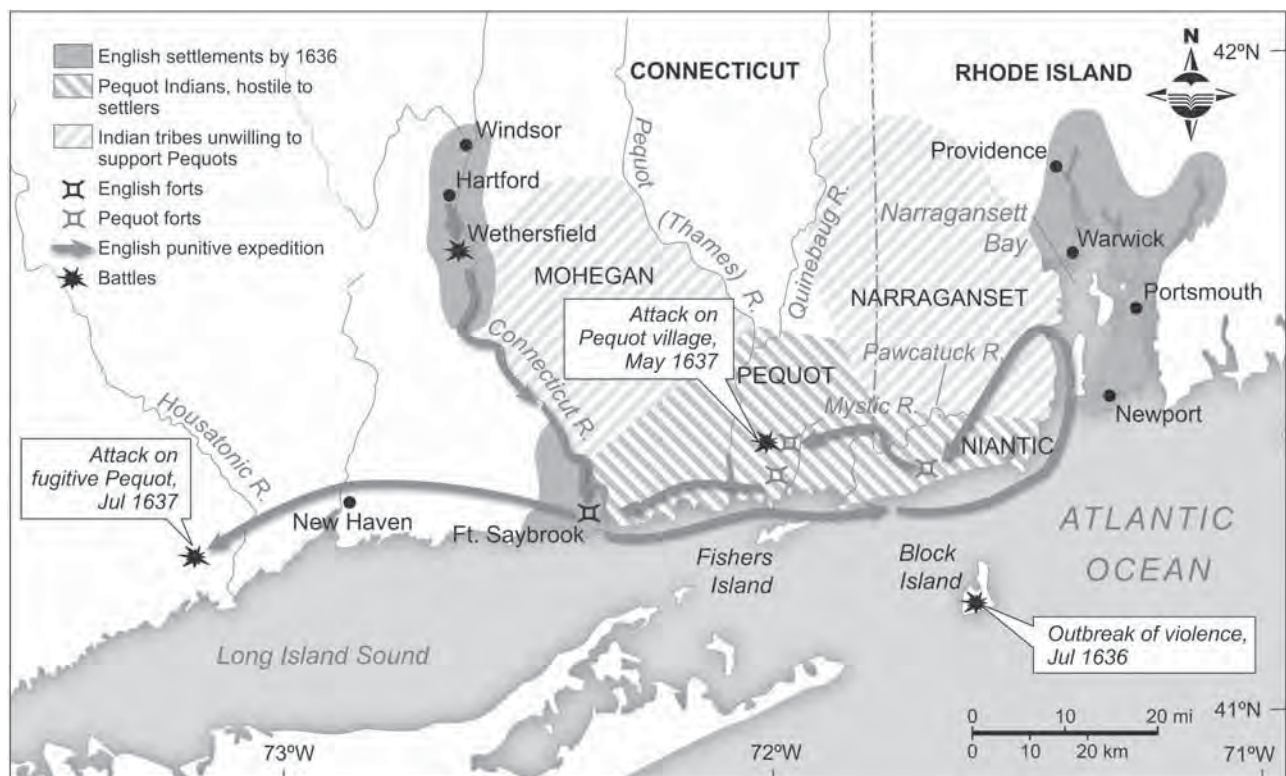
Connecticut-appointed garrison commander, Lt. Lion Gardiner, threatens the Pequot town at the mouth of the modern Thames River. When its residents refuse to offer satisfaction, Endicott storms ashore with his troops and burns the settlement before retiring. Angered Pequots consequently besiege Fort Saybrook over the ensuing autumn and winter—although tribal leadership is riven between the *sachem* or chieftain Sassacus, who favors dealing with the Dutch out of New Amsterdam (modern New York City), and his rival Uncas of the Mohegan or Mohican splinter group, who is inclined toward the English.

When Sassacus sends war belts to neighboring tribes early in 1637, requesting their assistance against the Puritans, Chief Miantonomo of the Narragansett instead joins the English, allegedly solemnizing this treaty in March “with a gift of wampum and the severed hand of a Pequot brave.” The slaying on April 23 (O.S.) of seven to nine Puritan settlers working in a field near Wethersfield, plus the capture of two girls, galvanizes all the New England colonies into joint action. Capt. John Mason departs Hartford on May 10 (O.S.) with 90 colonists and 60 Mohegan warriors under Uncas, attacking the Pe-

quot town near Fort Saybrook five days afterward and killing a half-dozen residents while the rest flee. Joined by 20 Massachusetts militiamen under Underhill, as well as Narragansett warriors and the eastern Niantic tribesmen of Chief Ninigret, Mason’s expedition presses on against the main Pequot town of Missituk or Mystic, arriving nearby by nightfall on May 25 (O.S.).

The next dawn, a volley is fired, and Mason leads an assault column in from the northeast, while Underhill sweeps in from the southwest. The 80 huts housing roughly 800 Pequots erupt in flames and as many as 700 residents are massacred within the hour, only 7 being taken alive. English losses total 2 dead and 20–40 wounded; more Pequot hamlets are torched as the attackers retire toward their ships.

Pequot power is destroyed by this ruthless attack, and isolated bands are pitilessly hunted down over the ensuing summer. On July 13, 1637 (O.S.), some 280 ragtag survivors are trapped near New Haven, the English sparing 200 women, children, and elderly before closing in the next morning against the remaining warriors, most of whom slip away in the fog. Desperate Pequots seek sanctuary amid outlying tribes, not all of whom prove welcoming; the



Pequot War, 1636–1637.

Mohawk, for example, send Sassacus's severed head back to the English. By the autumn of 1638, the few surviving Pequots in Puritan territory are distributed as slaves among the victors, and their tribal name is expunged.

SEPTEMBER 1636. Some 66 Spanish militiamen under Juan de Vargas sortie from Santiago de los Caballeros in north-central Santo Domingo, advancing upon its coast to ambush a French watering party in Cruz Bay. The Spaniards then use this captured boat to row out and surprise the anchored ship, which proves to be a 12-gun slaver out of Saint Kitts under a captain known as Jambe de Bois or "Peg Leg."

De Vargas subsequently employs this vessel to raid the foreign settlements on Tortuga Island, then sails to engage a group of runaway slaves entrenched at Bayahá. He compels the latter to surrender, promising liberty to their leader, but sells the remaining 48 at Santo Domingo's slave market.

OCTOBER 1636. Capt. William Rous of the *Blessing* attempts an attack at Santa Marta (Colombia), only to be overwhelmed and sent prisoner to Spain.

LATE JANUARY 1637. In Sancti Spíritus (Cuba), Ens. Agustín de Vera is murdered when he attempts to collect royal taxes. Although troops are subsequently dispatched into this region by Havana's governor, Francisco Riaño y Gamboa, Knight of the Order of Santiago, they prove unable to detain the perpetrators.

SPRING 1637. A ship bearing 212 colonists appears off the West Indian island of Tobago, having been dispatched by 27-year-old Jekab or James Kettler, Duke of Kurland or Courland, who governs a small fiefdom on the Baltic Sea. Although his duchy consists of only the two westernmost provinces of the modern Republic of Latvia, encompassing the Courland Peninsula and the Plains of Semigallia be-

tween the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Riga, it is nonetheless such an active maritime hub as to aspire to secure commercial outposts in West Africa and the New World. Unfortunately, this initial colony on Tobago will soon succumb to disease, malnourishment, and native hostility, as will a second Courlander attempt made two years later.

JUNE 1638. William Claiborne, a planter with properties in Virginia and Maryland, is licensed by the Providence Company to found a settlement on the island of Roatán (Honduras).

NOVEMBER 1639. A slave revolt erupts in the Capesterre district of Saint Kitts, approximately 60 rebels and a few women escaping to found a highland encampment atop Mount Misery in the island's northwestern quarter. This revolt requires the newly installed French governor general—Commo. Philippe de Lonvilliers de Poincy, Knight Commander of the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem—to dispatch 500 troops for its brutal suppression, as a deterrent against similar insurrections.

LATE JANUARY 1640. *Anti-Carib Campaigns.* De Poincy dispatches 132 men from Saint Kitts under Maj. Gen. Jean Soulon, Sieur de Sabouilly, followed shortly thereafter by a similar contingent under Roi de Courpon, Sieur de la Vernade, to assist the hard-pressed colonists of Guadeloupe in resisting Carib attacks. Sabouilly chases these seaborne raiders away after a clash off the coast, which kills 30 Indians and 2 Frenchmen.

MAY 1640. Off southern Guadeloupe, the boats of Major General Sabouilly encounter a Carib war fleet. Heavily outnumbered, his 24 harquebusiers retreat to a tiny atoll among the group of islands known as Les Saintes, fending off repeated attacks over the next 30 hours thanks to their superior firepower. The Caribs eventually draw off at the approach of a French relief flotilla under la Vernade.

ENGLAND'S RESURGENCE (1640–1659)

The sole European power to avoid direct involvement in the Thirty Years' War is England, under its self-centered Stuart monarchs James I (who rules from 1603 to 1625) and Charles I (1625–1649). These two monarchs' foreign policy, while superficially neutral, in fact precludes England from any substantive role in developments upon the Continent or overseas. Such a lack of assertiveness

eventually becomes one of the complaints leveled against Charles I, resulting in serious disputes with Parliament, and eventually a civil war.

Yet despite such ineffectual Crown leadership, private English expeditions continue to press into the New World—hardly surprising for a vigorous island nation of 7.5 million people, who have already tasted the riches of the Americas. Numerous West Indian islands already support sizable English colonies, leading to continual frictions with their neighbors, although it is not until the home country undergoes the ordeal of its civil war from 1642–1646 and the First Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–1654 that the English government truly resumes its imperial aspirations. The result will be Oliver Cromwell’s “Western Design,” which conquers Jamaica in 1655.

SPRING 1640. Two Spanish galleons and six frigates, having sortied from Cartagena under the *sargento mayor* or “military adjutant” Antonio Maldonado, arrive to expel the English settlement on Providencia Island—called Santa Catalina by its original Spanish discoverers but renamed Providence by its English occupiers in the late 1620s. (Located 150 miles east of Nicaragua’s Mosquito Coast, the island today belongs to Colombia.) Maldonado vainly circles its reefs, looking for a spot to disembark his troops, while being shelled by its batteries. He eventually draws off in defeat, having lost 2 captains and 100 soldiers during a disastrous landing attempt.

AUGUST 1640. The two-year-old settlement by 300 English colonists on Saint Lucia is devastated by a Carib assault from neighboring Martinique and Dominica, forcing its few survivors to flee. The English suspect this attack has been instigated by Jacques Dyel du Parquet, French governor of Martinique, but the natives are actually seeking vengeance for a treacherous English merchant captain, who has tricked a number of their Dominican brethren to come on board only to carry them off into bondage.

MAY 17, 1641. *Spanish Reconquest of Providencia.* Determined to expel this island’s English settlers, the Spanish Crown orders veteran admiral Francisco Díaz Pimienta to take his battle fleet—which has escorted the annual treasure convoy into Cartagena—to expunge the intruders. Díaz Pimienta appears off Providencia Island with his 400-ton flagship *San Juan*; the 800-ton, foreign-built vice-flagship *Sansón* under Jerónimo de Ojeda; the 400-ton galleons *Jesús María del Castillo* and *San Marcos*; the 300-ton ships *Santa Ana*, *Teatina*, and *Comboy*; the 230-ton Portuguese man-of-war *Virgem de Ajuda*; the auxiliary *San Pedro*; plus three lesser craft of 70–

80 tons apiece. They bear a total of 600 sailors and 1,400 soldiers, a high proportion being Portuguese, hence of suspect loyalty to Spain because of the recent rising against Madrid’s rule (see “December 1, 1640” in “Holland’s ‘Great Design’”).

The attackers are again stymied by Providencia’s reefs and spend several days searching for a safe landing place. On May 19, the *San Marcos* strikes an outcropping and suffers such severe damage that it must retire toward Cartagena, taking 270 troops and a third of the Spanish siege train. Díaz Pimienta eventually decides to make a thrust directly into the main English harbor at dawn of May 24 with 1,200 men, hoping to catch his enemy off guard. This gamble pays off when Spanish troops waded through the surf, storming an intricate system of English trenches and parapets with cold steel. The defenders are driven back within their keep, while the Spaniards manhandle English artillery pieces into new emplacements to open up a close-range bombardment. At this point, Providencia’s residents send out two flags of truce and request terms.

The next day, May 25, Díaz Pimienta accepts the surrender of this fort along with 40 guns, 380 slaves, and all English goods on the island. Its 770 inhabitants give up with the understanding that they will be repatriated to Europe, while the Spanish commander in chief installs a new garrison on the island under Vice Admiral de Ojeda. Díaz Pimienta’s fleet thereupon prepares to weigh anchor, except for the Portuguese *Ajuda*, which attempts to desert its Spanish consorts, only to be wrecked on Providencia’s reefs. Furious, Díaz Pimienta orders two of its officers shot, their bodies displayed upon this twisted wreckage as a warning to other would-be runaways. (This incident will not be the last of its type; after the fleet returns into Cartagena, the Portuguese land commander Juan Rodríguez de Vasconcellos Sousa, Conde de Castel Melhor—whose brother, Capt.

Nicolás de Sousa, has given his life in the reconquest of Providencia—is arrested on August 29, 1641, and charged with plotting to seize this Spanish American port for King João IV. Although condemned to death, the count's sentence is never carried out, and he eventually escapes to Portugal.)

The victorious Spanish admiral is accorded a hero's welcome at Cartagena and is later invested with a knighthood in the Order of Santiago. He leaves his English prisoners behind when the fleet subsequently escorts the silver convoy across to Portobelo, and Cartagena's captain-general refuses to honor the terms of their capitulation, putting more than 500 to work as forced laborers clearing the Magdalena River.

JUNE 1641. In Canada, a skirmish near Trois Rivières (Quebec) marks the beginning of a new French-Iroquois war.

JUNE 9, 1641. Three ships of a newly reconstituted Armada de Barlovento sortie from Veracruz under

Vice Adm. Antonio de la Plaza Eguiluz to disperse some English vessels prowling off the coast of Alvarado. Four days later, they scatter these interlopers from the mouth of the Cañas River, then return victorious into port on the evening of June 14 with a captured pink and 22 English prisoners. The pink will be incorporated into the Spanish squadron.

SPRING 1642. A third Courlander attempt is made to settle the West Indian island of Tobago, when two ships arrive under Capt. Cornelius Caroon and disembark another group of almost 300 settlers. They, too, soon sicken and are beset by Carib warriors; the survivors eventually flee for the safety of Dutch Guiana.

MAY 1642. The longtime West Indian resident and engineer François Le Vasseur quits Saint Kitts with a ship and 40 Huguenot followers, bearing a commission from Governor-General de Poincy to seize Tortuga Island (Haiti) and aid its French residents,

English Civil War

After an 11-year interlude, King Charles I recalled Parliament in April 1640 because he needed money. Angry at his Scottish subjects, he wanted to raise a large army to impose his will on them. But the Parliamentarians instead arrived with a long list of complaints, so the king dismissed them within three weeks. Yet when he invaded Scotland with only the troops that he had available, he was defeated and lost northern England to a counterinvasion.

Now desperate for funds, Charles I reluctantly summoned Parliament again in November 1640. Its members arrived even more determined than before. The king made concessions, yet bitterness grew. Because of his autocratic beliefs and marriage to a French Catholic queen, some members feared a threat to Protestantism. As Puritans and other English sects became more militant, Catholics in Ireland were gripped with fearful unrest in 1641.

Matters came to a head when Charles I entered the House of Commons with 400 soldiers early in January 1642 to arrest five members for treason. He failed because they were absent, and a few days later he withdrew from London with his entire royal court into western England. The king dealt with Parliament from a distance over the next few months, as people began choosing sides. Although most initially remained neutral, Charles I had his strongest support in the rural north and west of England, as well as in Wales. Cities in the wealthier southeast favored Parliament, as did the Royal Navy.

Finally, the House voted on June 9, 1642 (O.S.), to raise an army of 10,000 volunteers. Three days later, command was given to Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex, with orders "to rescue His Majesty's person" from his bad advisers. Charles in turn entered Nottingham with 2,000 riders and a small body of infantry on August 22 (O.S.) to gather his own army. The first major battle occurred two months later, when almost 30,000 men met at Edgehill. Royalists became known as "Cavaliers," and Parliamentarians, as "Roundheads."

After three years of clashes, the House reorganized its forces into the "New Model Army" under Sir Thomas Fairfax and Lt. Gen. Oliver Cromwell. This formidable host destroyed the last Loyalist armies at Naseby and Langport that summer, forcing the king to flee from besieged Oxford in April 1646. He went to his former enemies, the Scottish Presbyterian army at Newark, but after holding him for more than a year, they handed him over to Parliament.

Yet even from captivity, the monarch contrived to renew Royalist resistance in the spring of 1648, backed by a Scottish invasion. A second round of fighting ensued, until Cromwell defeated the Scots at Preston that August. Furious at the king's deceit, regiments from the New Model Army surrounded Parliament that December. All except the most radical members were excluded. This "Rump Parliament" tried and ordered that Charles I be beheaded by January 1649. England's monarchy was thereupon abolished and replaced by a republican state known as the "Commonwealth."

who have been complaining about their English leader, Capt. James Flood. Le Vasseur reaches Port à Margot, 20 miles east of Tortuga, and installs himself on a tiny key named “Refuge.” He rallies 40 buccaneers to his standard before sending a message to Flood and his English subjects ordering them to forsake Tortuga.

AUGUST 20, 1642. In Canada, 40 French soldiers constructing Fort Richelieu (modern Sorel, Quebec), successfully repel an attack by 300 Iroquois warriors. Nevertheless, the outpost is abandoned four years later, then burned down in 1647.

AUGUST 31, 1642. LeVasseur sails to Tortuga (Haiti) and lands unopposed. Outnumbered and unable to count upon his *boucanier* allies, Flood leaves the island for New Providence in the Bahamas, while Le Vasseur assumes office and temporarily renames Tortuga as “New Normandy.” He also uses his engineering skills to begin constructing a large fortress upon a promontory, which when completed will be called Fort de la Roche and offer its roadstead such protection as to produce an upsurge in French buccaneering activities throughout the region.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1642 (O.S.). *Jackson’s Reprisal.* Despite the on-going English Civil War, Commo. William Jackson reaches Barbados with his 30-gun, 350-ton flagship *Charles*; the 20-gun, 240-ton *Valentine* of Capt. Samuel Axe; and the 16-gun, 140-ton *Dolphin* of Capt. John Newcombe. They had left London in June, bearing a privateering commission issued by Robert, Earl of Warwick—Parliament’s Admiral of the Fleet—calling for a punitive strike against Spanish America in retaliation for the extirpation a year and a half previously of the Providence Island Company’s colony (Warwick being a member of its board, Jackson and Axe among its sea captains).

The commodore detaches the *Valentine* to Saint Kitts to recruit additional volunteers, while preparing three pinnaces of 10–12 tons apiece—named the *Mercury*, the *Pegasus*, and the *Argus*—for inshore work. The private ship *Guiste* of London is also hired for three to four months’ service. Jackson sets sail with 500 extra men on the afternoon of November 11 (O.S.) to rendezvous off Los Testigos Islands with the *Valentine*. They find the *Valentine* waiting when they arrive three days later, Axe having brought an additional 250 men from Saint Kitts. Jackson and his military second, Capt. Thomas Thorn, organize eight

companies ashore totaling 643 foot soldiers as a landing force, while the pinnace *Pegasus* is sent to reconnoiter nearby Margarita Island (Venezuela).

It returns on November 23 (O.S.) with little to report. Jackson nonetheless steers his seven sail and perhaps 1,000 men for Margarita the next day. A force slips ashore before dawn on November 26 (O.S.) and seizes an unoccupied fort, while the pinnace *Argus* carries Capt. Thomas Molineux’s company through a hail of shots to board a Canary frigate anchored offshore. But the English are unable to surprise the inland residents and are repelled with 10 killed and 20 wounded when they attempt to advance. The prize is therefore incorporated into their formation under Capt. Simon Nicholas and with the name *Margarita*. The raiders prowl westward on November 29 (O.S.), Jackson dividing his small squadron to search for Spanish pearl boats, before reuniting the next day at Salt Tortuga Island. On December 2 (O.S.), they lay in a course for La Guaira.

DECEMBER 14, 1642. Jackson’s five ships and three pinnaces are detected approaching La Guaira, creating alarm among the Spaniards. Governor Ruy Fernández de Fuenmayor, advised at Caracas around 8:00 p.m., makes a hurried nocturnal march down to the coast with a sizable contingent of militiamen, arriving by midnight. On the morning of December 15, Jackson’s five ships stand in to commence their bombardment of La Guaira’s Maiquetía battery, only to be repulsed. That night, his three pinnaces attempt to creep into the harbor and cut out a hired English merchantman at anchor, but the vessel’s crew has been reinforced by 50 soldiers under Capt. Jacinto Sedeño (ex-governor of Spanish Jamaica), as well as being supported by a three-gun battery ashore, so proves impossible to board.

The next dawn, December 16, Jackson sails west, making minor disembarkations at Cata and Ocumare during daylight hours to search for water and provisions. The evening of December 17, though, he slips ashore near Puerto Cabello with 140 troops, who suffer two killed and seven wounded before dispersing its handful of Spanish defenders the next day. Puerto Cabello and its environs are plundered of six guns and other goods, after which the raiders depart.

Jackson next calls at Dutch Curaçao, where he is well received and provided with a pilot named “Abraham,” a veteran of Gerristz’s foray into the Laguna de Maracaibo (see “October 15, 1641” in “Holland’s ‘Great Design’”).

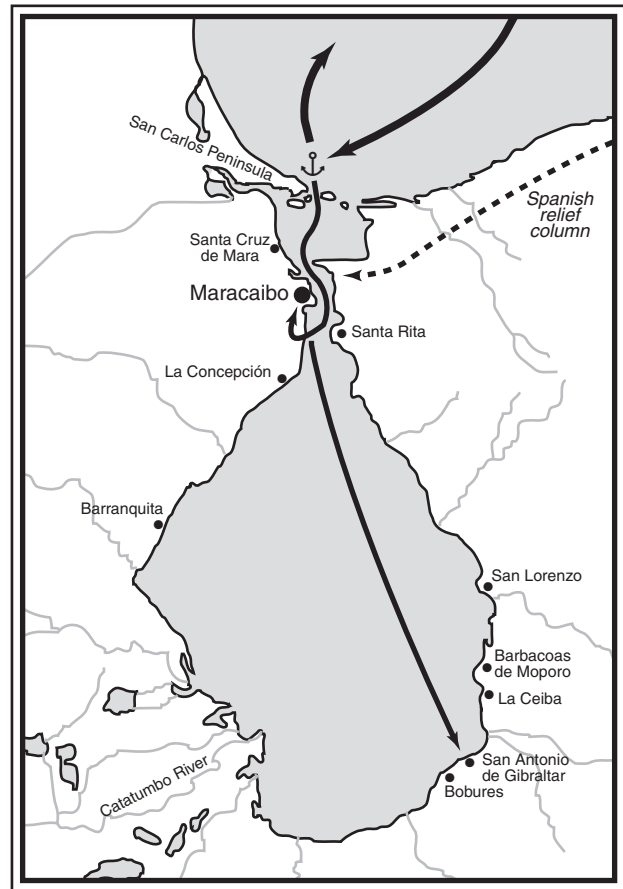
DECEMBER 22, 1642. *Laguna de Maracaibo Raid.*

Arriving before Maracaibo's bar, Jackson leaves his heavy flagship with 120 crewmen outside to mount a blockade, while working his remaining seven vessels and almost 1,000 men over the shoals the next day. Spanish lookouts convey word of this incursion to the *maestre de campo*, Manuel de Velasco, in Maracaibo, who musters 250 militiamen in anticipation of an assault.

The English do not resume their advance until December 26, giving the Spaniards ample time to prepare; but Jackson—aware that most of the city's defenses face seaward—surprises de Velasco by circling past at 11:00 p.m. that same night, landing two contingents of 400 men apiece five hours later, three miles farther south at Los Bebederos, to march inland and take the city from the rear. The Spanish militiamen are obliged to abandon their prepared waterfront trenches and fight in the dark jungle, where they are quickly stampeded by fears of superior English numbers. Only Maracaibo's main citadel under Capt. Francisco Rodrigo offers stiff resistance, before it surrenders and the city falls on December 27. De Velasco and most of his followers are driven into the hinterland, while four Spanish vessels are seized from its roadstead.

The English, who have suffered two killed and two wounded, repeatedly send out foraging parties until January 27, 1643, when they receive a ransom payment. They therefore depart across the lagoon the next day, hoping to attack its southeastern town of Gibraltar. The four English prizes have been renamed the *Maracaibo* under Capt. Andrew Axe, the *Swallow* under Capt. Charles Saltonstall, the *Swift* under Capt. William Yawland, and the *Spy* under Capt. Thomas Powell. That same morning, a 300-man Spanish relief column arrives overland from La Vela de Coro under the Venezuelan governor Fernández de Fuenmayor, who circles Maracaibo warily until he learns that it is deserted, so reoccupies it on January 29 and begins refurbishing its defenses.

The English commodore, meanwhile, arrives off Gibraltar on February 1 to find the governor of Mérida entrenched inside with some troops. Realizing that its residents have already fled with their valuables, so that they "could expect nothing but blows," the raiders choose not to mount an assault. Instead, their lighter vessels are used to pillage the surrounding plantations. A few days later, Jackson and his formation recross the lagoon, and by 8:00 a.m. on February 9, his vessels are once more sighted southeast



Jackson's Maracaibo raid.

of Maracaibo. Fernández de Fuenmayor sorties that same afternoon with 400 Spanish militiamen and 130 native archers, to lay an ambush at El Palmar. But Jackson ignores the Spaniards' bait—a cattle herd—and instead anchors out of range of Maracaibo's guns, offering to exchange his captives.

This transaction is completed by February 21, at which point the rovers retire toward the lagoon's bar, anchoring near Zapara Island for several days before working their way out to rejoin Jackson's flagship by February 28. After selling the *Spy* and assorted items to local Spaniards, Jackson's formation sails eastward on March 4. Shortly thereafter, the prize *Swift*—a Maracaibo frigate formerly belonging to Capt. Francisco Barbero—is dismantled by a storm and driven ashore near the Cocinas, and its 89 English officers and crewmen fall into Spanish hands.

Fernández de Fuenmayor quickly dispatches a missive from La Vela de Coro with Ens. Alonso de Cuevas aboard the sloop *San Francisco y San Antonio* to warn the Spanish authorities on Jamaica that their

island is to be Jackson's next target. Governor Fernández de Fuenmayor then remains at Maracaibo until September 1643, supervising the construction of a small pentagonal fort at the lagoon's entrance to impede future incursions.

MARCH 22, 1643. Jackson reaches Hispaniola with only six vessels, the remainder having been scattered by stormy weather. After sighting the *Maracaibo* and the *Guiste*, the expedition reassembles at Cape Tiburon in anticipation of attacking Jamaica. Eight days later, Jackson sets sail with his force and captures a 25-ton Spanish vessel out of Baracoa en route.

MARCH 28 (PALM SATURDAY), 1643. The Spanish ensign Alonso de Cuevas arrives at Jamaica from Coro (Venezuela) aboard the sloop *San Francisco y San Antonio*, to warn its residents that their island is about to be attacked by Jackson's expedition. Its few inhabitants doubt the veracity of this report; furthermore, they are in no position to resist because of their extreme poverty and small, scattered plantations.

APRIL 3 (GOOD FRIDAY), 1643. *Seizure of Jamaica.* Jackson's squadron, now 11 vessels strong, materializes before Jamaica's main anchorage of Caguaya Bay (modern Kingston). Some 500 men under Lt. Philip Roberts are disembarked on its western shoreline but cannot advance into its hills, which are defended by the Spaniards and their slaves. Their "confused clamor and hideous noise" cause the English to halt overnight, yet no attack occurs.

After Jackson interrogates some prisoners, Richards's contingent goes aboard boats and pinnaces the next morning to be deposited farther inside the bay. As the invaders advance inland toward the main Spanish settlement of Santiago de la Vega, they are fired upon from an ambush, then they overrun a three-gun defensive work at a cost of a dozen English dead. More redoubts and ambushes are defeated, until an empty Santiago de la Vega is finally reached. The invaders deem Jamaica such a "terrestrial paradise" that many propose a permanent occupation.

Jackson refuses, instead coming to terms with the Spaniards for a modest ransom of cattle, cassava bread, and 7,000 pesos. He is shaken when 23 of his men desert one night, so restores Santiago de la Vega to the Spanish on April 10 and marches back to Caguaya Bay. After slaughtering and salting the cattle supplied to them, as well as taking on water and other provisions, the expedition stands away east-

ward on May 1, intending to raid Ríoacha on the Spanish Main (Colombia).

MAY 16, 1643. After staggering upwind toward Hispaniola, Jackson's formation steers for the Spanish Main, minus the *Margarita* and the *Guiste*, which have not rejoined.

Finally arriving near Santa Marta, the English raiders contemplate running into its harbor to "surprise ye town," but instead they become becalmed. Discovered, they sheer away northwestward in disappointment for Hispaniola.

Unable to reach its shores, Jackson returns to Jamaica. In a harbor adjacent to Caguaya Bay, the English seize a Spanish frigate preparing to weigh for Cartagena with hides, sugar, bread, and passengers.

JUNE 11, 1643. After pausing at "Point Negrillo" (modern Point Negril, Jamaica), Jackson and his privateer squadron steer for Gran Cayman Island. Arriving three days later, they find the *Guiste* and the *Margarita* lying at anchor.

While slaughtering and salting the local turtles for provisions, many men demand that Jackson "divide the purchase already taken" and allow them to depart for the Windward Islands. The commodore therefore allows about 200 to sail for Barbados aboard the *Guiste*. Another 50–60 will abscond with the *Maracaibo*.

Meanwhile, Jackson scraps the *Swallow* and uses its weaponry to arm his most recent Jamaican prize, which is renamed the *Swan*. It is his intent to lead his squadron in a descent on the port of San Pedro Sula in the Bay of Honduras, along with the recently joined privateer *Joseph* of Capt. W. Wollmer. The latter is sent aboard one of Jackson's pinnaces to conduct a reconnaissance.

JUNE 28, 1643. Jackson departs Gran Cayman Island with his depleted squadron, coming within sight of Cape Gracias a Dios four days later. On July 5, they drop anchor at the island of Roatán. Although its native population has been removed by a recent Spanish raid, the rovers learn a week later that two large Spanish merchantmen are expected at the port of Trujillo. Expecting to find riches accumulated in anticipation of their arrival, the Englishmen weigh anchor shortly thereafter.

JULY 28, 1643. *Capture of Trujillo.* Jackson's formation comes within sight of Trujillo and disembarks a landing force two to three miles from the

town. They march into Trujillo unopposed, only to find that its Spanish inhabitants have fled with everything of value. Jackson sends out pursuit columns, yet fails to capture many Spanish, therefore he proclaims a truce so that the natives at least might return.

On August 3, the pair of expected Spanish merchantmen is seen approaching. Jackson sorties with five vessels in pursuit but loses sight of his prey in a fog. The English nonetheless scour the shoreline for the next two weeks but only capture a small Spanish frigate in the Dulce River, which they rename the *Content*.

Meanwhile, the garrison holding Trujillo begins to sicken, so they withdraw to Roatán. When Jackson rejoins them with his half-dozen vessels, the English reclaim Trujillo. The *Joseph* is broken up, and a small Spanish frigate is renamed the *Exchange*, with John Lock placed in command. A group of 120 Indians also appears, asking Jackson to restore them to Roatán and Guanaja islands, from where the Spaniards have removed them.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1643. Jackson's expedition quits Trujillo, anchoring 12 days later off Cape Gracias a Dios for local natives to come aboard and visit captains Samuel Axe and Lewis Morris, "who had formerly lived among them." The English then press on to the nearby Mosquito Islands for turtle meat, arriving there on September 28 to recuperate.

OCTOBER 13, 1643. Jackson's squadron sets sail for Bocas del Dragón. When Captain Wollmer and some of his men step ashore on one of its islands 13 days later, they are seized by a party of cannibals "and never after seen." Jackson sets an armed force ashore to rescue them, but although they fight their way inland to the cannibals' village, all have fled.

Jackson then leaves his ships at anchor, while leading a boat flotilla toward Escudo de Veragua (Panama).

NOVEMBER 1, 1643. Jackson's boats find one of his separated ships at anchor off Escudo de Veragua, with a small Spanish prize. A shallop is sent back to Bocas del Dragón to summon the rest of the English squadron. An armed force is meanwhile disembarked but fails to find the road into Veragua.

NOVEMBER 3, 1643. Jackson's flotilla of boats approaches the mouth of the Oro River. He sets his troops ashore, and they march inland to find Veragua

empty. A week later, the disappointed privateers torch its buildings and withdraw to their ships.

NOVEMBER 24, 1643. *Tolú Raid.* After coasting past Chagres and Portobelo, Jackson's expedition nears Tolú (Colombia). Desperate for provisions, they steal into its harbor under cover of darkness. The Spaniards, who see their sails "by ye moonlight, beat up their drums."

The raiders nevertheless shoot their way ashore the next dawn, while the defenders retreat inland with their women and children. The English are delighted to find considerable booty and remain for four days before they torch the 300 dwellings and depart.

JANUARY 2, 1644. After refreshing near Cartagena (Colombia), Jackson sails past this port. Five days later, his squadron sights Santa Marta, then steers toward Cuba.

JANUARY 18, 1644. Jackson reaches Point Negril (Jamaica) and pauses there for 18 days to cut timber before proceeding toward Cuba. His vessels probe gingerly into the southern archipelago before anchoring at Cayo Colombo on March 3 to careen and make extensive repairs. While lying there, the *Maracaibo* comes in to rejoin Jackson (see "June 11, 1643" entry).

MARCH 30, 1644. In Canada, a contingent of French settlers is defeated by an Iroquois war party, intent upon attacking Montreal.

APRIL 1644. *Last Anglo-Powhatan War.* In Virginia, steady inland encroachments by English settlers provoke a second violent reaction from the Algonquian *werowance* or "chieftain" Opechancanough. Although now almost 80 years of age, he retains a hatred for whites and lays careful plans for a coordinated attack against their forward-most elements. His warriors strike suddenly and within the first two days kill perhaps 500 trappers, traders, and farmers; but the English are now much more numerous—approximately 15,000 people—and more experienced in irregular warfare. Over the next two years, they crush the Algonquian tribes, finally capturing Opechancanough himself, who is shot in the back in his Jamestown jail cell. His successor, Necotowance, is obliged to sue for terms by October 1646, agreeing to retire his people to a reservation north of the York River and acknowledge King Charles I as his lord.

JULY 15, 1644. After four months of repairs, Jackson's squadron departs Cayo Colombo on the southern coast of Cuba, reaching the Cayman Islands the next day. There, they meet Captain Taylor in the *Nicholas* of London, and the *Charles* of Bristol.

AUGUST 7, 1644. *Tabasco Foray.* Having refurbished and reprovisioned at the Caymans, Jackson and Taylor round Cape Catoche to enter the Gulf of Mexico and raid Tabasco. But while edging along the Mexican coast before dawn on August 13, the *Valentine*, the *Maracaibo*, and the *Swan* strike a cluster of rocky shoals known as Los Lazarillos and are lost.

All crewmen are nonetheless rescued by the other vessels, so the English resume their advance to the mouth of Tabasco's river. Boat parties advance upriver on August 21, capturing five small frigates laden with merchandise, before pressing on to Villahermosa. However, upon entering that empty city, the raiders find that its inhabitants have "carried away their wealth, and left us nothing but bare walls to gaze upon."

The boat parties therefore return to their anchored ships, after which Jackson and Taylor hover outside of Campeche, which has been reinforced by troops sent from the provincial capital of Mérida de Yucatán. The privateers continue on to Champotón, to slaughter cattle for their voyage home. The local Franciscan friars Antonio Vázquez and Andrés Navarro are captured when the raiders steal ashore at night, allegedly "while they were drinking and revelling" with some women, according to English accounts. Spanish records state that the two priests had lingered to hide church valuables and so were caught.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1644. Having reprovisioned, Jackson and Taylor's expedition quits the coast of Campeche for the Florida Keys and Cuba, intending to exit via the Straits of Florida. But instead they are scattered by a storm, so that Jackson touches at Matanzas Bay in Cuba for water and releases the two captive priests from Champotón and eight other Spanish prisoners before reaching Bermuda on October 27 (O.S.) with only his flagship and four other vessels. After resting for almost three months, he sets sail with his survivors and anchors in The Downs in England by March 6, 1645 (O.S.).

Captain Newcombe's *Dolphin* and a few other scattered vessels have meanwhile been driven back to Saint Kitts by February 24, 1645. They depart again on April 29 (O.S.) with a small cargo of tobacco and

indigo, reaching Kinsale in Ireland five weeks later. But upon approaching Plymouth, the *Dolphin* is beset by Dunkirk privateers, Newcombe being slain and most of the booty lost after a hard-fought battle.

APRIL 1645. Puerto Rico's governor, Francisco de la Riva Agüero, dispatches an officer called Francisco Vicente Durán with 100 men aboard a frigate to exterminate a foreign settlement discovered on Santa Ana among the Virgin Islands. Durán slays its leader and 13 other trespassers, captures 15, then scatters another 30 inland, before burning the huts and returning into Puerto Rico.

APRIL 13, 1645. The 41-year-old Charles de Menou d'Aulnay, governor of Port Royal (modern Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia), crosses the Bay of Fundy with some ships and 200 men to capture Fort La Tour (Saint John, New Brunswick), stronghold of his hated 53-year-old French rival Charles de Saint Etienne de La Tour, who has switched allegiance to the English. After installing a two-piece battery ashore, the besiegers call upon Fort La Tour's 47-man garrison to surrender. They refuse, resisting heroically under their governor's wife, Françoise Marie Jacquelin de La Tour, as their leader is absent in Boston.

By the evening of April 16 (Easter Sunday), eight defenders have been killed and several others wounded, and a gaping hole has been battered in their parapet. D'Aulnay's troops storm through this opening, and Madame de La Tour surrenders on the understanding that her followers will be spared. However, all but two are hanged, and she dies in captivity a few days later, her infant son being sent to France.

JULY 14, 1645. French settlers in Canada sign a peace treaty with the Iroquois.

LATE JANUARY 1646. *Poincy's Revolt.* On the French half of Saint Kitts, Governor-General de Poincy resists being replaced by the *Compagnie des Îles d'Amérique's* Noël, Sieur de Patrocle de Thoisy, as directed by Paris. A secret disembarkation is therefore made at the northwestern tip of this island by Governor du Parquet of Martinique—one of the new governor general's supporters—who rallies 300–400 men and arrests de Poincy's nephews, Robert de Longvilliers and de Treval. De Poincy instantly marches with 2,000 militiamen (mostly Englishmen from adjoining districts) to confront

this challenger, defeating du Parquet in a clash at Pointe de Sable, during which 60 Frenchmen die.

APRIL 1646. The Puerto Rican governor sends his son Fernando de la Riva Agüero with 50 soldiers aboard a frigate and two *urcas* or “storeships” to again sweep Santa Ana and Saint Croix in the Virgin Islands. The former is easily overrun, but at the second, the Spanish expedition unwittingly anchors beneath its lone battery. After a vigorous exchange of shot, this redoubt is captured and thrown down, the Spaniards thereupon retiring.

JUNE 26, 1646. Rioting breaks out on Martinique—led by a former Parisian glove maker assuming the title of “General” Beaufort—in protest against the *Compagnie des Îles d'Amérique's* appointment of a new governor general. A chaotic fortnight ensues, until Martinique's deputy governor Jérôme du Sarrat, Sieur de la Pierrière, lures Beaufort and 20 intimates to a meeting, where they are murdered. Trouble nonetheless spreads to Guadeloupe as well, where the new governor general's residence is besieged by several hundred armed men, only to be dispersed the next day by Major General Sabouilly.

De Thoisy subsequently transfers to Martinique on January 3, 1647, in anticipation of returning to France, while full-blown rioting engulfs Guadeloupe. An expedition is sent after the governor general 10 days later, arresting de Thoisy and delivering him to his archenemy de Poincy at Saint Kitts by January 25, in exchange for the captive du Parquet.

EARLY APRIL 1647. Embarrassed by the continued incarceration of his rival, de Poincy orders de Thoisy deported to France aboard a merchantman.

MAY 1647. A small Spanish expedition out of Puerto Rico removes an English colony from Saint Croix.

JUNE 30, 1647. Five Spanish vessels under captains Francisco Vicente Durán and Celedonio de Escobedo return into Puerto Rico, after having evacuated the infirm Saint Martin garrison from the Leeward Islands, since Spain's impoverished treasury could no longer maintain this outpost. (Within a year, Saint Martin is reoccupied by Dutch and French settlers; the sick Spanish soldiers moreover introduce the plague to Puerto Rico, causing the deaths of more than 500 people, including Bishop Damián López de Haro.)

LATE SEPTEMBER 1647. Some 60 French colonists under Jean Pinart, driven from Saint Kitts by Governor-General de Poincy, are deposited in the Virgin Islands (possibly on Saint John or Vieques) by Captain Le Verrier's bark. This establishment is soon discovered by Spaniards from nearby Puerto Rico, who send a contingent of soldiers aboard five vessels to eliminate the intruders. After a brief resistance, the French are overwhelmed and carried off into captivity at San Juan.

OCTOBER 1647. Capt. William Sayle returns to Bermuda from England with several volunteers, 400 muskets, and provisions for an attempted colonization of the Bahamas.

LATE FEBRUARY 1648. Dutch captain Martin Thomas arrives at Sint Maarten with a small band of settlers, having been sent to reoccupy this island by Abraham Adriaanszoon, governor of Sint Eustatius.

SPRING 1648. Sayle arrives off Eleuthera Island (Bahamas) from Bermuda, with 70 settlers aboard his 50-ton *William* and a six-ton shallop. His flagship is wrecked on reefs near Governor's Bay, compelling Sayle to go for help with eight men aboard his consort. Eventually, he returns from Virginia with 60 more colonists and in March 1650 receives a shipload of provisions from Boston. (In gratitude to Boston, he sends back 10 tons of braziletto wood as a gift, which when sold provides a substantial portion of Harvard University's initial endowment.)

MARCH 23, 1648. After Robert Lonvilliers de Poincy—nephew of the French governor general for the Windward Islands—and his brother Lt. Col. Henri de Lonvilliers, Chevalier de Benevent, Savin et Courpon, Sieur de la Tour, reach Saint Martin with 300 men to stake France's claim over this island, the Dutch governor Martin Thomas agrees to share it. A partition arrangement known as the “Treaty of Concordia” is signed whereby the French will inhabit its northern half, the Dutch, its southern part.

JUNE 1648. English raiders under a leader known only as “Abraham” sack the Mexican town of Nueva Salamanca de Bacalar in southeastern Yucatán (near the modern border with Belize). Women captives are carried offshore to Islote de los Cayos, from whence they are rescued by 11 Spanish militiamen

The Fronde Revolts

After King Louis XIII died on May 14, 1643, France was plunged into a period of weakness and unrest. His son was not yet five years old, therefore his Spanish-born wife, Queen Anne, tried to rule as regent. Being a foreigner, she lacked influence with the French aristocracy as well as the Parlement of Paris. Amid the demands and bankruptcy brought on by the Thirty Years' War, the bad harvests of 1647 and 1648 added the threat of starvation.

Parlement angrily debated reforms that summer, until the queen regent—against the advice of Cardinal Mazarin—arrested three leaders on August 26, 1648. Two days of riots ensued, fanned by aristocrats and other dissenters. As no serious battles were involved, it would be dubbed the “Revolt of the Frondes,” the slings played with by children in the streets. Anne, nonetheless, had to flee with her child heir, the prisoners were released, and some of Parlement’s demands were accepted by October. But the leading aristocrats, known as the “Princes of the Blood,” refused to accept any type of constitutional monarchy. They besieged Paris with their troops, and lawlessness reigned until a truce was arranged in March 1649.

Mazarin and the queen regent returned into Paris and quietly sided with one faction. They arrested their three main opponents on January 18, 1650, starting a second round of fighting known as the “Fronde of the Princes.” Anarchy gripped the nation, especially the province of Bordeaux. France’s two greatest generals—Henri, Vicomte de Turenne, and Louis, Prince de Condé—fought each other for Paris from April to July 1652. Although victorious, the latter then spoiled his victory by massacring the Assembly of Notables. One month later, the count went to join the Spaniards in the Netherlands.

Weary of this endless turmoil, people rallied around the 14-year-old heir. He was crowned as Louis XIV and made a triumphal entry into Paris on October 21, 1652. With the help of Mazarin, the provinces were then pacified. The Frondes ended when Bordeaux was retaken by royal troops in August 1653. The young king and his minister next began creating a strong central government to avoid any repeat of such anarchy. Louis always remembered having to flee his capital three times and pretending to be asleep while a mob filed through his bedroom. It led him to slowly impose an absolute monarchy over all of France and its overseas colonies.

and 17 native auxiliaries under Capt. Bartolomé Palomino.

LATE AUGUST 1648. An unidentified buccaneer ship appears off Havana with two small Cuban prizes. Gov. Diego de Villalba y Toledo, Knight of the Order of Santiago, presses two private galleons into service, manning them with troops and guns; upon exiting, however, the Spanish pursuers run aground and are wrecked, obliging the governor to send out a rescue expedition—as well as indemnifying the masters for their loss.

MARCH 16, 1649. In Canada, 1,000 Iroquois warriors attack the French missions at Saint Ignace and Saint Louis, torturing their Jesuit priests to death.

MARCH 17, 1649. *Grenada Occupation.* An expedition of 145 French settlers under Governor du Parquet of Martinique, crammed aboard two barks commanded by Jean Lepelletier (known as “*Captaine Pas*”) and Captain Lorimer, enter Saint George’s harbor to occupy a base previously explored by Captain La Rivière. Within eight days, they erect a palisade named Fort Annunciation—March 25 being the Day of the Annunciation in the Church calendar—and du Parquet appoints his 55-year-old cousin Jean

Le Comte as Grenada’s new governor, departing on April 6.

The island’s Carib residents under Chief Kai-rouane remain suspicious yet nonhostile until November, when 11 large canoes arrive bearing several hundred warriors from nearby Saint Vincent, bent upon avenging an insult in the Grenadines. Le Comte’s followers retreat within their stockade and spend eight anxious days, while the Indians destroy their properties before withdrawing.

MAY 1650. Four Cuban warships with 350 troops under Capt. Francisco de Villalba y Toledo materialize under cover of darkness opposite Roatán to eradicate its English buccaneering camps. Disembarking two hours before dawn, the Spaniards attempt to rush Roatán’s defensive works, only to be discovered and fired upon. De Villalba vainly attempts to outflank this system of trenches and ramparts with 30 men, hampered by surrounding swamps. When ammunition runs low, the Spanish withdraw and sail to Santo Tomás del Castillo (Guatemala) for rearmament and reinforcements.

MAY 26, 1650. Governor du Parquet reaches Grenada from Martinique with 300 men, joining his subordinate (and cousin) Le Comte for a sneak

attack against its natives, who have been killing isolated settlers. Guided by a Carib traitor, 60 French musketeers steal up a hill that same night, surrounding a camp of perhaps two-score sleeping Indians at the edge of a precipice overlooking the sea. When the French begin shooting, their crossfire proves so effective that the natives are either massacred or leap to their deaths (the spot becoming known as *Morne des Sauteurs* or “Jumpers’ Promontory”). Du Parquet then orders the construction of a second small keep on Grenada, which he names Fort Saint Jean, and garrisons it with 70 men under Capt. Yves Le Cercueil, Sieur Le Fort, before departing on June 7.

JUNE 1650. While returning toward Martinique, du Parquet detaches 40 men under Capt. Louis de Kerengoan, Sieur de Rosselan, to occupy uninhabited Saint Lucia. They disembark on its western coast near modern Castries, erecting a fort with double palisades, moat, and artillery on the banks of the Carénage River. De Rosselan, who is married to a Carib woman, proves a successful governor.

LATE JULY 1650. *Roatán Counterattack.* De Villalba’s expedition of four Cuban warships returns to Roatán a second time, having been resupplied with powder and shot by the audiencia of Guatemala. The Spaniards’ ranks have also been augmented by 50 soldiers from Chiquimula under Capt. Juan Bautista Echavarría, and a like number from Guatemala City under Capt. Martín de Alvarado y Guzmán.

On this occasion, the attackers disembark some distance from the English defenses and advance with four small fieldpieces, which allow them to blast a breach and overrun this trench system—although taking no prisoners, as the buccaneers melt into the jungle. De Villalba therefore retires empty-handed toward Cuba, leaving the English to reoccupy their base.

AUGUST 1650. *Struggle for Saint Croix.* Some 1,200 men out of Puerto Rico overwhelm the English colony on Saint Croix, forcing its settlers to evacuate to Saint Kitts. The Spaniards install a 60-man garrison, which captures two Dutch barks that arrive from nearby Sint Eustatius expecting to find Saint Croix uninhabited. A few weeks later, the Spaniards are in turn besieged within their keep by 160 French buccaneers who slip ashore under the Sieur de Vaugalan, having been sent from Saint Kitts by Governor-General de Poincy. The Spaniards surrender and are repatriated to Puerto Rico, while a

further 300 French arrive from Saint Kitts under Sieur Auger to convert Saint Croix into a French colony.

DECEMBER 1, 1650. As the French Crown is distracted during the minority of King Louis XIV by internal fighting known as the “Fronde Revolts,” the 50-year-old naval officer Mathurin Gabaret departs La Rochelle with his 30-gun, 150–200-man, 350-ton *Phénix* to make an unauthorized privateering cruise through the West Indies. In the company of another raider, they seize a rich prize off Santa Marta (Colombia) early the next year.

MAY 24, 1651. Frustrated by its inability to control Saint Kitts, Saint Martin, Saint Croix, and Saint-Barthélémy, the *Compagnie des Îles d’Amérique* sells its interest to the Order of Malta for 120,000 francs.

MAY 26, 1651. At 4:00 a.m., 25 Franco-Dutch raiders shoot their way into Alvarado (Mexico), killing 10 residents and wounding 9 before withdrawing with their booty to a pair of waiting ships—presumably those of Gabaret and his consort. It is known that the French officer was present in Canada a few months later, reportedly after a raid into the Gulf of Mexico.

EARLY AUGUST 1651. A squadron of French privateers, piloted by the Spanish turncoat Pedro Vélez de Medrano—formerly an admiral in the Armada de Barlovento who quit several years earlier over his arrears in pay—surprises and destroys La Guaira (Venezuela), torches its buildings, and makes off with numerous anchored vessels.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1651. The 35-year-old Parliamentary commodore Sir George Ayscue arrives at Saint Vincent, fresh from having helped capture the Scilly Isles, with his 50-gun, 280-man flagship *Rainbow*; the 36-gun, 150-man vice-flagship *Amity* under Richard Pack; the 30-gun, 90-man *Success* of Edmund Witheridge; the 30-gun, 80-man *Ruth* of Edward Thompson; the 24-gun, 70-man frigate *Brazil* of Thomas Heath; the 36-gun, 190-man hired merchantman *Malaga* of Henry Collins; and the 36-gun, 100-man hired London merchantman *Increase* of Thomas Varwell.

This expedition has been sent out from England to establish Cromwell’s rule over Barbados, which remains loyal to the exiled King Charles II. After

refreshing supplies for 10 days, Ayscue beats slowly upwind toward his objective, hampered by the “ill sailing” of *Success*, *Brazil*, and *Malaga*.

OCTOBER 25, 1651. *Ayscue at Barbados.* The Parliamentary squadron arrives off Barbados this evening, splitting early the next morning to make simultaneous descents upon Carlisle and Austin’s bays. Captain Pack enters the former with the *Amity*, the *Success*, the *Malaga*, and an unnamed merchantman under Captain Totty, surprising 14 Dutch traders at anchor. Two of these deliberately run aground, but the other dozen are boarded and brought off by Pack, while Carlisle Bay’s batteries open fire without inflicting damage. Pack then dispatches a shallop to advise Ayscue, who sails from nearby Austin’s Bay to rejoin his second-in-command. While passing Needham’s Point, Ayscue’s *Rainbow* is fired upon by its fort; at first he responds with a signal shot to leeward, still hoping to secure Barbados without bloodshed. But when this bombardment continues, his ships crash out full broadsides, suffering one man killed and two wounded before clawing out of range.

The next day, October 27, Ayscue sends an officer and trumpeter inshore to call for Barbados’s surrender “for the use of the Parliament of England.” The Royalist governor, Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, having arrived from his plantation 12 miles outside Bridgetown and assembled 400 riders and 6,000 militiamen, answers that he knows “no supreme authority over Englishmen but the King”; to further outrage Parliamentary sensibilities, he addresses his reply to “His Majesty’s ship *Rainbow*.” Faced with such intransigence, Ayscue institutes a close blockade, intercepting arriving merchantmen (mostly Dutch, which will unwittingly contribute to deteriorating relations in Europe, hastening the eruption of the First Anglo-Dutch War the next year).

A stalemate ensues, until a packet arrives from England on November 18 with news of Cromwell’s victory over the last Royalist army at Worcester on September 3 (O.S.). Buoyed by these tidings, Ayscue sends 200 seamen under Captain Morris to destroy the four-gun battery at The Hole on the night of December 3, spiking its cannon and coming away with 30 prisoners. The Royalists’ morale is further lowered on December 11 when the Parliamentary ship *John* of Capt. Robert Dennis and the frigate *Guinea* of Capt. Edmund Curtis (both mounting 32 guns) appear with 13 vessels bound to subdue Virginia.

Temporarily reinforced by this second squadron, Ayscue sends 400 seamen and 150 Scottish soldiers—paroled after their defeat at Worcester—to attack the small fort at Speight’s Bay early on the morning of December 17. The Barbadian militia is forewarned, and Colonel Gibbs awaits this disembarkation with three troops of horse and 1,200 foot; yet despite their superior numbers, the defenders break and run in the darkness, leaving behind four cannon, 500 small arms, and 80 prisoners (mostly wounded). Ayscue cunningly orders the latter treated and released to spread sedition among Royalist ranks. A desperate Willoughby orders two returnees hanged and prohibits reading documents brought from the blockading fleet.

On December 24, the Virginia squadron departs and proceeds toward Saint Kitts, leaving Ayscue to begin a secret correspondence with Sir Thomas Modyford, colonel of Barbados’s Windward Regiment, stationed near his plantation at Austin’s Bay. Although a longtime Royalist, Modyford believes this stalemate is ruining the island’s economy so agrees to change sides, and on January 13, 1652, he turns his 800-man regiment inland, allowing Ayscue to come ashore at Austin’s Bay. Once assembled, the Parliamentary forces total 2,000 foot and 100 horse, opposed by 2,000 foot and 400 horse under Willoughby, a quarter of a mile away.

An immediate clash is averted by a week of rain, after which the Royalists ask for terms. These are generous, the Barbadians being granted their own government, with no retaliations sought. Articles are signed at the Mermaid Inn near Austin’s Bay on January 21, and the next day the fortifications are occupied by Commonwealth officers. Ayscue installs his aide Daniel Searle as the new governor, and about mid-March he sails for Montserrat, Nevis, and Saint Kitts, which also submit to Parliamentary rule before his squadron returns to England in May.

JANUARY 1652. French buccaneers out of Tortuga seize the Cuban town of Baracoa, torching it along with its citadel—the Castillo de Seboruco—when they withdraw the next month.

MARCH 24, 1652. A party of 60 dispossessed French colonists returns to Cayenne under Captain de Navarre to rebuild their stockade atop Mont Cépérou and plant new crops.

MAY 28, 1652. Some 30 French and English raiders disembark from a ship inside the Gulf of Mexico

to pillage the town of Minzapa (state of Veracruz). The *alcalde mayor* of nearby Coatzacoalcas, Capt. Diego de Estupiñán, rides to its relief with 18 militia horsemen and captures one Englishman as the remainder retreat aboard their vessel.

EARLY SUMMER 1652. *Rupert's Counteroffensive.*

Shortly after Ayscue's departure, the Royalist commander Prince Rupert (Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria and of Cumberland, Earl of Holderness, etc.) arrives in the West Indies from the Azores off West Africa, hoping to shore up monarchist resolve. Although only 32 years of age, the Czech-born Rupert—nephew of the executed King Charles I—is already acclaimed as a brilliant campaigner, having fought at his uncle's side throughout most of the English Civil War. Yet, once driven out of Britain and pursued by the Cromwellian admiral Robert Blake, Rupert's royal squadron becomes so depleted that it is now reduced to the men-of-war *Swallow* and *Honest Seaman*, two lesser vessels, plus a few unarmed Spanish prizes, with mutinous, unpaid crews.

These are wholly inadequate to reverse the recent assertion of Parliamentary rule throughout Barbados and the Windward Isles, so Rupert traverses the archipelago without attempting any attack. While approaching the Virgin Islands, his squadron is engulfed on the evening of September 13 (O.S.) by a storm, during which his own flagship is almost destroyed. The next morning, only the *Swallow* and two prizes remain afloat, his younger brother Prince Maurice Palatine being lost on the south shores of Anegada Island with the prize ship *Defiance* and three other vessels. Disheartened, Rupert returns to France in March 1653. For many years, he will pursue rumors that his favorite sibling has survived.

SUMMER 1652. On Saint Kitts, Governor-General de Poincy becomes so alarmed by the growing independence of the Huguenot colony under Le Vasseur at Tortuga Island (Haiti) that he commissions the naval officer Timoléon Hotman, Chevalier de Fontenay and Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, plus his own nephew de Treval, to sail toward this place aboard de Fontenay's 22-gun frigate and another vessel.

They rendezvous at Port à l'Éu on the north shore of Hispaniola, but before they can proceed farther, word reaches them that Le Vasseur—who has alienated both Catholics and Protestants by his increasingly autocratic behavior—has been assassi-

nated by two confidants Tibaut and Martin. De Fontenay and de Treval therefore hasten to Tortuga, the former assuming office as its new governor. He pardons the two assassins and will unilaterally issue numerous privateering commissions for raids against the Spaniards.

LATE AUGUST 1652. Buccaneer raiders from Tortuga Island (Haiti) ravage the defenseless Cuban town of San Juan de los Remedios and carry away many citizens as hostages or slaves.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1652. The ships *Charité* and *Grand Saint-Pierre* appear from Havre off Cayenne in French Guiana, bringing 800 fresh colonists of the new Compagnie de la France Equinoxiale (more commonly referred to as the Compagnie des Douze Seigneurs, because its finances have been raised by a dozen noblemen). This expedition's original leader, Etienne Le Roux, Sieur de Roiville, has been murdered in his bunk during the voyage by his subordinate Vertaumont.

The latter comes ashore the next day and assumes office as the new governor. The stronghold of Mont Cépérou is renamed Fort Saint-Michel in honor of Saint Michael's feast day, which falls on September 29 in the Church calendar. Vertaumont begins his rule by having its wooden ramparts replaced by a 10-gun stone structure, designed by his military engineer Captain d'Aigremont. A 70-man garrison is then installed into this completed structure, after which Vertaumont lays out an entirely new town that November at Rémire, on the southeastern side of Cayenne's peninsula. But disease and miserable living conditions soon begin taking their toll among these newcomers, after which they will begin squabbling among themselves.

OCTOBER 14, 1652. Near Montreal (Quebec), 34 Frenchmen under Maj. Lambert Closse repulse about 200 Iroquois warriors.

MARCH 1653. The king of France confirms the Order of Malta's ownership of Saint Kitts and its dependencies, including its fortifications and churches. The order can also name its own judges and officials.

JULY 8, 1653. The new French colony at Cayenne has so antagonized its Galibi inhabitants that a major uprising erupts. Five months later, 400 discouraged survivors will set sail westward to seek shelter at the new English colony of Suriname.

OCTOBER 1653. Charles Houël, governor of Guadeloupe, sends his younger brother the chevalier Robert Houël to Marie-Galante with 100 soldiers to erect a fort.

FEBRUARY 9, 1654. *Spanish Conquest of Tortuga.*

At midday, the French and English inhabitants of this island see four Spanish vessels bearing down. This counterattack has been prompted by the buccaneers' sack of Santiago de los Caballeros in 1650 and the Cuban port of San Juan de los Remedios in August 1652, plus the numerous commissions being granted by Governor de Fontenay. Consequently, a punitive expedition has slipped out of the capital of Santo Domingo on December 4, 1653, bearing 200 soldiers and 500 volunteers under Capt. Gabriel de Rojas y Figueroa, seconded by the former Irish renegade John Murphy (now promoted to *maestre de campo*, as well as having been invested with a knighthood in the Order of Santiago; see "January 21, 1634" entry in "Other Colonial Struggles").

This Spanish squadron captures a trio of buccaneer craft off Monte Cristi before sighting Tortuga. Gliding past its harbor, the Spaniards bombard the vessels in its roadstead, then continue two to three

miles farther down the coast to disembark several hundred troops at the hamlet of Cayonne and march back to besiege the island's principal fortress. On the night of February 12, Rojas sends a company with grappling lines to scale the heights behind this keep and install siege artillery. By February 18, the French and English are so reduced as to request terms, and two days later de Fontenay surrenders. More than 500 captives are taken, among them 330 *boucaniers*. All are allowed to sail away toward France aboard a pair of ships—the first under de Fontenay and the second under Tibaut and Martin—save two leaders who are kept as hostages (one is the governor's younger brother Thomas), while the Spanish furthermore seize 70 cannon in the fortress and shore batteries, three ships, a frigate, and eight lesser craft as booty.

The attackers also decide to hold their hard-won conquest by leaving behind a garrison of 100 troops under Murphy. (A few months later, Santo Domingo's authorities send Capt. Baldomero Calderón Espinosa with 150 soldiers to relieve the Irishman, whom they do not trust.) However, Madrid subsequently issues a *real cédula* on September 13, 1654, ordering Tortuga evacuated altogether, after throwing down its fortifications.



Contemporary Spanish drawing of the Franco-English fortress on Tortuga Island, Haiti. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

APRIL 14, 1654. *Franco-Carib War.* On Grenada, warriors arrive from Saint Vincent and begin attacking its scattered French settlements, sending the survivors flying south for the protection of Governor Le Comte's stronghold at Beausejour. One month later, this place, too, is overrun, its French garrison escaping by the providential appearance of a Cayenne ship with 300 soldiers, who help restore the situation by occupying Fort d'Esnambuc on Morne des Sauteurs, then driving back the Caribs. A two-pronged counteroffensive eventually strikes northward, killing 80 Caribs and temporarily clearing Grenada of invaders; but Governor Le Comte is drowned while retiring along the coast from this campaign, so the Caribs return aboard 24 war canoes, landing at Grande Anse (south of present-day Saint George's) to resume their rampage until finally being defeated at Fort d'Esnambuc a month afterward.

Minor hostilities persist on Grenada and neighboring Saint Lucia for some time thereafter, prompting Martinique's Governor du Parquet to send 150 men under his deputy de la Pierrière to attack the Carib bases on Saint Vincent aboard four ships mounting 12 guns, 4 guns and 2 swivels, 2 guns and 4 swivels, and 2 swivels, respectively. They find the

Caribs waiting, having erected a breastwork by placing their canoes end to end on the beach and filling them with sand. After vainly bombarding these emplacements from offshore, de la Pierrière sends boats in close, luring the Caribs out into the open where they are decimated by grapeshot from his ships. Sweeping ashore, the French then inflict fearful punishment upon the western half of Saint Vincent before retiring to Martinique.

Trouble soon erupts on that island as well when 2,000 Caribs and blacks rise against the French. This outburst is only put down thanks to the chance arrival of four large Dutch merchantmen, which disembark 300 men and assist the beleaguered Martinicans. Having broken this Carib-black army, Governor du Parquet delegates his subordinate Guillaume d'Orange to complete its extirpation.

MAY 20, 1654. The 45-gun Courlander ship *Wappen der Herzogin von Kurland* arrives off the southwestern coast of Tobago and disembarks 25 officers and 124 soldiers under Capt. Willem Mollens, as well as 80 families of colonists, for a fourth attempt to settle this West Indian island. A stronghold named Jakabsfort or “Fort James” is promptly erected overlooking Great Courland Bay, around which a community christened Jakaba Pilseta or “James Town” will soon appear. This colonization effort proves successful, a modest trade in New World produce soon develops, and a further 120 colonists arrive three years afterward.

JULY 8, 1654. Gov. Charles Houël of Guadeloupe, about to sail for France to have his title confirmed, appoints his brother Robert and nephew Charles de Boisseret d'Herblay to rule during his absence. By now, the island has 1,200 men capable of bearing arms, including 300 Portuguese refugees recently arrived from Brazil.

JULY 13, 1654. Maj. Robert Sedgewick, the British commander on the New England coast, departs Boston to attack French Acadia farther north in reprisal for attacks upon British vessels. He captures Fort Sainte Marie, Port Royal (modern Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia), and Fort Penobscot, but they are restored to France in November 1655 by the Treaty of Westminster.

AUGUST 24, 1654. Five buccaneer vessels return to Tortuga (Haiti), hoping to reoccupy this island. They include 100 of its original French settlers un-

Dutch Refugees from Brazil

Learning of Cayenne's abandonment, a group of Dutch refugees from Recife (Brazil) arrived early in 1654 under Quirijn Spranger, repairing and reoccupying Fort Saint-Michel, which they renamed Fort Nassau. They were soon reinforced by other independent groups, including 60 experienced Jewish settlers who arrived with 80 slaves in 1656 and erected the first ox-driven sugar mill at Rémire. Their leader, David Nassy, then invited more Jews to migrate into this area as well in September 1659, and they were joined the next year by another 152 coreligionists from Livorno (Leghorn, Italy).

When one group of 900 Dutch refugees and their slaves sought asylum on Martinique, Governor du Parquet reluctantly refused, allegedly under pressure from the Jesuits who were against the introduction of Protestants and Jews. But they were warmly welcomed on Guadeloupe by Governor Houël. Changing his mind, du Parquet then sent a ship after them, asking the Dutch to return.

der de Fontenay, who have sailed only as far as Saint Kitts to recruit greater strength—rather than to France, as promised. They disembark, intent upon reestablishing ownership, but after eight days' fruitless combat, they are compelled to retire. Opposite Monte Cristi, they are intercepted by three Spanish men-of-war hastening out from Santo Domingo to the garrison's rescue. One buccaneer ship with 50 men is captured; half are Dutch, the remainder, French. The former are spared and carried as prisoners into Santo Domingo, while the latter are hanged from the yardarms for violating their paroles. De Fontenay escapes this fate, pausing at Port à Margot before sailing back to France, never again to return to the West Indies.

SEPTEMBER 1654. A Dutch colonizing expedition from Zeeland under Pieter Becquart reaches Tobago and establishes a settlement called Nieuw Vlissingen or “New Flushing” (modern Scarborough) at Lampsis Bay on the south side of the island. Thanks to the United Provinces' good relations with the Duchy of Courland, these new arrivals are able to amicably coexist with the already emergent Courlander outpost on the far side of this peninsula. Soon, the Dutch outpost will also be defended by three forts: Lampsisberg, Beveren, and Bellavista.

JANUARY 31, 1655 (O.S.). An English fleet straggles into Barbados under the 33-year-old “General-at-Sea” William Penn, having been sent by Oliver Cromwell to conquer a major stronghold in the West Indies. His warships consist of the 60-gun, 380-man flagship *Swiftsure* under the flag captain Jonas Poole; the 54-gun, 330-man vice-flagship *Paragon* of Vice Adm. William Goodson; the 54-gun, 310-man *Torrington* of Rear Adm. George Dakins; the 54-gun, 310-man *Marston Moor* of Edward Blagg and *Gloucester* of Benjamin Blake; the 44-gun, 260-man *Lion* of John Lumbert; the 36-gun, 180-man *Bear* of Francis Kirby; the 44-gun, 230-man *Mathias* of John White; the 40-gun, 190-man *Laurel* of William Crispin, *Portland* of Richard Newberry, and *Dover* of Robert Saunders; the 24-gun *Selby* of John Clark and *Grantham* of John Lightfoot; the 44-gun, 210-man *Indian* of Captain Terry; the 12-gun, 60-man galley *Martin* of William Vessey; plus the 36-gun, 150-man *Great Charity* of Leonard Harris.

They are escorting the 30-gun transports *Heart's Ease* of Thomas Wright, *Discovery* of Thomas Wills, *Convertine* of John Hayward, and *Katherine* of Willoughby Hannam; the 28-gun *Halfmoon* of Bartholomew Ketcher and *Rosebush* of Richard Hodges; the 25-gun *Golden Cock* of William Garrat; the 24-gun *Gillyflower* of Henry Fenn; the 24-gun flyboat *Falcon* of Thomas Fleet; the 20-gun *Adam & Eve* of William Coppin, *Sampson* of John Hubbard, *Arms of Holland* of Robert Story, *Westergate* of Samuel Hawkes, *Marigold* of Humphrey Felsted, and *Crow* of Thomas Thompson; the 18-gun *Tulip* of Jeffrey Dane and *Cardiff* of John Grove; the 12-gun fire-ship *Falcon* of William Tickell; as well as the *Hound* of Richard Rooth and the *Falmouth* of Robert Mills. This expedition is furthermore accompanied by a pair of ketches, a hoy, and the dogger *Adventure*. A convoy of victualers also awaits them at Barbados.

This rather ill-prepared formation has departed Portsmouth on Christmas Day 1654 (O.S.) with

Admiral William Penn

William Penn is believed to have been born on April 23, 1621 (O.S.), in St. Thomas Parish, near Bristol. He was the youngest son of a prosperous merchant from that English seaport. Little is known about William's youth, except that he went to sea at an early age. By the time the English Civil War erupted in 1642, he was a 21-year-old ship's captain.

Energetic and ambitious, Penn enjoyed a meteoric rise in Parliament's navy. In January 1644, he married Margaret van der Schuren, the wealthy widow of a Dutch merchant. Through this union, Penn gained title to an estate at Kilcorny in County Clare, Ireland. Their first son was also born that October, the future colonizer of Pennsylvania.

Penn was employed during the summer of 1644 at the siege of Youghall. By August, he became vice admiral of Parliament's naval forces in Ireland, his flag aboard the 50-gun *Lion*. As such, he helped besiege Bunratty Castle in the spring of 1646. When the last Royalist outburst flared two years later, Penn helped Cromwell invade Ireland early in 1649 by blockading its ports.

After the English Civil War ended, Penn was sent in November 1650 with a squadron to relieve Adm. Robert Blake in the Mediterranean. He chased Prince Rupert from the Azores as far east as Malta in 1651. Despite taking 36 French and Portuguese prizes, he never caught sight of the prince. Yet Penn fought well the next year when the First Anglo-Dutch War began. In April 1653, he was promoted to admiral of the Blue Division at the Battle of Portland. And he did so well at the battles of North Foreland and Scheveningen that he was voted a gold medal and chain by Parliament. George Monck also recommended that Penn be raised to the rank of “General-at-Sea.”

This promotion was confirmed by the admiralty that same December 1653. When hostilities ceased the next year, Penn was further rewarded with Macroom Castle, a confiscated Irish estate in County Cork. And in August 1654, he was entrusted with the naval command of Cromwell's “Western Design.” This enterprise, however, proved to be most difficult. Penn returned into Spithead on the evening of August 31, 1655 (O.S.), just ahead of General Venables, and both were thrown into the Tower of London three weeks later. Cromwell was furious at the failure of his Santo Domingo plan and the unlicensed return of his officers.

Penn was released in October 1655, after apologizing and resigning from the navy. He retired to Macroom. Four years later, by March 1660, Monck helped him resume his naval career. Penn was one of those who secretly negotiated with the exiled King Charles II and sailed in May 1660 to bring him to England. For this, Penn was knighted on June 9 (O.S.) and made a commissioner of the navy. After fighting in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, he quarreled with Monck and was brought up on charges. He died in London in September 1670.

Gen. Robert Venables, 2,500 soldiers, and 38 horses on board. Sloops are immediately detached to prevent news of this expedition from spreading throughout the Caribbean, plus 18 Dutch traders in Carlisle Bay are embargoed. (Among them are three Dutch ships under Pieter Stuyvesant, returning from Holland to resume his posting at New Netherland—modern New York.) Penn and Venables use this lay-over to recruit auxiliaries, eventually raising 5,000 volunteers on this and other Antillean isles to supplement their forces. After giving the volunteers some rudimentary training, the expedition—augmented by numerous prizes—departs Carlisle Bay on March 31 (O.S.), bound for Santo Domingo via Nevis and Saint Kitts.

APRIL 23, 1655. *Assault on Santo Domingo.* The English expedition stems the Mona Passage and materializes unexpectedly before Santo Domingo's capital at 1:00 p.m., taking its garrison completely by surprise. The new island governor—Bernardino de Meneses-Bracamonte Zapata, Conde de Peñalba—has only been in office since April 5, his regulars numbering scarcely 300 musketeers and pikemen. The English fleet divides into two segments an hour later, Penn bearing down upon Santo Domingo's defenses with his men-of-war to create a diversion, while Vice Admiral Goodson leads the transport fleet westward, seeking a suitable disembarkation point. Because of uncertainty regarding shoals, the 9,000 soldiers and sailors (plus 120 horses) do not begin landing until the next day—30 miles away between Nizao Point and Jaina, an absurdly long distance that allows the heavily outnumbered Spanish time to recover from their shock and fortify their capital.

The English troops, moreover—unused to campaigning in tropical climes—soon begin to succumb to heat, insalubrious drinking water, exotic fruits, and mosquito-borne disease. Their vanguard cannot struggle back through the jungle to the outskirts of Santo Domingo until April 27; and when Venables's main body arrives the next day, rather than immediately storm its ramparts, the general withdraws several miles to the Jaina River to permit his enfeebled troops to resupply with fresh food and water from the fleet. When the attackers finally resume their advance on May 4, they are bloodied the next afternoon by 300 militia lancers and 250 Spanish musketeers around Fort San Jerónimo, which effectively ends the English offensive.

Growing increasingly infirm within their camps, the invaders begin reembarking by May 8, this

withdrawal being complete by May 12th. They leave behind more than 600 graves, 200 prisoners, two siege guns, eight flags, and all their horses. The Spanish have lost 30 men killed and sustained a like number wounded during skirmishes. Hoping to salvage something from this fiasco, two days later the English decide to steer toward smaller, easier Jamaica.

MAY 20, 1655. *Conquest of Jamaica.* On May 19, two Spanish turtle hunters spot the English expedition rounding Point Morant and warn Gov. Juan Ramírez de Arellano at Santiago de la Vega (modern Spanish Town). Like their compatriots on Santo Domingo, Jamaica's Spaniards—perhaps 1,500 men, women, children, and slaves—are caught utterly off guard by this unannounced English aggression.

During the night, Penn's expedition heaves-to before Caguaya Point (mispronounced "Cagaway" or "Cagway" by the invaders; later renamed Port Royal), and the next dawn the admiral shifts his flag aboard the frigate *Martin* to lead a flotilla of lighter craft into its harbor around 10:00 a.m. The *Martin* and a few other vessels run aground, but after a brief exchange with the batteries, the latter are abandoned by their handful of inexperienced Spanish gunners—under a hastily appointed *maestre de campo*, Francisco de Proenza, who is actually a local *hacendado* or "estate owner"—and the frigate is refloated. Sick, General Venables refuses to step ashore, so Penn lands a force of volunteers at Esquivel, meeting no opposition.

On May 21, the English advance six miles and overrun Santiago de la Vega, at which point Ramírez calls for a parley. Venables comes ashore on May 25 to dictate terms: the inhabitants are to abandon their island within a fortnight, on pain of death. Ramírez temporizes for two days but eventually signs this arrangement on May 27; shortly thereafter he sails for Campeche, dying en route.

Not all Spanish residents recognize these terms, however, and the *maestre de campo* de Proenza—after evacuating some 250 noncombatants by boat toward Cuba from northern Jamaica—establishes his headquarters at the inland town of Guatibacoa, allying himself with the *cimarrones* or "runaway black slaves" of its mountainous interior to inaugurate a guerrilla war against English occupation. The latter suffer more severely from disease and want of provisions, dying by the hundreds. Within a year, the 7,000 English officers and troops are reduced to 2,500. Soon this sickness spreads to the Spanish, leaving de Proenza blind, and he is succeeded by Cristóbal

Arnaldo de Isasi, who continues a rather ineffectual resistance for another three years.

JULY 5, 1655. Not wishing to tarry on disease-ridden Jamaica, Penn prepares for a quick return to England by careening his ships (during which the *Discovery* is accidentally consumed by fire). He also off-loads all but six weeks' provisions to help feed Jamaica's unhappy occupying army and appoints Vice Admiral Goodson as naval commander in chief for the station. The Jamaican squadron is to consist of the one-year-old, fourth-rate frigates *Torrington* (flag), the *Gloucester*, the *Marston Moor*, the *Dover*, and the *Portland*, the four-year-old frigate *Laurel*, as well as the lesser vessels *Martin*, *Grantham*, *Selby*, *Hound*, *Falmouth*, and *Arms of Holland*.

Penn departs at dawn of July 5 with the *Swiftsure*, the *Paragon*, the *Lion*, the *Mathias*, the *Bear*, the *Indian*, the *Convertine*, the *Heart's Ease*, the *Halfmoon*, the *Rosebush*, the *Gillyflower*, the *Sampson*, the *Wester-gate*, the *Little Charity*, the *Marigold*, the *Golden Cock*, and the *Tulip* (plus the flyboat *Falcon*, the fireship *Falcon*, and the *Adam & Eve*, all of which are bound for New England). His formation circles around western Cuba by July 19–20, possibly hoping to intercept a Spanish treasure convoy.

Then at noon three days later, Friday, July 13 (O.S.), Penn's vice-flagship *Paragon* catches fire and explodes with a loss of 110 men, so the admiral presses on directly toward England.

JULY 11, 1655. Pieter Stuyvesant reaches New Netherland (New York City) from Curaçao, delayed from being embargoed by Penn at Barbados. Nevertheless, he still arrives in time to lead seven Dutch vessels and several hundred men in a military sweep that recaptures Fort Casimir, then occupies Fort Christina (Wilmington, Delaware). He annexes the entire colony of "New Sweden" to Dutch rule.

AUGUST 8, 1655. The Spanish garrison occupying Tortuga Island (Haiti) is withdrawn, both in compliance with Madrid's decree of September 13, 1654, as well as to bolster Santo Domingo's defenses against the recent English offensive. Capt. Baldomero Calderón complains about this decision, which not only compels him to abandon Tortuga to the buccaneers but furthermore obliges him to bury its 70 cannon rather than carry them off. As expected, the island is soon reoccupied by English and French interlopers under a leader named Elias Watts (or Ward), who arrives from Jamaica with his family

and about a dozen colonists some time during 1656, obtaining a commission shortly thereafter from Gov. William Brayne of Jamaica appointing him "governor" of Tortuga.

AUGUST 10, 1655. *Sack of Santa Marta.* A month after Penn's departure, Goodson sails with his squadron to patrol the Spanish Main, leaving behind a few ships to defend Jamaica during his absence. He tacks 450 miles upwind to Santa Marta, surprising its defenders on October 3 and easily overrunning Fort San Juan de las Matas, as well as a gun platform covering its beach (where Fort San Vicente will later be erected). Gov. Ramón de Zalarriga, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, and *sargento mayor* or garrison commander Juan Gutiérrez are powerless to repel this attack. The terrified citizenry flee inland, and the English sack the hapless city and its surrounding farms over the next 15 days, burning most edifices before departing, although carrying off scant booty except for 30 guns. The Spanish residents are so traumatized that they will not try to reconstitute their city until seven years later.

Goodson, meanwhile, sails west-southwestward to Cartagena but, upon arriving outside the bay, deems his force insufficient to attempt any assault. He thus returns to Jamaica by mid-November 1655 "to refit and consider of some other design."

OCTOBER 15, 1655 (O.S.). England officially declares war against Spain, and Cromwell issues a manifesto 11 days later claiming it is justified because of past Spanish aggressions against English colonies in the West Indies.

MAY 1656. *Ríohacha Raid.* Goodson again visits the Spanish Main, having sailed from Jamaica on April 25 with 10 ships (smaller in size than those of his previous foray). After devastating Ríohacha with 450 men—for little reward except its four brass cannon—he departs on May 18, after torching its buildings. Proceeding down the coast, he waters at Santa Marta from May 21 to 23 before capturing a small Spanish ship bearing wines from Cadiz. Anchoring impotently before Cartagena on May 24, Goodson returns toward Jamaica after leaving his second-in-command with three craft to maintain watch over this Spanish base. Meanwhile, Goodson intercepts another small Spanish vessel bound from Santo Domingo toward Mexico, then arrives back at Jamaica on June 2. He is followed into port 11 days later by his second-in-command.

JULY 1656. Goodson weighs anchor from Jamaica, sailing to join the 14 sail he has previously detached to hover off western Cuba in hopes of intercepting a Spanish treasure fleet. By July 20, he comes up with Commo. John Lambert's *Lion*, *Indian*, *Success*, *Dover*, *Selby*, and *Martin* off Cape San Antonio (the *Arms of Holland* having exploded earlier). A month later, Goodson proceeds toward Havana with 10 sail, arriving by July 27 to unite with his other squadron and institute a close blockade. On August 29, he decides to send his flagship *Torrington* home to England along with the *Gloucester*, the *Dover*, the *Portland*, and the *Laurel*, so he shifts his flag into Capt. Christopher Myngs's *Marston Moor*, the others parting company four days later.

Abandoning his Havana blockade on August 31 (O.S.), Goodson beats slowly upwind toward Nevis, arriving by October 19 to begin embarking 1,400 settlers who are scheduled to immigrate to Jamaica. Having completed this mission, Goodson remains in and around Jamaica until January 1657, when he shifts onto the *Mathias* and sails for England, arriving in late April complaining of ill health. Myngs follows a month later with a three-ship convoy, bringing the *Marston Moor* into Dover by July.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1656. Governor du Parquet of Martinique agrees to sell his rights to the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines to two representatives from Jean Faudaos, Comte de Cérillac. The count himself has sailed from Nantes on July 11, 1655, only to be taken captive by the English and carried into Plymouth. (One of his representatives before the Martinican governor is the Dominican priest du Tertre, who will later write a famous history of the Antilles.)

Cérillac will not have any better luck when he attempts to sail from France with 400 followers in October 1657. Delayed until December, his expedition is driven to England by a storm. He will not reach the West Indies until 1661.

LATE 1656. In the Capesterre region of Guadeloupe, Angolan slaves under the leadership of two men named Pedre and Jean le Blanc rise against their masters. Their hopes of being joined by the Cape Verde slaves of the Basse-Terre region are not realized, though, leaving the rebels to melt away into the jungle after two weeks of violence. They are soon tracked down by a 20-man company of musketeers under a Walloon named Despinay, who brings in Pedre and le Blanc to be drawn and quartered.

OCTOBER 18, 1657. The Caribs of Martinique sue for peace, which is granted by Governor du Parquet. Unable to travel because of illness, du Parquet delegates his subordinate d'Orange the next day to visit the native encampments at Capesterre, getting their leaders' promise to no longer harbor runaway black slaves, whom the French greatly fear.

JANUARY 6, 1658. After touching at the Cape Verde Islands and Brazil, the 20-gun French frigates *Gaspard* of Captain de Fontenay (former governor of Tortuga, Haiti) and *Renommée* of the Dutch-born captain Job Forant, plus the *flûte* or "transport" *Meautrice* of Captain Daniel and two prizes, arrive outside Buenos Aires. Although this expedition's intent is to penetrate the Strait of Magellan into the South Pacific, the sight of a score of Dutch and two English vessels anchored off that small, lightly defended Argentine port persuades de Fontenay to take up station on an offshore island and attempt a raid.

However, a captive English pilot mistakenly disembarks de Fontenay's landing force amid impassable marshes, after which both the *Meautrice* and the *Renommée* desert the expedition in succession. De Fontenay, therefore, proceeds alone toward the Strait of Magellan, only to be driven back by contrary weather. He later rejoins Forant's *Renommée* at Rio de Janeiro.

FEBRUARY 20, 1658 (O.S.). Commodore Myngs returns to Jamaica from England as the new commander in chief for this station, having captured six Dutch merchantmen for illegal trading during his stopover at Barbados. Claiming all six as legitimate prizes, he is annoyed when eventually only one is so deemed by Jamaica's Admiralty Court, the rest being released on technicalities.

APRIL 1658. Rather than return to France empty-handed and face his investors, de Fontenay reappears off Buenos Aires with his frigate *Gaspard* and the *Renommée* under Forant, blockading the entrance for three weeks. Eventually, three large Dutch vessels emerge, determined to win their way past with their consigned cargoes. After a protracted engagement during which de Fontenay is killed and the *Gaspard* captured, the *Renommée* emerges with a single prize.

MAY 20, 1658. *Spanish Landing at Río Nuevo.* Four troop transports anchor in a half-moon-shaped cove off north-central Jamaica and deposit the surviving members of the *Tercio Mexicano* or "Mexican

Regiment”: 31 captains, 31 ensigns, 28 sergeants, and 467 soldiers recruited in New Spain that previous August to wrest the island back from English control. Two days later, a trio of English coast-guard vessels chances upon the Spanish transports still at anchor, although they are chased away by gunfire. The English scouts nonetheless report to Gov. Edward d'Oyley, who appears at Río Nuevo by June 25 with more than 700 soldiers aboard 10 ships commanded by Myngs, disembarking nearby.

The disease-ridden Mexicans, who in the meantime have been joined by perhaps 50 tattered Spanish guerrillas, choose to fight from behind a redoubt, despite the heavy firepower advantage enjoyed by the English. The Mexicans are pulverized in a two-day pitched battle ending on June 27, suffering at least 300 deaths before dispersing into the jungle, leaving behind 11 flags, six guns, numerous prisoners, and most of their arms and ammunition. The English suffer 60 fatalities, conveying the Spanish artillery back to their island capital to install these pieces into its defenses.

SUMMER 1658. *Myngs's First Foray.* Alarmed by reports of the arrival of a large Spanish fleet at Cartagena, the English commodore sails from Jamaica with 300 soldiers (aboard the *Marston Moor*, the *Hector*, the *Coventry*, the *Blackamoor*, and the *Cagway*), to examine this base from out at sea, then veers southward to assault Tolú. After burning this latter port along with two ships in its roadstead, Myngs circles northeastward to disembark at abandoned Santa Marta, where his troops march 12 miles inland in quest of Spanish targets before withdrawing three days later. Returning into Jamaica after a 10-week cruise, Myngs brings in three Spanish merchantmen intercepted while bound from Cartagena toward Portobelo. The ships are sold to men who in coming years will prove formidable corsairs: Robert Searle, Dutch-born Laurens Prins or “Lawrence Prince,” and John Morris.

SEPTEMBER 1658. Martinique's acting governor, Médéric Rolle, Sieur de Gourselas, assembles 600 militiamen to exterminate the last Caribs in its northern Capesterre region. Five barks under François Rolle de Loubière are to carry 200 attackers by sea, while another 200 are to advance overland around Mount Pelée and a similar force to circle by way of Morne des Gommiers. The outnumbered and outgunned natives are quickly defeated, fleeing toward Dominica and Saint Vincent, while their vil-

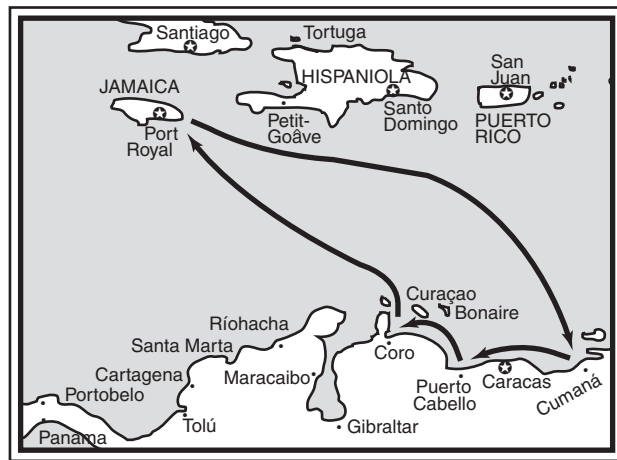
lages go up in flames. De Loubière completes this heartless campaign by erecting a small fortress on Martinique's northern coast, hindering the Caribs' return.

LATE 1658. News reaches Tobago that James, Duke of Courland, has been captured by Swedish troops in Europe's Northern Wars, so the 1,200 Dutch colonists who now constitute an overwhelming majority on this West Indian island besiege Fort Jekabs and compel Gov. Hubert de Beveren to acknowledge Dutch sovereignty. This relinquishment of Courlander authority is officially acknowledged in Europe as of December 11, 1659.

EARLY JANUARY 1659. *Myngs's Second Foray.* Having enjoyed such success on his first foray, Myngs's frigates *Marston Moor*, *Hector*, *Diamond*, and *Cagway* are joined by numerous freebooters for his next raid against the Spanish Main. To surprise different targets, Myngs patiently tacks hundreds of miles farther east than he or Goodson has previously operated. This strategy pays handsome dividends when his formation bursts upon Cumaná, seizing and ransacking this unprepared port. Myngs then hurries westward upon the prevailing winds and currents and falls upon Puerto Cabello, before any alarm can be carried overland, and burns an anchored ship; he then repeats this tactic a third time by racing still farther west to make another rich haul at Coro.

At this latter port, he seizes at least 22 chests—each containing 400 pounds' weight in silver ingots—from two Dutch merchantmen flying Spanish colors in its roadstead; yet, when Myngs returns into Jamaica on April 23–24 (O.S.), these chests are found to have been opened, and officials suspect a great deal of bullion has been extracted by Myngs rather than surrendered to the Commonwealth's coffers. Myngs does not deny that some looting occurred, dismissing it as customary among privateers after a battle, yet the officials take a dimmer view, believing Myngs to be taking justice into his own hands because the Admiralty Court earlier refused to condemn his Dutch prizes (*see* “February 20, 1658” entry). Governor d'Oyley therefore suspends him and orders the *Marston Moor* home, where Myngs is to stand trial for defrauding the Exchequer.

(Myngs arrives in England during the spring of 1660, when the nation is convulsed by the restoration of King Charles II. Being an early supporter of the monarch, Myngs is cleared of all charges at



Myngs's 1659 campaign against the Spanish Main.

a sympathetic hearing in June and restored to his Jamaica command shortly thereafter; see "July 1662" entry in "No Peace beyond the Line." The Spaniards have meanwhile commenced construction of a coral-stone fortress called the Castillo de San Antonio de la Eminencia atop Cumaná's Pan de Azúcar or "Sugar Loaf" Hill to better protect that town, a project which will not be completed until 1686.)

APRIL 9, 1659. *Santiago de los Caballeros.* On this Wednesday before Easter, 400 English and French buccaneers depart Tortuga Island (Haiti) aboard the frigate and three lesser vessels of Captain de l'Isle under a letter of reprisal issued by Governor Watts. They land near Puerto Plata to march inland and, on the night of Good Friday, attack its border town of Santiago de los Caballeros. Some 25 Spaniards

are killed, the town ransacked, and a number of hostages seized; but the buccaneers must then make a fighting retreat toward their ships, beset by the fearsome *cincuentenas* (Spanish militia cavalymen, organized in companies of fifty apiece—in Spanish, *cincuenta*, hence their nickname).

Shortly thereafter, a French adventurer named Jérémie Deschamps de Moussac et du Rausset arrives at Jamaica from Europe, bearing letters from both the French and English governments appointing him governor of Tortuga. Rather than resist, Watts packs his family and goods aboard a ship and sails away to resettle in New England. The next day, du Rausset assumes office, although he soon transfers off Tortuga to the more salubrious mainland clearance at Petit Goâve, leaving his nephew Frédéric Deschamps de La Place to govern the off-shore island.

LATE JULY 1659. A private French ship arrives at Marie-Galante with 100 soldiers under the Chevalier Robert Houël, disgruntled younger brother to Charles Houël, governor of Guadeloupe. Having previously been promised a third of Charles's holdings, Robert was dismissed two years previously and so returned to France. Determined to reassert his rights, Robert proclaims himself governor of this tiny offshore island of Marie-Galante then continues to Guadeloupe's *quartier* Grande Anse to raise support. He rounds to its capital of Capesterre and disembarks a small army to directly challenge his brother. When Charles orders the local militia to march against Robert, they refuse, forcing the governor to accept a compromise and share his lands.

Intercolonial Friction (1660–1700)



If the King of Spain shall refuse to admit
our subjects to trade with them,
you shall in such case endeavor to procure and settle
a trade with his subjects in those parts by force.

—*Instructions to the Jamaican governor Thomas, Lord Windsor (1662)*

NO PEACE BEYOND THE LINE (1660–1665)

Two years after Oliver Cromwell's death, the English monarchy is reinstated, Charles II returning from exile in May 1660 to assume his ancestral throne amid popular rejoicing. Yet despite a general cessation of hostilities throughout Europe, little tranquility is enjoyed in the New World. Treaties signed by Spain with both England and France avoid any mention of their American holdings, which Madrid eventually hopes to reconquer. This policy helps fuel the hostile undercurrent already prevalent in the theater.

FEBRUARY 1660. On Saint Kitts, a conference is held between English governors James Russell of Nevis, Christopher Kaynall of Antigua, and Roger Osborne of Montserrat, plus the French governor general de Poincy, and Guadeloupe's co-governors Charles and Robert Houël. They draw up an agreement pledging mutual aid against Carib attacks, while further recognizing that Dominica and Saint Vincent are to be left to the natives. Funds for this defensive alliance are to be deposited at Basseterre on Saint Kitts, to be disposed of by governors Charles Houël and Osborne; the former is also to sign a peace treaty with the Caribs on behalf of all members.

MARCH 31, 1660. Fifteen Carib chieftains gather at Gov. Charles Houël's residence (modern Houëlmont, Guadeloupe) to sign a peace treaty with the French and English. By its terms, the natives agree to desist from seaborne raids in exchange for being allowed to live peacefully on Dominica and Saint Vincent.

MAY 2, 1660. In Canada, 16 French *voyageurs*, 40 Huron allies, and 4 Algonquins under the youthful commander of Montreal's garrison—Adam Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux—are surprised by 200 Onondaga Iroquois warriors at an abandoned fortification at Long Sault on the Ottawa River (near modern Hawkesbury, Ontario). Although its defenders are able to repel the initial Iroquois assault, the latter summons several hundred Mohawk and Oneida reinforcements from the Sorel Islands at the Richelieu River mouth. Once they arrive, 30 Hurons also defect from des Ormeaux's camp, which is easily overwhelmed by May 15. All the Frenchmen are slain, Iroquois losses totaling 14 killed and 19 wounded.

DECEMBER 10, 1661. In La Paz (Bolivia), long-simmering resentment by American-born *mestizos*

against the stranglehold on power enjoyed by Iberian-born peninsular Spaniards climaxes in bloodshed. The actual incitement is the detention this morning of a popular *mestizo* mine owner, Antonio Gallardo from nearby Puno, which prompts a dozen armed men to storm the house of La Paz's *corregidor general* Cristóbal de Cañedo around 10:00–11:00 p.m. that same night to slay both him and another peninsular, while wounding three other officials and releasing Gallardo from the city jail. Next morning, to cries of *Viva el Rey!* and *Muera mal gobierno!* ("Long live the King!" and "Death to bad government!"), several hundred *mestizos* marshal menacingly in the streets, while Spanish citizens either flee or seek sanctuary within the churches.

On December 20, a small army of 300 *mestizos* and 150 Indians rides up the winding trail toward Lake Titicaca with 800 mules, intent on punishing peninsulars, gaining further adherents, and deposing the corrupt *corregidor* of nearby Paucarcolla, Pedro de Herquinjo Velarrinaga. However, after wreaking havoc among isolated mining camps and seizing the Salcedo Mill outside of Puno, the rebels are defeated at dawn eight days later by a sudden Spanish militia sally under Gen. Alonso de Molina y Herrera. Their ringleaders are slain and followers dispersed after a half-hour fight, thus bringing this so-called *Motín de los Mestizos* or "Mestizo Mutiny" to an end. More than 60 fugitives who return into La Paz are subsequently arrested and tortured, 6 eventually facing execution.

EARLY 1662. At night, a 30-man Jamaican expedition under Col. James Arundell lands on Tortuga Island (Haiti), marching upon the home of its acting French governor Frédéric Deschamps de La Place to place him under arrest and restore English rule. Because Deschamps is sleeping elsewhere, he hears this commotion and surrounds his residence with followers, who in turn disarm the English usurpers.

Arundell and his Jamaicans are expelled, their ship falling prey shortly thereafter to a Spanish vessel, which carries them into Santiago de Cuba where Arundell subsequently dies.

JULY 1662. The 35-year-old governor designate of Jamaica—Thomas Hickman-Windsor, seventh Baron Windsor de Stanwell—who has fought for Charles I at Naseby and will later become the first Earl of Plymouth of the second creation, arrives at Barbados from England with the fourth-rate frigate HMS *Centurion* of 46 guns and the *Griffin* of 14. (Both ships are under the command of Commo. Christopher Myngs, newly reappointed station chief for Port Royal; see “Early January 1659” entry in “England’s Resurgence.”) While refreshing himself after this transatlantic crossing, Windsor sends the latter vessel to Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo, asking their Spanish governors if they will permit English ships to trade now that peace prevails. This inquiry—which Windsor fully expects will be rejected—is actually meant to furnish a pretext for hostilities, as the governor is carrying secret instructions from Whitehall that, if such trade is refused, he might impose it by force.

Windsor resumes his voyage a few weeks later, reaching Port Royal by August. Having also brought out the back pay for its English garrison, he releases over 1,000 soldiers from duty with full wages and a gratuity, replacing them with five volunteer militia regiments distributed throughout the island. Work is moreover accelerated on Port Royal’s harbor castle (renamed Fort Charles in honor of the King), a local assembly is convened, and a vice-admiralty court is established so that cases no longer need to be appealed across the ocean to London.

SEPTEMBER 1662. Following the reappearance of the *Griffin* with Spanish dispatches denying trade, Windsor inaugurates his aggressive new policy by once more making privateering commissions available and summoning volunteers for a major expedition against the Spaniards, to be led by Myngs. Many old hands are delighted, so that within three days, 1,300 men assemble—many of them former soldiers—and the *Centurion* and the *Griffin* are joined by 10 privateering vessels, including a tiny craft commanded by a 27-year-old militia captain named Henry Morgan. The commodore is to lead this force against Santiago de Cuba, which—having been the Spaniards’ advance base in their recent efforts to reconquer Jamaica—is particularly detested by the English.

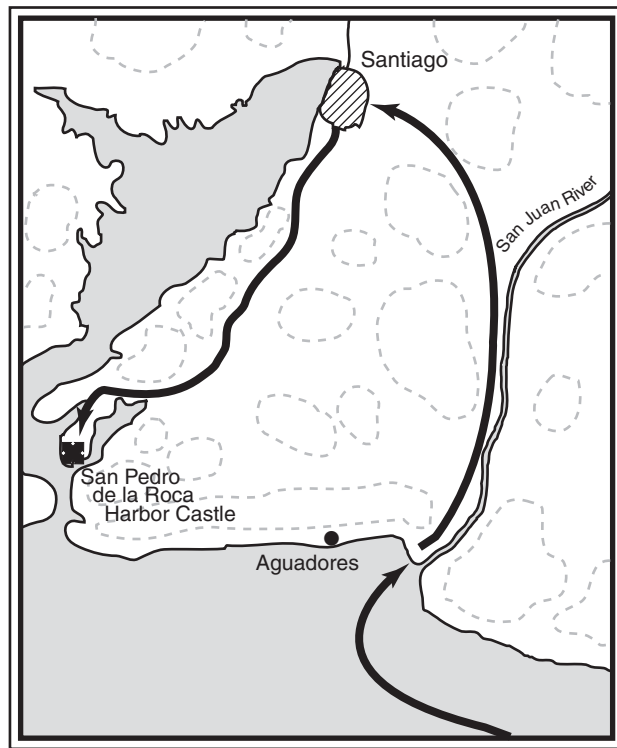


Commo. Christopher Myngs, depicted in a 17th-century portrait attributed to Sir Peter Lely. (National Maritime Museum, London)

OCTOBER 1, 1662. Myngs’s flotilla quits Port Royal, slowly rounding Point Negril in light winds. Landfall is made a few score miles east of Santiago de Cuba, where the rogue privateer Sir Thomas Whetstone is spotted at anchor. Myngs obtains recent intelligence from him as to Spanish dispositions, then decides to burst directly into the enemy port, taking it by surprise. Joined by Whetstone and seven more Jamaican privateers who belatedly overtake his expedition, Myngs steers westward in scanty winds.

OCTOBER 18, 1662. *Destruction of Santiago de Cuba.* At daybreak, the English come within sight of the towering harbor castle guarding the entrance into Santiago Bay, yet cannot close because of faint breezes. Finally, late that afternoon Myngs decides to veer toward Aguadores village two miles distant at the San Juan River mouth. By nightfall, he puts 1,000 men ashore, no resistance being encountered, after which the English advance inland through darkened woods by torchlight.

The next dawn, they emerge six miles from the coast and three from Santiago, which they rush at midmorning. Their assault is met at Las Lagunas



Myngs's assault on Santiago de Cuba.

outside the gates by 170 hastily mustered Spanish regulars and two fieldpieces under Gov. Pedro de Morales, backed by 200 militiamen under Cristóbal Arnaldo de Isasi (former guerrilla leader on Jamaica; see "May 20, 1655" entry in "England's Resurgence"). The overmatched defenders are quickly routed, the English gaining mastery over this city and seven vessels lying in its harbor by noon.

The next day, October 20, Myngs detaches a column to attack the San Pedro de la Roca harbor castle from behind, in conjunction with a naval bombardment from his flotilla offshore. Such efforts prove unnecessary, though, as the isolated 30-man garrison has already deserted, allowing the English ships to enter unchallenged. The invaders spend the next five days pursuing the Spaniards inland, vainly hoping to extort their riches. Frustrated in this design, the freebooters raze Santiago; Myngs uses 700 barrels of powder from its magazines to demolish the fortifications and principal buildings, as well as leaving Santiago's harbor castle completely leveled. (It will take the Spaniards more than a decade to repair this redoubt.) Finally, Myngs departs on October 25 with his six prizes—the seventh being scuttled—at a cost of half-a-dozen Englishmen killed in action and another 20 dead through accidents or illness.

NOVEMBER 1, 1662. Myngs returns into Port Royal to find its political situation changed: Governor Windsor has sailed for England three days earlier complaining of ill health, leaving power in the hands of Jamaica's newly created local assembly—to which Myngs has been elected during his absence.

Encouraged by their easy success at Santiago, most privateers put to sea again to plunder other Spanish targets, while the Jamaican Council votes on December 22 to authorize another raid, this time against Campeche. Myngs's flagship *Centurion* is refitted, while freebooters once more marshal under commanders such as Edward Mansfield and William James.

EARLY JANUARY 1663. The Jamaican privateer Robert Blunden (or Munden) quits Port Royal, accompanied by Col. Samuel Barry and retired naval captain Abraham Langford to wean the French *boucaniers* of Tortuga Island (Haiti) over to English rule, in compliance with instructions from Whitehall. Both officers sail across to western Santo Domingo aboard Blunden's *Charles*, but upon arriving learn that the Tortugans are hostile to such a notion, following Arundell's abortive attempt (see "Early 1662" entry). Blunden consequently refuses to proceed, so that—over Barry's objections—the delegates instead visit a different band of *boucaniers* at Petit Goâve, who are persuaded to acclaim Blunden as their chieftain and raise an English flag. Disapproving, Barry returns to Jamaica several months later, while Blunden's partner Langford sails for England to petition Charles II to be appointed governor of "Tortuga and the coasts of Hispaniola"—which is eventually denied.

JANUARY 21, 1663. This Sunday two Royal Navy warships and approximately 10 privateer vessels depart Port Royal under Myngs to attack Campeche. Working his way down Yucatán's treacherous coastline, Myngs loses contact with his vice-flag *Griffin* and several privateersmen before finally coming within sight of his target.

FEBRUARY 8, 1663. *Myngs's Sack of Campeche.* Under cover of darkness, the British commodore sneaks almost 1,000 men ashore at Jámula Beach, four miles west of Campeche, and begins his overland advance against that sleeping city. At first light of February 9, Spanish lookouts spot his smaller vessels opposite this disembarkation point, with two larger men-of-war farther out to sea. They sound

Rebirth of Santiago de Cuba

The cruel destruction left behind by the English in October 1662 almost completely destroyed Santiago as a city. Frightened citizens at first refused to even return from their inland hiding places, much less rebuild their homes. The port's prosperity was also crippled because production had ceased altogether at the royal copper mines, located eight miles farther to the northwest at Santiago del Cobre. When Crown officials offered a generous new lease to reactivate these mines in 1663, they did not receive a single bid.

It was not until Santiago's former *sargento mayor* or "garrison commander," Pedro de Bayona Villanueva, arrived from Spain to assume office as its new governor in June 1664 that the city began a faltering recuperation. He came with the military engineer Juan de Siscara. Both officers reported that they found Santiago just "as the enemy left it," flattened and defenseless. Repairs soon began on the San Pedro harbor castle, which was to be rebuilt and strengthened by the addition of the Estrella and Santa Catalina batteries at its water level.

Yet more importantly, both men also realized that a tangible means of security had to be provided for homeowners to feel safe enough to resume residence. As a result, a stone citadel called the *Fuerte Real de San Francisco* or "Royal Fort of Saint Francis" was started atop the ruined foundations of the old Franciscan convent in the city's gutted core. Its defensive qualities were questionable, but its reassuring bulk heartened the citizenry.

All these projects proceeded only fitfully because of frequent interruptions in the receipt of funds from Mexico. Still, they were enough to deter a small Dutch squadron from braving Santiago's harbor entrance in May 1667, as well as a dozen ships under Morgan next March. The city nonetheless led an uneasy existence over the next few decades, the Golden Age of Buccaneers. And ironically, many citizens prospered as well from clandestine deals along the coast with foreign smugglers seeking Cuban meats, hides, tobacco, sugar, and dyewood.

the alarm too late, just as the freebooter army bursts out of the nearby woods at 8:00 a.m.

Despite being surprised and outnumbered, the 150 Spanish militia defenders put up a spirited resistance, and Myngs receives serious wounds in his face and thighs while leading the opening charge. As he is carried back aboard the *Centurion*, the privateer chief Mansfield assumes overall command. After two hours of heated fighting, the defenders are subdued, suffering more than 50 fatalities (as opposed to 30



Crude Spanish map of Santiago Bay, about 1669, showing the new forts being erected to guard this Cuban harbor's entrance in the wake of Myngs's destructive raid. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

invaders slain). Some 170 Spanish captives are thereupon rounded up, while many of the city's thatched huts go up in flames. Next morning, the only Spanish official still free—the *regidor* Antonio Maldonado de Aldana—agrees to a truce in exchange for the good treatment of the prisoners, thereby leaving the English undisturbed within the city.

By February 17, Myngs is sufficiently recuperated to order the release of four prominent captives, with a message to Maldonado de Aldana offering to spare Campeche's buildings and release the remainder of his prisoners unharmed upon withdrawing, if the raiders can draw water from the nearby Lerma wells. The Spaniard accedes, and as a token of good faith Myngs releases all but six of his most important hostages before watering. On February 23, his fleet gets under way, carrying off booty and 14 vessels (described by a Spanish eyewitness as "three of 300 tons, the rest medium or small, and some with valuable cargo still on board"). The heavily laden formation beats its way back around Yucatán against

contrary winds and currents, taking so long that concern begins to mount at Jamaica as to their fate.

Eventually, the *Centurion* reaches Port Royal on April 23 under its flag captain Thomas Morgan, followed by the rest of the expedition. Myngs's wounds require a lengthy convalescence, so he sails for England early in July.

MAY 11, 1664. Having sailed from La Rochelle on February 26, an expedition arrives off Dutch-held Cayenne (Guiana) under Alexandre de Prouville, Marquis de Tracy, the new lieutenant general designate for all of France's American colonies. His mission is to impose government rule over all French settlements, supplanting that of the diverse private merchant adventurers who have ruled until now. De Tracy commands the 50-gun, 800-ton flagship *Brézé* under Dutch-born captain Job Forant, as well as the smaller *Aigle d'Or*, *Saint Sébastien*, and *Sainte Anne*, manned by 250 sailors. They are bearing 600 soldiers in 12 companies: 4 apiece from the Navarre and Normandie regiments, plus 1 each from the Chambellé, Orléans, Poitou, and L'Allier regiments. This convoy is furthermore accompanied by 650 colonists aboard 3 transports.

Disembarking 750 men two days later at Cayenne under the newly created governor for French Guiana—the 42-year-old naval captain Joseph Antoine Le Febvre, Seigneur de La Barre—the Marquis's subordinate Samuel Le Picard, Sieur de Flavigny, cows the Dutch governor Spranger into agreeing by May 15 to surrender Fort Nassau (formerly Fort Céperou). The outnumbered Dutch march out 12 days later with all their belongings to transfer into Suriname. Le Febvre de La Barre is temporarily installed as governor, and Fort Nassau is renamed Fort Saint Louis, after which de Tracy's expedition steers northwestward into the Lesser Antilles to continue his mission. He is well received at Guadeloupe and Martinique in June, although his subsequent efforts to eliminate free trade meet with only grudging success.

When Le Febvre de La Barre returns next year from Guiana to France, he will secure the appointment of his brother Cyprien Le Febvre, Chevalier de Lézy, as Cayenne's governor from the newly created Crown corporation, the Compagnie Royale des Indes Occidentales or "Royal West Indies Company."

JUNE 1664. Francis, Lord Willoughby, reinstated as governor general of the English Antilles (*see*

Carignan-Salières Regiment

To bolster the frail French foothold in Canada, the Crown decided to send out a proper military force. This regiment had to be specially selected, because its soldiers would not only have to adapt to the Canadian climate, but it was hoped that some would remain as settlers once their service expired. The unit chosen was an amalgamation formed in May 1659 at the end of the Franco-Spanish conflict. To reduce the size of the French army, the veteran Piedmont regiment of Thomas François de Savoie, Prince de Carignan, had been merged with that of Henri de Chastelard de Salières.

Its 400 men in eight companies was considered an insufficient number, though, when the Carignan-Salières Regiment was chosen to serve in the New World. Twelve additional companies therefore were transferred from other units: four from the Chambellé and L'Allier regiments, three from the Poitou, plus one from the Broglio Regiment. Colonel de Salières reviewed these 20 companies in the spring of 1665 at La Rochelle, and the first four sailed for Canada. On June 19, the 200-ton *Vieux Siméon* of Capt. Pierre Gaigneur arrived at Quebec City with the Chambly, Froment, La Tour, and Petit companies. Eleven days later, de Tracy's *Brézé* reached Gaspé directly from Guadeloupe in the West Indies, ferrying upriver the Durantaye Company of the Chambellé Regiment, La Brisadière of the Orléans, Monteil of Poitou, and Berthier of L'Allier. (These four companies would be attached to the Carignan-Salières Regiment, not incorporated into it.)

The naval captain René de Gousabats, Sieur de Villepars, brought another four companies from La Rochelle aboard his elderly royal warship *Aigle d'Or* on August 18, followed by a like number next day aboard the *Paix* of Etienne Guillon, Sieur de Laubiére. The *Saint Sébastien* under Captain Du Pas de Jeu and the 300-ton supply-ship *Jardin de Hollande* of Captain Des Bouiges entered with four more on September 12, as well as the governor designate for New France, Daniel de Rémy, Sieur de Courcelles. Then, the last four companies arrived two days later aboard the *Justice* of Captain Guillet, 100 of these men being sick.

The insertion of 80 officers and 1,200 soldiers into a colony of scarcely 3,200 people left a significant impact. Not only did they expand and secure the borders, but they also erected forts that became towns. And when the Carignan-Salières Regiment returned to France in 1668, almost 450 of its officers and men chose to stay in the New World. Today, most persons of French Canadian descent can claim at least some of these soldiers as ancestors.

“October 25, 1651” entry in “England’s Resurgence”), sends 1,000 men from Barbados aboard five vessels—two of them armed with 36 guns—plus 600 Caribs in 17 war canoes, to occupy Saint Lucia and drive its 14-man French garrison under Jean Bonnard back to Martinique, leaving Saint Lucia and its several thousand Carib residents entirely to the English.

Willoughby justifies this seizure by including among his expedition the half-breed Thomas Warner, being the natural son of a Carib woman and Sir Thomas Warner (see “January 28, 1624” entry in “Other Colonial Struggles”). As the nominal leader of the Indians, the younger Warner has therefore “sold” Saint Lucia to England. The French lieutenant general de Tracy lodges a formal protest, yet before any accommodation can be reached between London and Paris, the new English colony succumbs to a series of disasters and is unilaterally abandoned on February 16, 1666.

JUNE 14, 1664. The new Jamaican governor, 44-year-old Sir Thomas Modyford (see “October 25, 1651” entry in “England’s Resurgence”), reaches Port Royal from Barbados aboard Captain Stokes’s 42-gun frigate HMS *Marmaduke*. On June 26, he proclaims “that for the future all acts of hostility against the Spaniards should cease,” adding that every English privateer must return into port to surrender his commission.

AUGUST 1664. *Seizure of New Amsterdam.* The English commodore Robert Holmes arrives in the Americas from conducting peacetime reprisals against Dutch interests in West Africa. Upon reaching New England, he discovers that, as of March, Charles II has annexed all disputed territories bordering on the Dutch colony of New Netherland—from the west side of the Connecticut River to the east side of Delaware Bay, plus all of Long Island—merging them into a new English province and granting proprietorship to his brother James, Duke of York. The latter in turn delegates Col. Richard Nicolls as this province’s new governor, dispatching him with a small expedition to take control.

Backed by Holmes’s four warships and New England’s governor Sir Robert Carr, Nicolls wins over New Amsterdam’s *burgomaster* and several other prominent Dutch citizens, compelling Pieter Stuyvesant to surrender without bloodshed. The English flag is raised by September 18, and New Amsterdam is renamed New York City, Fort Orange becomes Fort Albany, and so on.

SEPTEMBER 1664. The Jamaican privateer Robert Searle returns into Port Royal with two rich Spanish prizes. To underscore his new policy of peaceful coexistence with the Spaniards, Governor Modyford orders them restored to Santiago de Cuba, while Searle has his ship’s rudder and sails impounded as a punishment.

NOVEMBER 15, 1664. In Paris, Governor du Rausset—imprisoned in the Bastille for offering to sell Tortuga Island (Haiti) to England that previous year for £6,000—agrees to turn it over instead to the new Compagnie des Indes Occidentales for 10,000 *livres*. Its directors thereupon appoint the 52-year-old veteran planter Bertrand d’Ogeron, Sieur de la Bouère, in June 1665 as governor of the 700–800 Frenchmen living on Saint Domingue and Tortuga.

FEBRUARY 1665. A renegade expedition of a few vessels and 200 Jamaicans under John Morris and Dutch-born David Martien—seconded by captains Freeman, Jackman, and Henry Morgan—cut an 8-gun Spanish frigate out of Campeche at night. Despite the peace recently promulgated by Governor Modyford, these commanders have chosen to slip away in January, feigning ignorance of his decree so as to continue their depredations against Spanish America.

Sailing their prize down past the Laguna de Términos, they anchor on February 19 opposite Santa María de la Frontera, at the mouth of the Grijalva River. Some 110–120 buccaneers then disembark and travel 50 miles upriver, until coming within sight of the provincial capital of Villahermosa de Tabasco.

FEBRUARY 24, 1665. *Tabasco Raid.* At 4:00 a.m., English rovers fall upon the sleeping city of Villahermosa de Tabasco, capturing most of its inhabitants in their beds. A general sack ensues, after which the booty and captives are loaded aboard a coaster. The marauders then pause at nearby Santa Teresa Ranch to release their women captives, retaining the men for whom they demand a ransom of 300 head of cattle. Farther downriver they come upon a second coaster bearing flour, which they also seize.

Nearing the mouth of the Grijalva River, they discover that their waiting ships have been captured during their absence by three Spanish frigates and 270 men sent by Campeche’s lieutenant governor Antonio Maldonado de Aldana. This Spanish flotilla has sighted the interlopers’ anchored trio on February 22, boarding the 10-gun English flagship and

8-gun prize, while the anchor watches flee aboard the one remaining vessel.

Their retreat cut off, the main freebooter army releases their remaining hostages and begins moving west along Tabasco's shoreline with their two coasters, hoping to find another means of escaping out to sea.

MARCH 17, 1665. This afternoon, Morris's and Martien's raiders are overtaken opposite Santa Ana Cay (Tabasco) by Spanish *guardacostas* sailing the privateers' former 10-gun flagship and 8-gun prize, crewed by 300 volunteer militiamen from Campeche. Their commander, José Aldana, sends a boat inshore to call upon the buccaneers to surrender, but they pretend not to understand. When an interpreter approaches shore next morning, Morris and Martien

reply that they will not give up without a fight, so the Spaniards rather reluctantly disembark—only to discover that the rovers have used this interval to entrench behind a palisade reinforced with sandbags, bristling with seven small cannon brought from Villahermosa. The Spanish force, mostly comprised of armed civilians, shows little stomach for an assault, so are easily repelled without inflicting a single loss among the freebooters.

Next day, March 19, the Spanish ships are found conveniently run aground, allowing the raiders to sail away unchallenged aboard their two coasters. Morris and Martien steer northward, hugging Yucatán's coastline and making occasional forays ashore to obtain supplies. Off Sisal they loot a vessel laden with corn, before finally rounding the peninsula and disappearing southward.

SECOND ANGLO-DUTCH WAR (1665–1667) AND WAR OF DEVOLUTION (1667)

In Europe, mercantile jealousies between English and Dutch interests lead to increased tensions, so that both nations mobilize their navies. The English unofficially open hostilities by sending an expedition to take over Dutch possessions in West Africa and North America in 1664, then attack a homeward-bound Dutch convoy from Smyrna off Gibraltar on December 29. The Dutch retaliate, so that Charles II officially declares war against the Netherlands as of March 14, 1665.

FEBRUARY 1665. News of the imminent rupture between England and Holland reaches Port Royal, where Governor Modyford determines to send an expedition of Jamaican privateers against the rival Dutch West Indian islands of Sint Eustatius, Sabá, Curaçao, and Bonaire. He assigns this task to his lieutenant governor, Col. Edward Morgan (uncle to Henry), a professional soldier of fortune who has seen extensive service in the Thirty Years' War and English Civil War.

FEBRUARY 11, 1665. The Dutch-born Jamaican subject Laurens Prins (better known among the English as "Lawrence Prince"), having sortied from Port Royal in command of Robert Searle's 8-gun, 60-ton frigate *Cagway* with 61 "mostly English" freebooters aboard, falls upon unsuspecting Bonaire four hours before daybreak on February 11, remaining for six days while his followers wreak considerable damage.

APRIL 5, 1665. Five English privateer vessels depart Port Royal, advance elements of Colonel Morgan's flotilla against Dutch possessions in the eastern Caribbean.

APRIL 25, 1665. Having been ordered to transfer to French Canada, the Lieutenant General Marquis de Tracy departs Guadeloupe aboard his flagship *Brézé* with the four companies of the Chambellé, Orléans, Poitou, and L'Allier regiments, leaving behind the eight companies of the Navarre and Normandie regiments to garrison the Lesser Antilles.

APRIL 28, 1665. Colonel Morgan quits Jamaica aboard Capt. Maurice Williams's 18-gun privateer *Speaker*, accompanied by three other boats, bound to assault the Dutch in the Lesser Antilles. Once united, the colonel's force will muster a total of 650 buccaneers aboard his flagship, plus the 16-gun *Civilian* of Garret Garretson, the 12-gun *Saint John*

Admiral de Ruyter

This great Dutch seaman was born Michiel Adriaenszoon on March 24, 1607, in the Zeeland seaport of Vlissingen or Flushing. Son of a humble beer porter, he made his first voyage at the age of 11 to Brazil aboard the ship *Haen*. He was captured in 1623 by Spanish privateers, yet escaped through France. Adriaenszoon also acted on behalf of the trading house of the Lampsins brothers at Dublin from that same year until 1631. He traveled as well to the Mediterranean and Barbary Coast and on whaling voyages from 1633 to 1635. And he proved so adept a privateer, that by 1636 he was nicknamed *De Ruyter* or "The Raider."

That same July 1636, his first wife died in childbirth, and he married the daughter of a wealthy burgher. Next year, he obtained command of a private ship to hunt French privateers operating out of Dunkirk, and as of April 1637 adopted the name of "Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter." After three years of successful cruises, he was given command of the 26-gun *Haze* by the Zeeland admiralty. De Ruyter helped defeat a Spanish-Dunkirker fleet off Cape St. Vincent in Spain on November 4, 1641. He then bought his own ship, the *Salamander*, and made many trading voyages to Morocco and the West Indies from 1642 to 1651. Now wealthy, but once again a widower, he remarried on January 8, 1652, bought a house in Flushing, and retired from the sea.

But when the First Anglo-Dutch War erupted that same year, De Ruyter was offered the rank of commodore of a squadron of the Zeeland "directors' ships." Risen from the ranks, he at first declined, believing that he was not qualified. However, he accepted as of July 29, 1652, and performed brilliantly in a series of victories won under Lt. Adm. Maarten Tromp. When this commander was slain in the last big battle of that war next August, De Ruyter once again refused command of the Zeeland fleet. Instead, to avoid jealousies, he accepted the title of vice admiral at Amsterdam on November 11, 1653, and moved there with his family by 1655.

Over the next eight years, de Ruyter campaigned off the Barbary Coast and in the Baltic. He also blockaded Lisbon and escorted convoys through the Mediterranean. When a crisis with Algeria arose, he left Texel on May 8, 1664, with a dozen warships. On regaining the Spanish port of Málaga by September 1, he found new secret orders waiting from the admiralty in Amsterdam, which were to sail his fleet on to West Africa to counter British actions. Off Goree by October 22, he prowled that coast until more orders reached him at El Mina on February 13, 1665.

With war against England a certainty, de Ruyter was ordered to raid Barbados, New York, and Newfoundland. He was also promoted to lieutenant admiral of Amsterdam as of January 29, 1665, but was not confirmed until five days after his return to Delft on August 6. Smart, brave, and pious, his sailors referred to their 58-year-old admiral as *Bestevaer* or "Grandpa."

of John Harman, the 10-gun *Pearl* of Robert Searle, the 6-gun *Olive Branch* of John Outlaw and Trueman of Albert Bernardson, the 2-gun *Susannah* of Nathaniel Cobham, the single-gun *Mayflower* of John Bamfield, and an unnamed galliot under Abraham Malarka (or Malarkey).

However, these rovers show scant enthusiasm for such a venture, being much more inclined to raid their traditional Spanish American foes—an attitude further hardened when Morgan's flotilla puts into Santo Domingo to buy provisions, firewood, and water, only to be refused. Nevertheless, their long upwind beat continues, until Montserrat is raised by July 17.

APRIL 29, 1665. *De Ruyter at Barbados.* At 10:00 a.m., a Dutch fleet under Adm. Michiel de Ruyter appears out of the Atlantic bent upon punishing England's American possessions.

DE RUYTER'S FLEET

Amsterdam squadron

<i>Name</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Commander</i>
<i>Spiegel</i>	68	315	Michiel de Ruyter
<i>Procincie</i>	58	265	Gideon de Wildt
<i>Geloof</i>	50	220	Willem van der Zaen
<i>Middelburg</i>	36	165	Isaac Sweers
<i>Damiaten</i>	32	135	Hendrick Adriaenszoon
<i>Edam</i>	34	135	Jacob Corneliszoon Swart
<i>Groene Kameel</i>	10	30	Enno Doedeszoon Star
<i>Martha</i>	—	—	(fireship)

Noordeerkwartier squadron

<i>Noorderkwartier</i>	50	258	Jan Corneliszoon Meppel
<i>Rode Leeuw</i>	36	150	Dirk Gerritszoon Pomp
<i>Caleb</i>	26	150	Govert 't Hoen

Maeze squadron

<i>Princes Louise</i>	40	175	Aert van Nes
<i>Rotterdam</i>	34	124	Leendert Haexwant
<i>Harderwyck</i>	34	150	Jan van Nes

With these vessels, de Ruyter has spent the past six months patrolling the Guinea Coast of West



Vice Adm. Michiel de Ruyter, painted just prior to his May 1664 departure from Holland, by Hendrick Berckman. (National Maritime Museum, London)

Africa, and after repeatedly clashing with English vessels in and around Holland's slaving stations—plus receiving reports of deteriorating relations back in Europe—he has been instructed to strike out across the ocean to launch a preemptive strike in the Caribbean.

At 11:00 a.m. the next morning, he boldly leads his fleet into Carlisle Bay, where 29 Barbadian merchantmen and a single man-of-war are about to weigh anchor. De Ruyter does not bother returning the fire from the island's batteries or anchored vessels until his ships come within point-blank range. Both sides then exchange furious volleys over the next several hours, de Ruyter's *Spiegel* and a number of other ships sustaining considerable damage. Despite destroying much of the English convoy, the Dutch admiral cannot dent Barbados's defenses so is obliged to withdraw for the neutral French port of Saint Pierre on Martinique to effect repairs, arriving there by May 1.

MAY 5, 1665. While his fleet refurbishes at Fort Royal, de Ruyter quits Martinique with seven ships and, during a sweep through the Lesser Antilles, learns that the Second Anglo-Dutch War has offi-

cially erupted back in Europe. After seizing the 20-gun English merchantman *Africa* and several other lesser prizes off Montserrat and Nevis, he sights Saint Kitts by May 12, then pauses at Sint Eustatius two days afterward to deliver supplies before being rejoined by his Martinique consorts under van Nes.

The whole Dutch fleet of a dozen men-of-war, one provision ship, the fireship *Martha*, Rotterdam merchantman *Sint Petrus*, and five English prizes subsequently quits the Caribbean on May 17, exiting around Saint Martin for Bermuda. De Ruyter passes this latter island by May 31 and, having already decided that New York (former New Amsterdam) is too difficult for his depleted forces to attempt, reaches Newfoundland two weeks later. Here, he captures a few English fishing boats and anchors in Saint John's from June 16 to 20, before proceeding out into the North Atlantic and toward the Netherlands. (Upon returning home, he will be made "Lieutenant Admiral" of Holland and play a distinguished role in the ensuing North Sea fighting.)

JUNE 29, 1665. Sack of Granada. This spring, the rogue band of Jamaican privateers under John Morris and David Martien—including Henry Morgan—has traversed the Bay of Honduras and gained Roatán, pausing to take on water. Continuing toward Trujillo, the privateers have also overrun this port and seized a vessel in its roads, before proceeding toward Cape Gracias a Dios and the Mosquito Coast. Nine native guides join them there, sailing south to Punta Mono or "Monkey Point," where the buccaneers hide their ships in an inlet and head up the San Juan River in nine lighter boats called *piraguas*. More than 100 miles and three waterfalls later, they emerge into the Lago de Nicaragua, crossing it by nocturnal stages so as to sneak up on Granada and take that city by surprise.

At dawn of June 29, they march undetected into its main square, loosing off a sudden volley. The rovers then herd 300 captives into its principal church and plunder for 16 hours before coming away with 150 prisoners. Retracing their course across the lake, they ransack a 100-ton Spanish vessel and Solentiname Island before finally regaining their anchored vessels and returning into Port Royal by late August.

(Having learned that the Second Anglo-Dutch War has erupted, they know that their illicit raids will be pardoned by Governor Modyford; only the Dutchman Martien does not return, preferring to



*Brown-clad French soldier of the Carignan-Salières Regiment.
(Canadian Department of National Defense)*

continue toward the French *boucanier* stronghold of Tortuga Island. His withdrawal from Jamaican service is short-lived, though, for one year later he is being actively recruited by Modyford. Meanwhile, Gov. Diego de Castro and three Spanish subordinates are court-martialed because of Granada's feeble defense.)

JUNE 30, 1665. Governor General de Tracy arrives in Quebec City (population 500) from Guadeloupe with his four companies of troops 11 days after the first 200 of 1,000 more soldiers of the Carignan-Salières Regiment have also begun disembarking from La Rochelle. They will mostly be deployed inland for the construction of a chain of forts along the Richelieu River (at modern Sorel, Chambly, Contrecoeur, Verchères, etc.), thereby expanding and securing Canada's boundaries.

JULY 17, 1665. *Fall of Sint Eustatius.* Having reached Montserrat, the nine-vessel privateering expedition of Col. Edward Morgan pauses to gather strength and procure landing craft. Shortly thereafter, they run northwestward before prevailing winds, coming within sight of Dutch Sint Eustatius. Morgan leads 350 buccaneers in a charge ashore, easily defeating its outnumbered and surprised garrison—although the colonel then suddenly dies of a heart attack.

His Jamaican privateers remain at Sint Eustatius, renaming it “New Dunkirk” and deporting 250 residents to Barbados, while sending a single vessel with 70 men under Maj. Richard Stevens to also occupy adjoining Sabá; yet despite gaining 910 slaves and much booty, Morgan's death deprives the buccaneers of any incentive to attack other Dutch islands. Each captain splits off on an independent cruise, leaving Lt. Col. Thomas Morgan (apparently no relation to either the colonel or Henry) as governor of Sint Eustatius.

JULY 18, 1665. Although not yet officially commissioned to attack Dutch interests, the English privateer John Wentworth of Bermuda disembarks 36 men this morning from his small frigate *Charles* and surprises the 130-man, 7-gun Dutch garrison on Tortola in the Virgin Islands, securing it unopposed. Next day, he raises the English flag, and roughly half the island's inhabitants swear fealty to Charles II. Later that same day of July 19, the brigantine *Hazewind*—which belongs to the captive Dutch governor Willem Houten—comes in and is seized.

On July 24, Houten and his retinue are sent away in a bark, Wentworth appointing Lt. Thomas Bicknell (or Bignoll) to act as temporary governor in his place. Four days afterward, the *Charles* sails for Bermuda carrying 67 black slaves and the *Hazewind* as prizes, arriving eight days later to find his unsanctioned attack deemed illegal.

OCTOBER 11, 1665. To impede future piratical incursions up the San Juan River, Nicaragua's governor Juan de Salinas orders the immediate digging of a system of trenches and two towers at the strategic Boca del Ture until a proper fortress can be erected.

NOVEMBER 1665. Because of continual victimization of neutral Spanish Americans by English privateers, Governor Modyford convenes a rover meeting at Bluefields Bay (Jamaica), hoping to recall them to their proper duty. Eventually, 600 bucca-

neers answer his summons, reassuring the governor that they are “very forward” to attack the Dutch, and even accepting instructions for a descent against Curaçao. But once they depart, the rogues instead lay in a course for southern Cuba, supposedly to buy provisions for their forthcoming campaign.

A Spanish bark is intercepted among the Cayos and its 22 crewmembers murdered, after which the buccaneers seize the port of Júcaro around Christmastime. Some 200–300 raiders then march 42 miles inland, taking and firing Sancti Spíritus on December 26 without suffering a single casualty before carrying their prisoners back to their ships to be ransomed for 300 cattle. (Some later justify these depredations by alleging that they hold Portuguese commissions in addition to their English ones, issued by the French governor of Tortuga.)

Having thus disposed of their supply problem, the privateers choose Mansfield as their “admiral” and by mid-January 1666 begin the long upwind beat toward Curaçao. Yet their good intentions soon evaporate, the flotilla again dispersing to attack Spanish targets: eight privateer vessels roaming eastward from Bocas del Toro (Panama) to descend upon Nata, while Mansfield leads another seven westward against Costa Rica.

JANUARY 1666. The Jamaican freebooter captains Searle and Steadman, with 80 men aboard two ships, descend from Sint Eustatius upon the Dutch settlements on the island of Tobago. Although populated by more than 1,500 colonists and 7,000 slaves, the island’s inhabitants cannot adequately defend their couple of hundred scattered plantations or mills. The raiders therefore inflict great damage until they are joined a few days later by Governor General Willoughby, with a half-dozen vessels and 350 men from Barbados, who convinces the Jamaicans to refrain from such wanton vandalism and instead installs a 50-man force to occupy the island.

JANUARY 9, 1666. The recently arrived, 39-year-old governor of New France—Daniel de Rémy, Sieur de Courcelles—departs Quebec City with 300 troops of the Carignan-Salières Regiment, plus 200 Canadian volunteers, to mount an expedition against the Mohawks farther to the south. This expedition is reinforced at Fort Sainte Thérèse by more men out of Montreal before continuing across the wintry landscape.

On February 17, Courcelles reaches Schenectady (New York), his followers being too exhausted to

attack the main Mohawk villages that still lay three days beyond. After being resupplied by Schenectady’s Anglo-Dutch residents, Courcelles’s force returns into Canada by March 17, having suffered 19 men killed and 2 captured during this campaign; Mohawk losses are 3 dead and 5 wounded.

JANUARY 26, 1666. In Europe, Louis XIV declares war against England, entering the hostilities as a Dutch ally.

EARLY MARCH 1666. At Jamaica, Modyford decides to bow to popular demand and unilaterally authorize the granting of “letters of marque against the Spaniard,” despite London’s peaceful relations with that nation in Europe. The governor’s reasons are manifold: to better control his unruly privateers, who are attacking Spanish Americans anyway and then carrying their prizes into French Saint Domingue, thereby diverting the steady flow of booty needed to maintain Jamaica’s economy. There are also the usual complaints against the activities of Spanish *guardacostas* and officials throughout the Caribbean.

MARCH 19, 1666. News of the outbreak of Franco-English hostilities reaches Martinique, prompting Gov. Robert Le Frichot des Friches, Seigneur de Clodoré, to begin refurbishing its defenses and recruit a company of tough black rebels under their leader, François Fabulé, as extra militiamen.

APRIL 1666. As news of France’s entry into the Anglo-Dutch conflict spreads throughout the Windward Isles, the nonaggression pact between Saint Kitts’ English and French residents is strained by mutual distrust, so that rearmament commences on both sides. The English soon begin concentrating all their regional strength upon this particular island, with Lt. Col. Thomas Morgan bringing over his 260 Jamaican buccaneers, who have been occupying Dutch Sint Eustatius since Edward Morgan’s conquest.

APRIL 8, 1666. *Costa Rican Invasion.* Seven English buccaneer ships, five lesser vessels, and two prizes under Edward Mansfield arrive before Portete, capturing its lookout before any alarm can be sent inland. After anchoring off Punta del Toro, several hundred raiders burst upon Matina, snapping up its 35 Spanish citizens; but an Indian named Esteban Yaperi flees from the smaller hamlet of Teotique carrying word of this incursion by April 14 to

Letters of Marque

This expression was simply another name for a privateering commission. It originated as long ago as the early 15th century, derived from the French. The full legal term was “letters of marque and reprisal.” The original purpose was to license a private individual to seize or destroy certain assets in retaliation for a wrong. With the passage of time, its meaning narrowed into a permit for private sea captains to serve in a war. Letters of marque were issued by Crown officials. A captain had to apply and post a bond, receive instructions, then be given a commission for a fixed period of time and scope. Prizes were to be brought in for adjudication, the Crown retaining one-fifth of their value. Within a few months of a cessation of hostilities, the papers became invalid.

Yet letters of marque could also be granted in peacetime, for a specific grievance. Only the High Court of the Admiralty in London or one of its justices could usually issue such warrants. A vice-admiralty court was established at Port Royal (Jamaica) in the autumn of 1662. In addition, island governors could grant regional licenses whenever frictions flared. Actions by the Spaniards in the Caribbean constantly furnished an excuse, and in the lawless 17th century, the limits placed on the letters of marque were often exceeded. William Beeston noted in August 1665 that the privateers who sacked Tabasco and Granada “went out and in, as if there had been an actual war, without commission.”

But in this era before the great commercial plantations, colonial authorities did not wish to alienate their privateers. Booty could fuel an economy, and they were often the mainstay of defense. French, Dutch, Danish, and even Spanish officials proved equally eager to lure rovers into their own ports with similar commissions. And as naval uniforms were not yet even worn, it could be vitally important for any captain to have the proper papers. The privateer John Wentworth of Bermuda also returned home hopefully from Dutch Tortola that same August 1665 with a hard-won prize and 67 slaves. But as he had not yet obtained a commission, his capture was deemed illegal, and the slaves were forfeited to the Royal African Company.

For this reason, whenever a conflict loomed, even honest merchantmen applied for letters of marque, in case they should chance upon a prize. John Dryden jestingly referred to such a need in his 1690 play, *Don Sebastian*:

Tis a prize worth a million of crowns,
and you carry your letters of mark about you.
(IV.iii.16–17)

the recently installed Costa Rican governor *maestre de campo*, Juan López de Flor y Reinoso. It is Mansfield's intent to take the capital of Cartago by a surprise overland march, yet Yaperi's action spoils his plan. As of April 15, hundreds of Spanish militiamen begin mustering at the mountain stronghold of Turrialba, ready to dispute the invaders' passage. Mansfield meanwhile experiences considerable hardship penetrating the jungle, his 700–800 men succumbing to hunger, thirst, and fatigue. When the buccaneers encounter some Costa Rican natives transporting bags of ground wheat, they begin fighting among themselves over this meager spoil.

López, heartened by this report, advances with his more lightly armed troops, and Mansfield retreats. By April 23, the exhausted raiders stagger back aboard their ships at Portete, retiring shortly thereafter into the maze of islands in Bocas del Toro. Two ships then desert Mansfield, leaving him in the awkward position of being regarded as a failure both by his mercurial followers as well as by the Crown officials on Jamaica (for not attacking the Dutch as instructed). In an effort to vindicate himself, Mans-

field decides to assail the Spanish garrison on Providencia Island, which has once belonged to English settlers (see “May 17, 1641” entry in “England's Resurgence”).

APRIL 22, 1666. *Pointe de Sable.* At dawn, the outnumbered French settlers on Saint Kitts attack their English neighbors, torching outlying plantations and prompting English governor William Watts and Lieutenant Colonel Morgan to march with 1,400 men against the smaller French concentration at Pointe de Sable.

Cresting a hill shortly before noon, the English descend through cane fields to engage 350 defenders under Robert Lonvilliers de Poincy. Confident of victory, Morgan's buccaneers drive directly toward the French center, only to be ambushed by a company of musketeers hiding behind a hedge under Bernard Lafond de l'Espérance. The buccaneers fight their way through with horrific casualties, emerging against the main French body and fatally wounding Lonvilliers. Yet the Jamaican survivors then receive a heavy artillery blast that fells Morgan,

destroying the last of their courage. Of the 260 who plunged into this firefight, only 17 emerge unhurt.

Seeing the tough buccaneers falter, Watts circles warily around the French positions with his staff, hoping to find a better line of advance for his own force; yet he, too, is ambushed, a single volley dropping him and most of his retinue. His militiamen being left leaderless, they blaze away ineffectually from long range over the next two hours before finally running low on powder and withdrawing. The demoralized English subsequently stampede back to their half of Saint Kitts, offering no resistance when Lafond's columns arrive to consummate the French conquest of this island.

LATE APRIL 1666. *Nau's Maracaibo Campaign.*

A French buccaneer named Jean-David Nau—alias “l’Olonnais,” being originally from Les Sables d’Olonne—sets sail from Tortuga Island (Haiti) with his colleague Michel le Basque, leading eight small vessels and 660 men toward Bayahá for an additional party of *boucaniers* and provisions. Three months later, this formation stands into the Mona Passage in late July, where Nau captures a neutral 16-gun Spanish vessel that has just departed Puerto Rico for Mexico, sending it on to Tortuga to be offloaded. Nau meanwhile remains off Saona Island, intercepting a second 8-gun Spanish ship carrying gunpowder and payrolls for the Santo Domingo and Cumaná garrisons. When his first prize rejoins, the *boucanier* chieftain makes it his flagship, then proceeds with his entire flotilla to the Spanish Main, which he has combed the previous year.

Sailing into the Gulf of Venezuela, Nau and le Basque disembark their *flibustiers* near the 16-gun battery guarding Maracaibo's bar, quickly overwhelming this feeble fortification and passing their ships into the Laguna. Two days later, they reach Maracaibo, which lies abandoned by its 3,000 citizens. After occupying the city for two weeks and unsuccessfully sending out patrols to bring in rich captives, Nau crosses the Laguna to Gibraltar (near modern Bobures), which the Spaniards have reinforced with several hundred troops. His *flibustiers* mount a ferocious assault, Gibraltar falling after a brutal battle in which 40 buccaneers are killed and 30 wounded, the Spaniards suffering disproportionately heavier casualties (their dead being loaded onto two old boats, then towed a mile out into the Laguna to be sunk).

The town is pillaged and occupied for a month, after which Nau demands 10,000 pesos ransom to

leave its buildings intact. Once paid, his *flibustiers* recross the Laguna and extort 20,000 pesos and 500 cattle to spare Maracaibo as well, before quitting the Laguna altogether two months after entering. Eight days later, they touch at Ile à Vache (Haiti) to divide up their spoils, then visit Jamaica before reentering Tortuga a month later.

MAY 1666. Gabriel, Sieur des Roses, the French governor of Saint Martin, leads 300 men aboard the ships *Harmonie*, *Concorde*, and three barks sent to rescue his colonists, preferring instead to use them in an assault against nearby Anguilla, where they disembark and burn the houses, bringing away two English prisoners and three cannon.

MAY 25, 1666. *Seizure of Providencia.* At noon, Mansfield's two frigates and three sloops raise Spanish-held Providencia Island, gliding down to anchor unobserved off its northern coast by 10:00 p.m. Around midnight the moon rises, and by its glow 200 buccaneers—more than 100 Englishmen, 80 Frenchmen from Tortuga (unaware or indifferent to their country's recent declaration of war against England), plus a few Dutchmen and Portuguese—row in through the reefs. They then march across the island, rounding up its more isolated Spanish residents, before storming the lone citadel at first light of May 26 without suffering a single fatality. Eight Spanish soldiers are asleep inside, the remaining 62 being scattered around their civilian billets. Mansfield grants all of Providencia's inhabitants quarter, while the French *flibustiers* prevent their English allies from ransacking the church.

Ten days later, Mansfield sets sail again with 170 Spanish captives, whom he has promised to repatriate. Captain Hatsell is left as “governor” of Providencia with 35 privateersmen and 50 black slaves until Mansfield or some other English authority can return. On June 11, Mansfield pauses at Punta de Brujas (Panama) to deposit his prisoners before standing away toward Jamaica. He arrives at Port Royal with two ships on June 22, learning of Modyford's fortuitous resolution of three-and-a-half months previously (see “Early March 1666” entry), which authorizes depredations against Spanish America. Mansfield thus finds his unsanctioned seizure of Providencia retroactively approved.

JULY 28, 1666. Lord Willoughby, governor general of the English Windward Islands, having just learnt of the French victory on Saint Kitts,

commandeers a merchant convoy about to depart Barbados and uses it to assemble a relief expedition comprised of 2 Royal Navy frigates, 12 large vessels, 3 barks, a fireship, and a ketch bearing a total of more than 1,000 men. It is his aim to sail northwest toward Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua, amassing further reinforcements before attempting to reconquer Saint Kitts.

His fleet arrives off Martinique two days later, cruising ineffectually offshore for a day before continuing toward Guadeloupe and hovering before its coast on August 2–3. Watchful French militia cavalry patrols prevent any English disembarkation, though, so Willoughby detaches his vice-flagship—the 26-gun frigate HMS *Coventry* of Capt. William Hill—with a bark and a ketch, to seize two French West Indiamen anchored at the nearby Saintes.

AUGUST 1, 1666. Nicaragua's Governor de Salinas completes the erection of Fort San Carlos de Austria on an island in the San Juan River, opposite the Pocosol River mouth. Its garrison commander, Gonzalo Noguera, will furthermore roll boulders into the channel to prevent any ascents by raiders.

AUGUST 4, 1666. *Willoughby's Shipwreck.* Hill bursts into the French anchorage at the Saintes, engaging its tiny battery commanded by Captain Des Meuriers, then closing upon the merchantmen *Bergère* of Captain Reauville and the *Marianne* of Captain Baron. The latter sets his ship ablaze to prevent capture, although the first is boarded. The English thereupon disembark their troops, who overrun the Saintes's small redoubt, scattering its defenders inland.

However, the weather changes this evening, blowing into a hurricane by midnight. Willoughby's entire expedition is destroyed over the next 24 hours, only a dismasted flute gaining Montserrat and a fireship staggering into Antigua. The other 18 English vessels are lost between the Saintes and Guadeloupe with horrific loss of life, including the governor general himself. The French later salvage Hill's *Coventry* and rename it *Armes d'Angleterre*, giving command to Captain Bourdet, whose *Saint Sébastien* has foundered at Martinique during this same hurricane.

AUGUST 11, 1666. François Rolle de Loubière arrives at Martinique with the *Saint Christophe*, bringing 120 reinforcements from France, plus news of further assistance on its way.

AUGUST 14, 1666. Under cover of darkness, Gov. Claude François du Lion of Guadeloupe leads seven boats with 450 militiamen and two guns across to the neighboring Saintes, where numerous English survivors from Willoughby's shipwreck are entrenching under Captain Hill. Du Lion attacks these extemporized fortifications this night and on August 15, eventually forcing the English to surrender by morning of August 16 after suffering 33 killed and 80 wounded (as opposed to negligible French casualties). The prisoners are thereupon transferred to Guadeloupe.

AUGUST 17, 1666. Four French ships and two barks reach Guadeloupe from Martinique, with 400 men under Captain de Loubière. That afternoon, they sight eight smaller English vessels tacking upwind from Nevis toward the Saintes under Henry Willoughby (the dead governor general's nephew), hoping to rescue their marooned compatriots. The largest English warship mounts only 12 guns, while de Loubière's smallest has 14; thus the French commodore waits until his opponents arrive off Basse-Terre before attacking. The English are hopelessly outclassed, young Willoughby escaping in a bark along with his four smallest vessels, leaving his three largest to de Loubière. Some 200 English captives are carried into Guadeloupe and set to work.

LATE AUGUST 1666. A counterexpedition of 500 Spaniards under José Sánchez Ximénez, garrison commander at the Panamanian port of Portobelo, recuperates Providencia Island from Mansfield's occupiers (see "May 25, 1666" entry). Some time later, this Spanish commander is murdered at night by his disgruntled soldiers.

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1666. A single French bark under Gilles Gaspart of Grenada deposits a tiny landing force on English-held Tobago, captured from the Dutch in January, and in the darkness tricks its garrison into surrendering. The French will remain in possession until March 1667, when they fire Tobago's buildings and withdraw shortly before Commo. Abraham Crijnsen's Dutch relief force appears (see "April 17, 1667" entry).

SEPTEMBER 14, 1666. In Canada, Governor General de Tracy and Governor Courcelles depart Quebec with 700 soldiers, 400 volunteers, plus 100 Huron and Algonquin allies to make a punitive sweep southward against the Mohawks. Encounter-

ing scant opposition, they burn four major abandoned villages and destroy numerous crops before returning home by November 5.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1666. More French reinforcements under the *maréchal de bataille* Chevalier de Saint Léon—including the famed, 48-year-old military engineer Nicolas François Blondel, who is to inspect and suggest improvements to Antillean defenses—begin arriving at Martinique from La Rochelle aboard the 28-gun *Saint Sébastien* of Du Pas de Jeu, the 26-gun *Aigle d'Or* of Du Maine, the 16-gun *Aurore* of Du Pré, the 8-gun *Cher Ami* of Julien, plus the 16-gun hired merchantman *Eglise* under Acard.

Blondel will draw up plans for a new stone fort to replace the palisades defending Fort Royal promontory in Cul de Sac Royal, as well as for new strongholds on Grenada and later for Tortuga Island off Saint Domingue (Haiti). Construction will actually start in the ensuing years.

OCTOBER 1, 1666. The newly promoted lieutenant general for the Antilles—Joseph Antoine Le

Febvre, Seigneur de La Barre—reaches Martinique from France aboard the 28-gun Royal West Indies Company vessel *Florissant*, accompanied by the *Mercier*, the *Ironnelle*, the *Lion d'Or*, the *Dorothée*, the *Pucelle*, and two lesser vessels, bearing further reinforcements.

OCTOBER 25, 1666. After strengthening Martinique's defenses, Le Febvre de La Barre departs with an expedition raised in conjunction with Governor Clodoré and the local West Indies Company representative Chambré to attack English Antigua. To secure greater numbers, this force pauses at Guadeloupe during its passage northward, receiving further help from Governor du Lion.

De La Barre puts to sea again on November 2 with the 28-gun company ships *Florissant* (flag), the 40-gun *Lis Couronnée*, the 32-gun *Justice*, the 26-gun *Saint Christophe* and *Saint Sébastien*, the 18-gun *Vierge*, the 14-gun *Africaine*, and the 8-gun *Bergère*. The frigate *Armes d'Angleterre* and a smaller craft follow later.

LATE OCTOBER 1666. While the French are marshalling on Martinique and Guadeloupe, the Dutch

Tortuga

This small, rocky island off northwestern Hispaniola was sighted by Columbus during his first Caribbean voyage. It was named *Isla de la Tortuga* or "Turtle Island" in Spanish colonial times, which the French would retain as *Île de la Tortue*. The 25-mile-long island took on a strategic importance in the early 17th century after all Spanish settlers had been removed from the coastline opposite it by the Crown for trading with foreign interlopers. Smuggling nonetheless continued, despite the Spanish authorities' occasional sweeps to arrest violators.

Tortuga Island proved an ideal base for visiting vessels, safe from surprise descents by Dominican troops on the mainland. Yet it also lay only six miles away, close enough to ferry goods in and out of sheltered harbors. And by keeping a good lookout, Tortuga could be quickly evacuated at the approach of any heavy Spanish galleons. Anchored traders would typically install some of their guns ashore, while emptying or refilling their holds. Some sailors stayed behind as well, adapting to local customs.

Anthony Hilton tried to add an English colony amid the foreign settlers on Tortuga in 1630, only to be wiped out by a Spanish raid four years later. These attackers, however, did not leave a garrison, hence foreign occupancy soon resumed. In 1642, the longtime French West Indian resident François Le Vasseur arrived from Saint Kitts with his Huguenot following. He renamed Tortuga "New Normandy" and erected a fortress to cover its main anchorage. A decade later, Le Vasseur was murdered and succeeded by the French naval officer Timoléon Hotman, Chevalier de Fontenay.

Once again, a Spanish attack in February 1654 removed Tortuga's 500 residents. But these occupiers withdrew by August 1655, and the island soon after was reclaimed. Ownership was then halfheartedly disputed between Paris and London, until the French title was upheld. Buccaneers of all nationalities were still drawn to Tortuga, though, for privateering licenses. The untamed colony flourished so vigorously that 12 residents under the former *flibustier* Pierre Le Long left Tortuga in 1670 to establish a new town on the mainland called Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien). Others soon followed.

Because turtling was so common in the Caribbean, numerous islands also bore this same name, such as, for example, the shoals at the west end of the Florida Keys. According to the 17th-century buccaneer chronicler William Dampier, they were nicknamed the Dry Tortugas because of the sun-drying method used for curing turtle meat there. Salt Tortuga Island off Venezuela, on the other hand, drew on its natural pans for salting meat.

privateer Gerart Bogaert arrives at French-held Saint Kitts from Curaçao and recruits 100 compatriots, refugees driven out of Sint Maarten and Sint Eustatius by the English. Further reinforced by 50 French soldiers, this expedition then sets sail for Sint Eustatius to besiege the remnants of Thomas Morgan's Jamaican garrison within its fort.

NOVEMBER 4, 1666. *Capture of Antigua.* Le Febvre de La Barre's fleet appears off Antigua, flying false English colors, which allows the *Saint Christophe* and the *Vierge* to enter Five Islands harbor and silence its eight- and six-gun platforms while the *Florissant* and the *Justice* open fire upon its main fort, stampeding the startled English garrison with their first salvo. Some 200 men under Capt. Rémi Guilouet, Seigneur d'Orvilliers (Le Febvre de La Barre's son-in-law), thereupon disembark, securing the port.

Le Febvre de La Barre comes ashore and next dawn permits d'Orvilliers and an adventurer named Baston to advance against English governor John Bunckley's stone residence, a mile and a half inland. It is rather ineffectually defended by Col. Robert Carden, who is captured along with 30 men. The morning of November 6, Governors Clodoré and Du Lion lead the main French army in from the beach, being checked by about 400 English defenders behind a palisade near Carden's house directed by Col. Charles Guest, who succeeds in halting Du Lion's initial rush and wounding the French governor and many followers. But Clodoré's and D'Orvilliers's support columns soon arrive and fight their way through, seriously wounding Guest before scattering his company. French casualties total 50–60 men, and this action marks an end to hostilities on Antigua. Next day, Le Febvre de La Barre offers Bunckley terms, and by November 10 a capitulation is signed aboard *Armes d'Angleterre* in Saint John's harbor.

NOVEMBER 15, 1666. Having overrun Antigua, Le Febvre de La Barre visits nearby Saint Kitts, where he learns that a small Franco-Dutch force has Sint Eustatius's 200-man English garrison besieged (see "Late October 1666" entry). To aid in this effort, the French lieutenant general detaches the *Saint Sébastien* and the *Saint Christophe* with 150 men under d'Orvilliers, whose arrival persuades the defenders to surrender. The French thereupon seize the stronghold and install an 80-man occupying force, over Dutch objections.

Meanwhile, the 6-gun French *Pigeon* escorts 350 Englishmen and their families from Saint Kitts to

Jamaica, while Le Febvre de La Barre—after failing to convince his French colleagues to assault Nevis—returns southeastward to continue refortifying Martinique, delegating command of his Saint Kitts forces to Clodoré.

NOVEMBER 30, 1666. Eleven French vessels return to Saint John's harbor (Antigua) from Saint Kitts with almost 1,000 men under Clodoré, learning that 900 Englishmen have marshaled in its northern district (Pope's Head) from neighboring Barbuda and Nevis under Col. Daniel Fitch. Despite having given their parole when Antigua surrendered to the French, many English residents now appear in Fitch's ranks. The French commander therefore sails for Pope's Head and disembarks his small army, seconded by Pierre Hencelin and Blondel, immediately charging into the motley English force and scattering its members back aboard ship, without suffering a single loss. Having thus reasserted French domination, Clodoré continues toward Martinique.

FEBRUARY 4, 1667. *Conquest of Montserrat.* Having reappeared at Saint Kitts from Martinique and raised another large expedition, Lieutenant General Le Febvre de La Barre sails southeastward against Montserrat. His flagship *Florissant*, the *Justice*, and 10 other vessels sight the westernmost tip of this island by February 4; while waiting for the remainder of his fleet to beat upwind, Le Febvre de La Barre bombards its principal English fort until well past nightfall without effect. Eventually, the French commander decides to disembark his 1,000 troops a few days later—despite having lost the element of surprise—because he learns that Gov. Roger Osborne's 900-man English garrison includes many Irish Catholics who are serving unwillingly. The French landing force of *Maréchal* Saint Léon fights its way ashore under covering fire from a brigantine, being comprised of 300 men of the Navarre Regiment under Captain Sanson, 200 of the Normandie Regiment under Captain de l'Ecoissais, and 500 Saint Kitts militiamen under Pierre Giraud du Poyet.

That evening, Le Febvre de La Barre's flotilla is furthermore joined by a trio of French warships bringing two prizes from Barbados, who add 150 more soldiers of the Poitou Regiment to Saint Léon's army. Next day, the French advance under Le Febvre de La Barre, Saint Léon, and the governor of Saint Kitts—Claude de Roux, Chevalier de Saint-Laurent—seeking 600–700 Englishmen who are

believed to be concentrated in a nearby valley called the “Gardens.” No contact is established, but after a few days the lieutenant general detaches his son-in-law d’Orvilliers with a company of French troops and Carib auxiliaries to scour Montserrat’s jungles. They capture Osborne’s wife and another 80 English non-combatants, obliging the governor to sue for conditions a few days later. By these terms, more than 300 English colonists become prisoners, along with 16 guns, 40 barrels of powder, 500 muskets, 3,000 shot, and a large number of slaves, horses, and cattle. Montserrat’s 2,000 Irish residents agree to become subjects of Louis XIV, remaining under the interim governorship of the Sieur de Praille and backed by 80 French soldiers and two frigates. Le Febvre de La Barre returns to Saint Kitts by February 19.

FEBRUARY 26, 1667. *Reconquest of Suriname.* Zeeland’s commodore Abraham Crijnssen—known to the English as “Captain Crimson”—appears out of the Atlantic with his 34-gun, 140-man flagship the *Zeelandia*; 28-gun vice-flag *West-Cappel* of Simon Lonck; the 34-gun, 167-man *Zeeridder* of Pieter de Mauregnault; the 14-gun, 75-man yacht *Prins te Paard* of Salomon le Sage; the 6-gun, 13-man hooker *Wester-Souburg* of Rochus Bastaert; plus the flute *Aardenburg* of Abraham Trouwers and an unnamed snow under Hayman Adriaensen. They are manned by almost 1,000 sailors and soldiers, who are to reconquer Dutch Guiana, ally themselves with the French in the Windward Islands to ravage English outposts, then attack Virginia, New York, and Newfoundland on their homeward passage. (Crijnssen’s force has been raised by the Province of Zeeland alone, hoping to improve upon de Ruyter’s poor fortune of two years previously; see “April 29, 1665” entry.)

William Byam, Suriname’s English governor, refuses Crijnssen’s initial call to surrender, so next morning the Dutch squadron opens fire upon Paramaribo’s incomplete Fort Willoughby and sets 700 men ashore. Byam flees inland after a brief fight, finally agreeing to capitulate five days later and evacuate Suriname with most of his English followers. The actual articles of surrender are signed aboard the *Zeelandia* by March 6. Crijnssen meanwhile begins rebuilding Paramaribo’s fortifications and on March 27 is reinforced by the 26-gun frigate *Vischersherder* (“Fishers’ Herder,” a euphemism for Christ) under Boudewijn Keuvelaer.

MARCH 4, 1667. The 32-year-old Royal Navy veteran John Berry arrives at Barbados with the

hired men-of-war *Coronation* (flag, 56 guns), *Colchester*, *East India*, and *Quaker*, escorting a merchant convoy. This is the first contingent of a fleet being hastened out from London under 42-year-old rear admiral Sir John Harman to bolster English strength throughout this theater.

Berry adds the local vessels *Pearl*, *Constant Katherine*, *William*, *Companion*, *Phoenix*, and *John and Thomas* to his force, departing Carlisle Bay on March 31 to establish his base of operations at Nevis. Shortly thereafter, the new English governor general for the West Indies—William Willoughby, younger brother to the deceased Francis—reaches Bridgetown (Barbados) with 800 soldiers under Sir Tobias Bridge, plus abundant supplies of artillery, powder, and shot.

APRIL 1667. Blondel reaches Tortuga Island off northwestern Saint Domingue (modern Haiti) and designs a new fortification for this French outpost, although the subsequent construction efforts will prove disappointing.

EARLY APRIL 1667. Learning of the arrival of Berry’s English squadron, Lieutenant General Le Febvre de La Barre sets sail from Basseterre (Saint Kitts), hoping to beat back to Martinique with his frigate *Armes d’Angleterre* and a small brigantine. They are intercepted off Charlestown (Nevis’s capital) by the 48-gun *Colchester*, which Berry has detached on patrol. After a lengthy chase, the English warship overhauls de La Barre’s frigate, engaging by moonlight. A ferocious firefight ensues, ending when the decrepit *Colchester* sinks and the badly damaged *Armes d’Angleterre* staggers away west-northwestward to Saint Croix.

MID-APRIL 1667. After reaching Nevis, Berry blockades French-held Saint Kitts. Some Martinican and Guadeloupan vessels run this gauntlet, disembarking 250 reinforcements on its eastern shores. The speedy French frigate *Notre Dame de Bon Port* is also sent to retrieve Lieutenant General Le Febvre de La Barre from Saint Croix, returning him to Martinique.

APRIL 17, 1667. Crijnssen sails from Suriname toward Berbice (modern New Amsterdam, Guyana), detaching the *West-Cappel* and the *Aardenburg* on separate services: the former to cruise for English prizes, the latter to carry captured sugar toward La Rochelle. After touching at Berbice and being joined by the yacht *Windhond*, Crijnssen reverses course

Sir John Harman

Little is known about John Harman's origins and early life. He apparently was born in Suffolk around 1625. Some family members may have been involved in maritime trade. His brother was believed to have been "an upholsterer at Cornhill," presumably the Philip Harman who was related by marriage to the diarist Samuel Pepys.

The first known mention of John Harman occurred in 1646, when he was serving on the Parliamentary side in the English Civil War with the hired merchantman *Falcon*. The 36-gun Commonwealth ship *Welcome* was his first naval command in 1652, which he sailed into the battles of Portland and the Gabbard. He was captain of the *Diamond* from August 1653 to 1655 and of the *Worcester* between 1656 and 1657. He served in Blake's fleet and took part in the successful attack against the Mexican plate fleet at Santa Cruz. Harman also commanded the *Torrington* in the Baltic in 1659.

When Charles II was restored to the throne the next year, Harman soon adapted to royal rule. He forsook his Baptist faith, so as to conform to the Church of England. He returned to sea in September 1664 as captain of HMS *Gloucester* and the next March was transferred aboard the *Royal Charles* to serve as flag captain to James, Duke of York. Ten days after the victory at Lowestoft that June, Harman was promoted to rear admiral, hoisting his flag aboard HMS *Resolution*. (And the night after the battle, he also received a notorious message from Lord Henry Brouncker, one of James's retinue, to shorten sail, which allowed the fleeing Dutch to escape the next morning.)

In June 1666, Harman fought bravely in the Four Days' Fight. His 80-gun flagship HMS *Henry* bore the brunt of the Dutch attack on the first day; the admiral himself was seriously wounded by a falling spar. The *Henry* was also pounded and survived three fireship attacks so narrowly that more than 40 crewmen leapt overboard and drowned "for fear of burning." Still, Harman won clear, refitted the *Henry* overnight, and was able to rejoin the fleet by the next day. But five days after this action ceased, he gave up his command to convalesce and was knighted.

After recovering, Harman was appointed to HMS *Lion* and ordered to lead a squadron to the West Indies. His aggressive tactics at Martinique, Cayenne, and Suriname restored English gains in that theater. On returning to London in April 1668, he was called before the House of Commons, which was investigating the shortening of sail after the battle of Lowestoft. Harman fared poorly in his first appearance before the House because he had been carousing with his crew the previous night. Four days later, though, he did much better. Because Brouncker fled in a panic, all the blame was shifted onto him. Harman campaigned with his usual vigor in the Third Anglo-Dutch War before dying in London on October 11, 1673 (O.S.).

west-northwestward, reclaims abandoned Tobago by installing a 29-man garrison with four guns under Pieter Constant, then continues toward Martinique by May 4, arriving three days later.

MAY 14, 1667. Having agreed to a combined attack against Nevis, Crijnssen's Dutch squadron is joined at Martinique by the French admiral Le Febvre de La Barre aboard his 38-gun flagship *Lis Couronnée* under Captain D'Elbée, accompanied by Vice Admiral de Clodoré—Martinique's governor—aboard the 32-gun *Justice* of Jacques Gauvain and Rear Admiral du Lion—Guadeloupe's governor—aboard the 32-gun *Concorde* of Captain Jamain.

The remainder of the French fleet is comprised of the 34-gun *Saint Jean* and *Saint Sébastien* of Captain Chevalier, the 32-gun *Harmonie* under Pingault, the 30-gun *Florissant* of La Jaunay, the 26-gun *Saint Christophe* of Séguin and *Hercule* of Garnier, the 24-gun *Armes d'Angleterre* of Bourdet and *Mercier* of Tadourneau, the 14-gun *Irondele* of Mallet, the 10-gun *Nôtre Dame de Bon Voyage* (with an additional

12 swivels) under Du Vigneau, the 18-gun transport *Marsouin* of Sanson, as well as the fireships *Cher Ami* under Lescouble and *Souci* under Ferrand. The French vessels are furthermore carrying 600 volunteers raised on Martinique and will be strengthened by another 500 two days later at Guadeloupe, before the entire fleet steers toward Nevis on May 18.

MAY 20, 1667. Battle Off Nevis. Rounding this island's southern points during the early morning hours, the Franco-Dutch fleet is sighted by English reconnaissance boats, which carry a warning into Charlestown. By 8:00 a.m., 17 English ships exit under Berry, 13 of which immediately bear down upon the attackers. The French line disintegrates into confusion while preparing to engage. Crijnssen's *Zeelandia* closes upon Berry's *Coronation*, but the Dutch flagship is driven off by two fireships, and after a desultory long-range exchange between both fleets, Le Febvre de La Barre sheers off toward Saint Kitts by 11:00 a.m., compelling his Dutch ally to follow. It is believed that the English lose two to

three small vessels and perhaps 80 men in this indecisive confrontation, as opposed to 20 casualties among the Franco-Dutch fleet.

Disheartened by this poor showing, Crijnssen decides to part company with the French, sailing north by May 27 with the ships *Zeelandia*, *Zeeridder*, *Vischersherder*, *Prins te Paard*, and *Wester-Souburg*. Le Febvre de La Barre's fleet accompanies the Dutch as far as Saint Barthélemy, before veering round and being chased south toward Martinique by some of Berry's cruisers.

MAY 24, 1667. In Europe, peace negotiations are progressing among England, France, and Holland when Louis XIV declares war against Spain. His objective is to uphold the claim of his wife, Maria Teresa, claim to Brabant and other parts of the Spanish Netherlands following the death of her father Philip IV; this separate year-long conflict will therefore become known to the French as the *Guerre des Droits de la Reine* or "War of the Rights of the Queen," while in England it is called the War of Devolution—France seeking the legal return or "devolution" of these territories.

JUNE 5, 1667. Henry Willoughby, nephew of the English governor general, brings reinforcements into Nevis from Barbados with the 40-gun HMS *Jersey*, the *East India*, and a supply ship. He is followed shortly thereafter by the 60-gun *Saint George* and two other Royal Navy warships that have arrived late in May, part of a series of units being hustled out to recoup England's fortunes in this region before peace can be finalized.

When added to local volunteers raised by Nevis's governor Russell and members of Commodore Berry's squadron, English forces total 3,200 men, 14 ships, and a like number of smaller vessels—sufficient to contemplate an invasion of nearby Saint Kitts, held by 2,000 Frenchmen under Governor Saint Laurent.

JUNE 11, 1667. *Crijnssen's Virginia Raid.* The Dutch squadron appears undetected off Chesapeake Bay, snapping up a Carolina-bound shallop, plus another English merchantman. Learning of a convoy assembling up the James River to convey the annual tobacco crop to London, Crijnssen orders English colors hoisted on his ships four days later, then follows his captured shallop in past Point Comfort. English-speaking crewmembers call out the soundings, and passing vessels are hailed in the same language, so that everyone they meet is deceived.

Nine miles upriver, the raiders come upon the sole Royal Navy vessel for this station: the 20-year-old frigate HMS *Elizabeth* of 46 guns, which has arrived from across the Atlantic the previous month. Undergoing repairs, with only a 30-man skeleton crew aboard, Crijnssen blasts the hapless *Elizabeth* with a broadside, then boards but cannot haul this man-of-war off, so burns it at its mooring.

The Dutch thereupon reverse course downriver, seizing everything in their path. Of 17 merchantmen that they take, 7 are scuttled for lack of prize crews; the rest are retained. (The *Wester-Souburg* is also destroyed around this same time, being used as a fireship.) The Virginians under Gov. Sir William Berkeley mount only a feeble resistance, few merchant masters being willing to match broadsides with Crijnssen's veterans, so that the Dutch commodore departs unmolested by June 21.

JUNE 16, 1667. *Repulse on Saint Kitts.* News of an imminent English assault reaches the French on this island, and next dawn Henry Willoughby's 30 ships appear from Nevis, splitting into two contingents: one making toward Old Road Town, the other toward the French capital of Basseterre. After anchoring out of range overnight, Willoughby signals before daybreak of June 18 to begin the disembarkation north of Palmetto Point, near Pelham River.

By the time Governor Saint Laurent can gallop to this place with a handful of French militiamen, 300 Englishmen are ashore, boats bringing in more; yet although this beach offers a good landing site, it is encircled by steep bluffs, with only a narrow path leading inland. Thus Saint Laurent with his aides Giraud du Poyet and Dominique des Vergers de Sannois, plus fewer than a dozen others, are able to contain this English advance until further cavalry units arrive. The invaders thereupon attempt to outflank Saint Laurent's position by circling north, only to be checked by the timely arrival of Captain d'Orvilliers with 120 men of the Poitou Regiment. A body of horsemen and four companies of the Navarre Regiment deal a similar setback to another English maneuver in the opposite direction, after which the invasion force becomes pinned down at the base of the cliffs. Offshore, Willoughby sends three boatloads of men in a desperate attempt to open yet another flanking movement, only to have them checked at the shoreline as well. After six hours of hopeless struggle, the English landing force surrenders, having suffered 506 killed, 284 wounded, and 140 captured. Defeated, Willoughby retires to Nevis.

JUNE 18, 1667. Rear Admiral Harman reaches Barbados from England with his 68-gun flagship HMS *Lion*; the 50-gun *Crown* (ex-*Taunton*); the 44-gun *Newcastle*; the 40-gun *Dover*, *Bonadventure*, and *Assistance*; the 32-gun *Assurance*; two fireships; and a pair of ketches. His squadron is quickly dispatched toward Nevis by Governor General Willoughby to support the operation against French-held Saint Kitts.

JUNE 21, 1667. Harman reaches Nevis and, after learning of Henry Willoughby's debacle off Saint Kitts, cruises impotently before the latter island, until he opts to blockade Martinique. Setting sail southeastward from Nevis on June 25 with his original squadron, plus the *Jersey* and the *Norwich* (for a total strength of nine ships of the line, a fireship, and an auxiliary), Harman sights 19 French West Indies Company vessels and 14 Martinican traders huddled beneath Fort Saint Pierre at midday on June 29. At 4:30 p.m., his formation stands into the bay, only to be driven off by the combined fire of the anchored ships and batteries. This tactic of drawing Martinique's fire is to become part of Harman's strategy over the next few weeks, knowing the island's defenders to be short of powder.

JUNE 30, 1667. This afternoon, Harman's flagship *Lion* and three frigates lead the English fleet back into Saint Pierre's Bay (Martinique), precipitating a four-hour firefight that ends with the attackers' vessels becoming becalmed, obliging them to be towed out of range—their rowers suffering heavily.

JULY 2, 1667. Harman once more assaults Martinique's main harbor, engaging in a spirited three-hour exchange with its anchored warships and batteries under Lieutenant General Le Febvre de La Barre, Governor Clodoré, and Commodore de Loubière, before the English are obliged to withdraw.

JULY 4, 1667. At 10:00 a.m., Harman makes his third attack against Saint Pierre (Martinique), obliging its French defenders to expend a good deal of their remaining powder in a two-hour exchange.

JULY 6, 1667. *Harman's Martinican Bonfire.* Once more, the English admiral leads his fleet into Saint Pierre, the French counterfire growing increasingly slack. During a lull, an English fireship slips through the smoke to grapple the *Lis Couronnée*, setting it ablaze. This conflagration quickly spreads to the *Saint Jean*, the *Mercier*, and the *Lion d'Or*, which are

consumed down to their waterlines, while panicky French crews abandon other ships. (Adding to the confusion, the fireship *Pucelle* is set ablaze by its own French crew, who thereupon swim ashore.) After five hours, the English retire, leaving the badly shaken French resolved to scuttle their remaining vessels should any more attacks occur.

Another attack commences the next day, when Harman leads his warships in to unleash a point-blank bombardment against Saint Pierre's battered redoubts. Fort Saint Robert already lies demolished, but Governor Clodoré and militia captain Guillaume d'Orange resist bravely from Saint Sébastien, supplementing their meager magazines from the fireship *Souci*. Yet when Harman retires an hour and a half later, 23 French vessels are left sinking, burning, or destroyed. The English have suffered 80 dead and numerous wounded plus considerable damage to their warships; Harman therefore quits Martinique before dawn of July 11, returning into Nevis to effect repairs.

JULY 26, 1667. Having refurbished his men-of-war, Harman discovers that his forces—when united with local contingents under Henry Willoughby—total 22 ships and 3,000 troops, sufficient to contemplate a second invasion attempt against French-held Saint Kitts. The admiral therefore circles that island on July 26 with 12 vessels, coasting from Basseterre northward to Pointe de Sable and bombarding strategic points; but a 500-strong French cavalry unit under Governor Saint Laurent keeps pace, preventing any disembarkation. Disillusioned, Harman returns into Nevis and informs Willoughby that he will lead an expedition against French Cayenne (Guiana), while leaving Commo. William Poole with a small squadron in the Leeward Islands.

JULY 31, 1667. The Treaty of Breda is signed in Europe, signaling peace between England, France, and Holland. By its terms, Antigua, Montserrat, and half of Saint Kitts are to be restored to English rule within six months. However, word of this pact does not reach the New World until a month and a half later—official notification not arriving until Christmas—nor does it mark an end to the Franco-Spanish hostilities.

AUGUST 1667. While at anchor after pillaging San Juan de los Remedios (Cuba), the French buccaneer Nau l'Olonnais learns that a 10-gun Spanish galliot is approaching with 90 men to capture him,

sent from Havana by the Cap. Gen. Francisco Dávila Orejón y Gastón. Instead, the *flibustier* sneaks upon the galliot with two boats this same night, taking it by surprise while the crew is resting off the coast and allegedly slaughtering everyone aboard—save one black slave, who is spared to carry word of this defeat back to Havana.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1667. *Extirpation of French Cayenne.* Admiral Harman, apparently still unaware of the peace in Europe, bears down on Cayenne with his nine ships of the line and 850 troops. Lookouts report this sighting to Governor Le Febvre de Lézy, who assumes them to be reinforcements sent from Martinique by his brother, the lieutenant general. Upon circling around from his residence at Matoury into Fort Saint Louis at Cayenne, though, the governor learns that they are actually English warships, pursuing a lone French supply frigate.

He therefore leads 200 men to join another 100 marshalling at Rémire, watching warily as 14 boatloads of invaders gather offshore at Père or Cabrittes Isle in anticipation of a landing. But when Harman's fleet shifts menacingly overnight toward Romana (modern Bourda Beach), nearer to Cayenne, Le Febvre de Lézy follows this feint, which allows the boat parties to disgorge unopposed next day at Rémire. Panic thereupon grips the outnumbered defenders, who spike their guns and flee in every direction.

It takes the English at Rémire six days to discover that Fort Saint Louis is in fact lying abandoned, at

which point they circle around and leisurely strip its citadel and surrounding district of everything of value, as well as seizing numerous captives. After loading their squadron with captured guns, ammunition, and 250 slaves, the English torch the plantations, then depart on October 9 to visit a like treatment upon Dutch Suriname.

OCTOBER 13, 1667. *Seizure of Suriname.* Venturing westward along the Guianas, Harman appears before Suriname's capital of Paramaribo, disembarking his troops a half mile below Fort Zeelandia, then surrounding and calling upon its 250-man garrison under Maurits de Rame to surrender by nightfall. The Dutch refuse, so after a four-day lull in the winds, the English launch a combined land assault on October 17. After heavy fighting in which Capt. Thomas Willoughby of the ketch *Portsmouth*—among others—loses his life and the defenders suffer 50 casualties, de Rame requests terms. While these are being finalized, some English soldiers stealthily swim round its defenses and occupy the fort.

When a fleet arrives two weeks later from the Netherlands, announcing that the colony is to be restored to Holland according to the Treaty of Breda, Governor Willoughby refuses to comply, instead destroying its fortifications and many other properties. Harman, however, reenters Barbados by November 20 in anticipation of returning home to England.

BUCCANEER HEYDAY (1668–1672)

Although peace has been restored in Europe, local frictions remain in the New World. Jamaica, in particular, experiences a period of renewed anti-Spanish fears late in 1667, prompting Governor Modyford to commission Henry Morgan—recently promoted to colonel of the Port Royal militia—“to draw together the English privateers [throughout the region] and take prisoners of the Spanish nation, whereby he might inform of the intention of that enemy to invade Jamaica.” Such an open-ended license is meant to go well beyond mere intelligence gathering; it is actually intended to bestow the unofficial mantle of buccaneer “admiral” upon Morgan, following the death of Edward Mansfield several months previously.

Duly armed with his permit, Morgan attracts hundreds of rovers to his rendezvous off southern Cuba, including such notable commanders as John Morris and Edward Collier (as well as numerous French *flibustiers*, whose country is at least at war against Spain). After various consultations, Morgan leads his dozen ships and 700 men to Santiago de Cuba by March 1, briefly blockading its entrance before proceeding into the Gulf of Santa María.

FEBRUARY 1668. Buccaneers once again pillage the helpless Cuban town of San Juan de los Remedios, whose weary citizens petition the Crown for permission to relocate.

FEBRUARY 12, 1668. The Spanish admiral Agustín de Diústegui enters Havana from Veracruz with his 325-man, 572-ton, Dutch-built flagship *San Felipe* and the 188-man, 412-ton *Magdalena*. Having delivered a transatlantic quicksilver consignment to Mexico, he now rejoins his three other vessels: Vice Adm. Alonso de Campos y Espinosa's 238-man,

507-ton, Dutch-built *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, plus the 80-man, 50-ton auxiliary sloop *Concepción*, as well as the 27-man *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad* (alias *Marquesa*). These vessels are to constitute Spain's new *Armada de Barlovento* or "Windward Fleet." Having already touched at their base of San Juan de Puerto Rico on August 27, 1667, they have separated briefly, before reuniting.

Diústegui will shortly thereafter sortie from Havana with his entire armada, cruising the Antilles as far as Caracas before returning into San Juan de Puerto Rico for a refit. Feeling that its facilities are

Henry Morgan

Henry Morgan is believed to have been born around 1635 at Abergavenny or possibly in the Welsh manor of Llanrhymny near the town of Newport (modern suburb of Cardiff). He was raised after the customs of his father, Robert, and their military family, noting years later: "I left school too young to be a great proficient in [Admiralty] or other laws, and have been more used to the pike than the book."

His uncles Edward and Thomas served as professional soldiers of fortune in Europe, achieving high ranks during the Thirty Years' War. When the English Civil War erupted in 1642, Edward fought for the king, Thomas on the Parliamentary side. After the execution of Charles I, Edward fled into exile, while Thomas remained in England as a major general in the New Model Army. He was second-in-command of the Flanders expedition, described as "a little, shrill-voiced, choleric man" in action.

Young Henry was apparently left in reduced circumstances by the royalists' defeat. The *Bristol Apprentice Books (Servants to Foreign Plantations)* contains the following entry: "1655, February 9 [O.S.]. Henry Morgan of Abergavenny, laborer, bound to Timothy Townsend of Bristol, cutler, for three years to serve in Barbados." Almost 30 years later, the buccaneer chronicler Exquemelin would confirm that Morgan served his full term and then "took himself to Jamaica, there to seek new fortunes."

Then England's monarchy was restored, and Lord Windsor reached Jamaica in August 1662 as its first Royal governor. The 27-year-old Morgan was made a captain in the Port Royal Regiment and raised enough money to attach his tiny privateer craft to Myngs's raid against Santiago de Cuba. Although a soldier and not a sailor, Morgan came to excel as a buccaneer leader. After his uncle Edward arrived as lieutenant governor, Morgan was promoted to colonel in February 1666. He was also entrusted with Port Royal's defenses and married his first cousin Mary Elizabeth Morgan. And late in 1667, he inherited the unofficial mantle of buccaneer chief. When Edward Mansfield died, Governor Modyford sent Morgan out "to draw together the English privateers."

Over the next three years, he led four spectacular descents against Spanish America. The buccaneers appreciated his tactical cunning, which minimized losses. They also enjoyed his mischievous humor, as when he taunted the advancing governor of Panama from captive Portobelo in July 1668:

I write you these few lines to ask you to come quickly. We are waiting for you with great pleasure, and we have powder and ball with which to receive you. If you do not come very soon, we will, with the favor of God and our arms, come and visit you in Panama, . . . and since I do not believe that you have sufficient men to fight with me tomorrow, I will order all the poor prisoners to be freed, so that they may go to help you.

Even when he was deported to England in 1672 for sacking Panama, Morgan's luck held. A timely rupture with Spain led to all charges being dropped. Then he was knighted in November 1674 and returned to Jamaica the next spring as its lieutenant governor.

His holdings came to include 4,000 acres at what was later called Eaton, near Lucea in Hanover Parish. He named his estates Llanrhymny and Pencarne, the latter another manor near his childhood home in Wales. Although restless in his official role as lieutenant governor, he never went to sea again. He instead grew fat as a plantation owner and died of dropsy on August 25, 1688 (O.S.). His physician, Hans Sloane, attributed his death to the patient's being "much given to drinking and sitting up late." Morgan left an estate valued at more than £5,000, as well as several large properties. He was buried with a 22-gun salute, fired by all the ships in Port Royal harbor.

inadequate, he will suggest transferring operations to Havana; but instead, fresh orders arrive from Madrid. His large ships *San Felipe* and *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* are deemed too cumbersome to pursue nimble buccaneer craft, so he has been ordered to sail them to Spain.

By June 1668, Diústegui is en route to Veracruz with his flagship and vice-flagship, to pick up a silver consignment for his passage homeward.

SPRING 1668. On Saint Domingue (Haiti), the buccaneer chieftain Nau l'Olonnais sorties with 700 *flibustiers*, 300 of them aboard the large Spanish prize, which he has brought from Maracaibo (see “Late April 1666” entry in “Second Anglo-Dutch War and War of Devolution”). Accompanied by five smaller craft, he proceeds into Bayahá to take on salt meat, then cruises southern Cuba as far as the Gulf of Batabanó, seizing boats for a proposed ascent of Nicaragua’s San Juan River to sack Granada. But when Nau attempts to clear Cape Gracias a Dios on the Mosquito Coast, he is prevented by a lack of

wind, so drifts along northern Honduras. Running low on provisions, he sends foraging parties up the Aguán River and eventually prowls as far west as Puerto Caballos (today Puerto Cortés).

There, he captures a Spanish merchantman armed with 24 cannon and 16 swivels, as well as occupies the town. Two terrified captives are persuaded to lead his 300 *flibustiers* inland toward San Pedro Sula, while he leaves the remainder to garrison Puerto Caballos under his Dutch-born lieutenant Mozes van Klijn. Fewer than 10 miles into the jungle, the French are waylaid by a party of Spaniards, and more ambushes are sprung as they advance. The Spanish even repel Nau’s initial assault against San Pedro Sula before being allowed to evacuate under a flag of truce. The city and its outlying district are then pillaged over the next few days and burned to the ground when Nau retires toward the coast.

Upon returning into Puerto Caballos, Nau learns that a wealthy Spanish galleon is due to arrive at nearby Amatique Bay, so he posts a pair of lookout boats on its southern shoreline, while crossing to the west side of the Gulf of Honduras to careen. Three months elapse until word is finally received that the galleon has arrived. Nau attacks, although the Spaniard has 42 cannon and 130 men. His 28-gun flagship and a smaller consort are beaten off, but four boatloads of *flibustiers* storm the galleon. Its booty proves disappointing though, because most cargo has already been offloaded. Discouraged, Nau’s confederates Van Klijn and Pierre le Picard quit his company. Nau runs aground some time later among the Cayos de Perlas (near Bluefields, Nicaragua), eventually reaching the Gulf of Darien in a small boat, only to be massacred by its natives.



Nineteen-year-old Henry Morgan, a modern reproduction of a portrait supposedly painted shortly before his departure for the West Indies in the mid-1650s. (Tredegar House)

MARCH 27, 1668. *Puerto Príncipe Raid.* At dawn, Morgan sets a large party ashore at Florida Beach in the Ensenada de Santa María (today called Santa Cruz del Sur) to raid its inland town of Puerto Príncipe (modern Camagüey, Cuba). The Spaniards attempt to dispute the invaders’ passage at the next sunrise with 800 militia cavalymen and native spearmen, yet they are helpless against the buccaneers’ superior firepower, and the latter inflict several hundred casualties—including more than 100 deaths—before carrying Puerto Príncipe by storm that same afternoon. Fifteen days of pillage ensue, although the raiders withdraw by April 1 with only 50,000 pieces of eight, a disappointing sum when redistributed among so many. The Spaniards eventually provide some 500 additional cattle to ransom

hostages, so that Morgan leaves Cuba well supplied to head to Cape Gracias a Dios (Nicaragua).

Here, his two national contingents part company when Morgan suggests a descent upon Portobelo; the French—already resentful at the meager profit obtained at Puerto Príncipe—refuse to join his enterprise, preferring instead to sail off on their own. With the four frigates, eight sloops, and fewer than 500 men left to him, Morgan reaches Bocas del Toro (Panama), transferring his men into 23 *piraguas* and smaller boats to row the 150 miles eastward against his chosen target.

APRIL 25, 1668. The Dutch commodore Crijnsen returns to Suriname with the frigates *Suriname* and *Zeelandia*, plus the flute *Land van Belofien* or “Promised Land,” bearing 270 sailors and 180 soldiers to reclaim this former colony for the Netherlands. Crijnsen sails into Paramaribo’s harbor and threatens to open fire if its recalcitrant English occupiers do not surrender. They submit and are eventually made to pay for all property damages, while Crijnsen remains as new colonial governor before being succeeded on February 16, 1669. He dies shortly thereafter.

MAY 28, 1668. Having intercepted the Mexican supply ship bound for St. Augustine (Florida) off Cuba, the Jamaican privateer Searle arrives aboard it outside Anastasia Island and lures the harbor pilot aboard. After nightfall, Searle slips into the bay and leads more than 100 rovers aboard four boats toward the sleeping city.

Detected by a fisherman shortly after 1:00 a.m. on May 29, they open fire and storm ashore. Gov. Francisco de la Guerra y de la Vega and his 120-man garrison are caught completely by surprise so can offer little resistance at first. But the governor reaches the stockade and directs its 33 soldiers in a successful defense, repelling repeated filibuster assaults for more than an hour. Five defenders are killed and a like number wounded, compared to 11 dead and 19 wounded among Searle’s ranks.

Yet the raiders ransack the hapless town, while Searle’s 8-gun, 60-ton *Cagway* and a captured St. Augustine frigate sail into its anchorage at daybreak to join his Mexican prize. As the English begin retiring with their booty, Governor de la Guerra sends out two attack columns, which are easily repulsed. By nightfall, the pirates are back aboard their vessels, leaving behind 60 dead Spaniards within gutted St. Augustine.

On May 30, Searle offers to ransom his 70 captives for water, meat, and wood. Most Spaniards are released over the next six days, but the privateers retain all blacks, *mestizos*, and natives when they sail away on June 5 to be sold as slaves.

LATE MAY 1668. The expelled French governor of Cayenne, Le Febvre de Lézy—having been released by his English captors and resupplied by his brother at Martinique—returns to his devastated colony with 200 followers. They find another 40 French survivors emerging from hiding places in the jungle, and together they begin reconstructing Fort Saint Louis, as well as their other devastated properties at Cayenne.

JULY 10, 1668. *Sack of Portobelo.* This afternoon, Morgan’s flotilla of boats arrives in the vicinity of Portobelo, four nights after quitting Bocas del Toro (see “March 27, 1668” entry). His men disembark, and Morgan leads them on a swift nocturnal march, taking the town by surprise at daybreak of July 11. Its citizenry are secured without a single buccaneer loss. The 80-man Santiago de la Gloria citadel holds out for a couple of hours longer, until Morgan rounds up a group of captives—including Portobelo’s *alcalde mayor*, two friars, several women, and nuns—to act as a human shield for an assault party that approaches its main gate with torches and axes. The Spanish defenders reluctantly open fire, wounding two friars and killing an Englishman, but are unable to prevent the enemy sappers from reaching their gate. While thus distracted, another band of buccaneers uses scaling ladders to enter on the far side of the fortress, carrying it in a bloodbath that costs 45 Spanish soldiers their lives, the rest being wounded.

The next morning, Morgan leads 200 buccaneers across Portobelo’s bay and forces the surrender of 50 Spanish soldiers still holding out in its San Felipe or Todo Fierro harbor castle, after only a token resistance. This victory allows his ships to enter once they arrive from Bocas del Toro, so that, with the loss of 18 buccaneer dead, Portobelo is taken. Wealthy Spanish residents are tortured to reveal their riches, and other excesses are committed.

On July 14, Morgan writes a letter to the president of the *real audiencia* or “royal tribunal” at Panama City, offering to spare Portobelo for 350,000 pesos. Acting president Agustín de Bracamonte, already marching to Portobelo’s relief at the head of 800 militiamen, brusquely refuses. Morgan digs in

to receive this relief column. Bracamonte's army proves too weak to assault Morgan's positions once he arrives outside Portobelo next day, and the Spaniards are obliged to remain encamped within the jungle for a week. Finally, Bracamonte orders a retreat on July 24, leaving a subordinate to negotiate Portobelo's ransom, which is set at 100,000 pesos. This sum is paid during the first days of the next month, after which Morgan sails away, regaining Port Royal by August 27.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1668. The Spanish admiral Diústegui exits Veracruz with his flagship *San Felipe* and vice-flagship *Concepción*, delivering the royal *situados* or "payrolls" to Havana before proceeding across the Atlantic to Cadiz with a consignment of Mexican silver. His vice admiral Alonso de Campos is to remain in command of the depleted *Armada de Barlovento* in the West Indies.

EARLY OCTOBER 1668. Morgan sorties again from Jamaica, calling on freebooters to join him at Ile à Vache (Haiti) for another quasi-official venture against Spanish America. When the 34-gun royal frigate *Oxford* reaches Port Royal shortly thereafter—having been sent out from England for use against piracy—Governor Modyford sends it with a crew of 160 men under the veteran privateer Edward Collier as reinforcement for Morgan. Collier departs on December 20 and upon arriving at Ile à Vache detains the 14-gun, 120-ton French corsair *Cerf Volant* or "Kite" out of La Rochelle, which has recently plundered a Virginia merchantman. Captain Vivien and his 45-man crew are sailed into Port Royal for adjudication, and the *Cerf Volant* is quickly condemned and renamed *Satisfaction*, then incorporated back into Morgan's fleet.

DECEMBER 1668. A Courlander ship appears off their abandoned outpost on Tobago but withdraws when the small Dutch force occupying the island approaches.

DECEMBER 19, 1668. The newly purchased, 26-gun, 218-ton, Spanish frigate *San Luis* under Capt. Mateo Alonso de Huidobro and the sloop *Marquesa* under Diego de Barrios exit from Veracruz, bearing almost 300 Mexican recruits for the *Armada de Barlovento*. They will reach Havana by January 5, 1669, with orders to sail on to the relief of Portobelo; but this operation is cancelled, as it is already known that Morgan's raiders have long since withdrawn.

Instead, Admiral de Campos sails for Puerto Rico with his armada, hoping to learn of the enemy's intentions. Receiving a report that the buccaneers might be planning a descent on Hispaniola, he arrives there by March 25. Another rumor indicates that the Spanish Main is the raiders' true destination, so de Campos steers southeastward. Off the island of Uría, he will finally learn from a Dutch merchantman that Morgan is attacking Maracaibo.

JANUARY 12, 1669. At Ile à Vache, Morgan and his consorts decide that, since 900–1,000 freebooters have gathered, their strength is sufficient to try Cartagena, after which they begin a feast to celebrate both their forthcoming voyage and the English New Year (being January 2, O.S.). Captains Aylett, Bigford, Collier, Morris, Thornbury, and Whiting join Morgan for dinner, while seamen carouse upon the *Oxford's* forecastle. Suddenly, the ship's magazine explodes, killing more than 200 crewmembers—only 6 men and 4 boys surviving, Morgan and Collier being among them.

Such heavy loss of life ends any prospects for a major campaign. Collier consequently departs with the *Satisfaction* on a cruise against Campeche, while Morgan transfers into the 14-gun frigate *Lilly* and leads his remaining forces eastward, hoping to raid either Trinidad or Margarita. But by the time he reaches Saona at the eastern end of Santo Domingo, three more of his ships have deserted, leaving only eight with 500 men under captains John Morris, Jeffery Pennant, Edward Dempster, Richard Norman, Richard Dobson, Adam Brewster, and one other. One of Morgan's French followers then suggests a repeat of Nau l'Olonnais's foray of three years previously by raiding Maracaibo. Morgan and his colleagues agree, so after visiting Dutch Aruba a few weeks later to reprovision, the buccaneer fleet steers toward the Gulf of Venezuela.

FEBRUARY 4, 1669. A French squadron under Commo. Jean, Comte d'Estrées, arrives at Martinique bearing the new governor general Jean-Charles de Baas Castelmore, who takes up residence at Saint Pierre. D'Estrées is also to curb foreign trade into France's colonies, but he performs this service rather indifferently, before returning to Europe.

SPRING 1669. The Jamaican privateer Joseph Bradley sails his 80-man frigate (thought to be the *Mayflower*) into the Gulf of Mexico, along with the brigantines of Dutch-born Rok Brasiliano and

Armada de Barlovento

Since the earliest forays by European rivals, the Spanish Antilles needed an *Armada de Barlovento* or “Windward Fleet.” But the occasional squadrons assigned mostly convoyed plate fleets; they did not patrol the West Indies. An attempt to station a permanent fleet was made in 1607, when Admiral Enríquez de Borja brought out several hundred men from Cadiz to build six galleons at Havana. Yet when completed in March 1610, they sailed to Spain for other duties. Only individual warships or squadrons detached from visiting plate fleets made sporadic patrols through the West Indies for the next three decades.

Then late in 1640, four galleons and a *patache* were selected by the Mexican viceroy Marqués de Cadereyta from a plate fleet anchored at Veracruz, plus a newly built frigate from Campeche, to reconstitute the armada. Vice Adm. Antonio de la Plaza Eguiluz sortied with three of these ships on June 9, 1641, and chased some English vessels away from Alvarado. But upon escorting the plate fleet across to Havana that same July, the armada was ordered to continue on to Spain. A hurricane struck both formations in the Bahamas Channel, so that only a few battered armada ships limped back into Veracruz.

The new 32-gun, 650-ton flagship *Nuestra Señora de Porciúncula* was built, and 1,200 crewmen were raised in Mexico over the next year and a half. The armada’s seven ships then exited again on April 24, 1643, accompanying the plate fleet across the Gulf into Havana. Yet once more, Madrid ordered the armada on to Spain. Because of the Crown’s bankruptcy, sailors went unpaid, and ships decayed. After two more transatlantic crossings, the depleted armada finally was able to make a West Indian patrol late in 1646. But its few captures were insignificant. This armada then made one last crossing to Spain before being disbanded in February 1648.

Fifteen years later, Madrid sent an agent to Amsterdam to arrange the launch of four new armada galleons. Poor financing threatened this project, until officers’ commissions were offered to anyone in Spain willing to advance money. Agustín de Diústegui secured overall command for a loan of 50,000 pesos, plus the use of two of his own frigates. Other appointments resulted from lesser donations. These officers therefore were mindful of recouping their investments or otherwise profiting from service in the New World.

When construction was complete early in 1664, Dutch crews were hired to sail the four galleons into Spanish ports. Many were then retained to serve Spain. A long delay ensued, and only two of these ships left Seville on July 21, 1667, under Diústegui’s command. Accompanied by three lesser warships, they reconstituted the *Armada de Barlovento* and were based out of San Juan de Puerto Rico. More than 100 of the 963 officers and men deserted, though, after being paid during a stopover at the Canary Islands. And after reaching Puerto Rico on August 27, 1667, problems multiplied. A year and a half later, the armada was annihilated by Morgan. A new squadron would not be raised until 1677.

Jelles de Lecat, to campaign against the Spaniards. For two or three weeks, this trio hovers off Campeche, then attempts some disembarkations upon its coast, before Bradley finally captures a Cuban vessel laden with flour and the raiders retire into the Laguna de Términos. They remain there for two months, Brasiliano’s brigantine being careened, while de Lecat lays in a cargo of logwood. At the end of this interlude, Bradley and Brasiliano return to blockade Campeche, while de Lecat’s brigantine hauls up close inshore off Las Bocas, four leagues to its southwest.

MARCH 9, 1669. *Maracaibo Campaign.* Reaching the bar of its Laguna, Morgan’s raiders discover that its entrance has been fortified with a small 11-gun castle, which the freebooters disembark to besiege. Only a single Spanish officer and eight soldiers are within this keep, though they put up a token show of resistance before slipping into the night. After

spiking its guns, Morgan’s ships navigate through the shoals and proceed southward to Maracaibo, which they find abandoned by its terrified citizenry. The buccaneers send parties out into the surrounding countryside to round up scores of prisoners, who are tortured to reveal their riches.

Three weeks later, Morgan crosses to the southeastern side of the Laguna, visiting a like treatment upon Gibraltar (near Bobures). By April 17, he returns into Maracaibo with a captive Cuban merchant ship and five smaller *piraguas*, ready to head back out into the Caribbean. But while the freebooters have been ransacking the Laguna’s interior, Spain’s *Armada de Barlovento* has arrived outside its bar, bottling the interlopers inside.

Adm. Alonso de Campos has brought his 38-gun flagship *Magdalena*, the 26-gun frigate *San Luis* under his second-in-command Mateo Alonso de Huidobro, plus the 14-gun sloop *Marquesa*, all manned by 500 officers, troops, and sailors. Having found

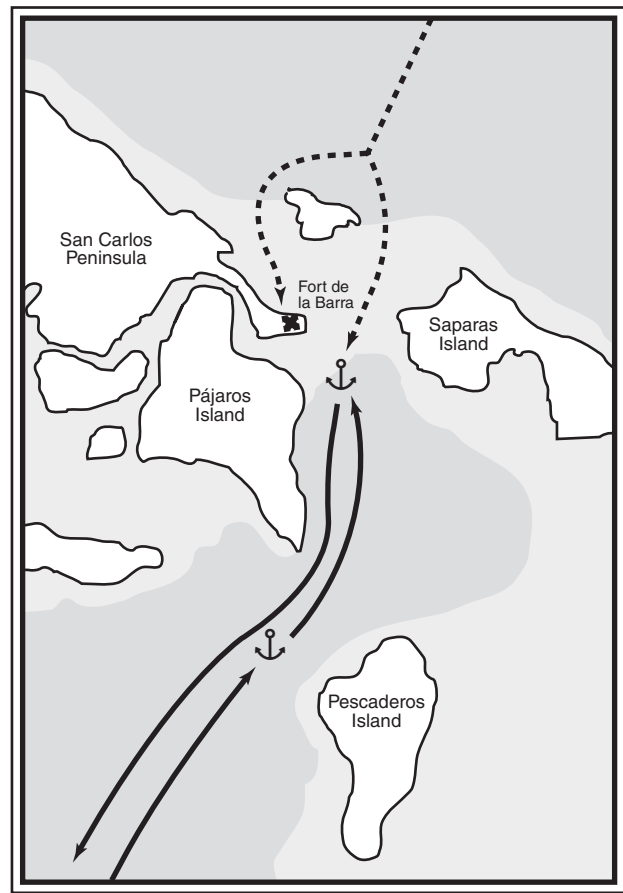
the Laguna fortress devastated, Campos has reoccupied it with 40 harquebusiers, repaired six of its guns, then dispatched messengers inland calling for further assistance from the local militias. After several days, he also lightens his warships and passes them over the bar, before sending a letter to Morgan in Maracaibo calling upon him to surrender.

APRIL 20, 1669. In Madrid, news of Morgan's Portobelo raid prompts Queen Regent Mariana to authorize Spanish American officials to issue privateering commissions against English vessels.

APRIL 25, 1669. *Battle of the Bar.* After a week's preparation, Morgan's 13 vessels approach Maracaibo's bar, arriving within sight of the anchored Spanish squadron. Two days later, Morgan rushes Campos's formation at 9:00 a.m., led by his large Cuban prize, which is flying an admiral's insignia. It bears down upon Campos's flagship and grapples, but when the Spaniards surge over its bulwarks, they find its decks lined only with wooden dummies and 12 buccaneers hastily decamping over its far side. The Cuban ship thereupon bursts into flames, and the *Magdalena* becomes engulfed, forcing Campos to leap into the water along with his panic-stricken crew. Seeing this terrifying spectacle, de Huidobro's smaller *San Luis* and *Marquesa* cut their cables and run for the shelter of the fort, pursued by buccaneer craft. Both Spanish vessels run aground and are deliberately set ablaze by their crews, although the latter is boarded and saved by the privateers.

Despite his victory, Morgan's flotilla is still unable to get past the fort—its garrison having been augmented by 70 militiamen from the interior, plus most of the surviving armada crews. When the buccaneers attempt a land assault next day, it is easily repelled, so Morgan retires back into Maracaibo. After offering to exchange his Spanish captives for free passage out to sea, which is rebuffed by Campos, Morgan returns to the bar a few days later and sets his boats busily plying back and forth out of sight of the Spanish fort.

Believing that the English are depositing a large force for another assault, Campos's garrison manhandles their few guns into the landward embrasures and brace for a nocturnal attack. Yet Morgan has again deceived them, his boat movements being a feint. No buccaneers have actually disembarked; instead, his ships weigh and slip past the Spanish fortress's unguarded seaward side under cover of darkness, depositing their prisoners outside before



Morgan's victory at the Bar of Maracaibo.

sailing triumphantly off. Morgan is back in Port Royal by May 27.

JUNE 24, 1669. Jamaica's Governor Modyford proclaims the English Crown's latest prohibition against anti-Spanish hostilities.

DECEMBER 18, 1669. Three armed Spanish ships sortie from Campeche, chasing away the intruder vessels of Englishman Joseph Bradley and Dutch-born Rok Brasiliano. The latter is shortly thereafter wrecked on Chicxulub Beach (east of modern Progreso), where he is found burying a cannon and two swivels by a Spanish cavalry patrol. Brasiliano's men flee aboard their boats, later being rescued by his Dutch colleague De Lecat and transferred aboard Bradley's frigate for conveyance to Jamaica.

JANUARY 3, 1670. Gov. Pedro de Ulloa of Cartagena issues a privateering commission to the Portuguese-born rover Manuel Rivero Pardal to attack English interests in the West Indies. Rivero

sets sail three days later with 70 men aboard his *San Pedro*, alias *Fama*. It is his intent to raid Point Morant (Jamaica) for slaves, but unfavorable winds carry him past to the Cayman Islands, where he burns English fishing shacks, then takes a ketch, canoe, and four children captives into Cuba.

Here, Rivero learns of an English privateer lying at Manzanillo (the port for Bayamo), which proves to be the 18-man *Mary and Jane*, commanded by an old Dutch rover named Bernard Claesen Speirdyke, who has been dispatched under flag of truce by Governor Modyford of Jamaica to carry letters and restore some Spanish prisoners. When Speirdyke stands out of Manzanillo, he is intercepted by Rivero's *Fama*, which opens fire and fights him until dark. Next day, the Spaniards close to board; the *Mary and Jane* puts up a staunch resistance, killing or wounding a third of Rivero's men before it is overwhelmed. Five of the *Mary and Jane*'s crew lay dead—including Speirdyke—and the corsair sends nine English prisoners back to Port Royal, boasting of his victory. This creates an ugly mood on Jamaica, and Modyford is hard-pressed to prevent retaliatory strikes by his buccaneers.

Rivero meanwhile sails his prize back to Cartagena, arriving by March 23. A fiesta is held to celebrate his cruise, and other corsairs come forward to emulate his example. One month later, two more vessels are fitting out in Cartagena's roadstead, with Rivero flying a royal standard as "admiral" to this motley force.

APRIL 1670. Some 150 colonists from England and Barbados disembark at the Ashley River mouth, establishing South Carolina. Spain regards this outpost as an infringement upon its Florida colony, headquartered farther south at St. Augustine.

EARLY MAY 1670. On Tortuga Island (Haiti), Governor d'Ogeron learns that his French West Indies Company deputy, Maj. Jean de Renou, has been overthrown at Léogâne by an unruly mob for attempting to prevent trade with two large Dutch merchantmen under captains Pieter Constant and Pieter Marck. D'Ogeron sails to the rescue aboard the *Ironnelle*, freeing de Renou. Yet when he then attempts to reinstate his subordinate at Petit Goâve, the *Ironnelle* is fired upon by a large crowd of angry buccaneers, so he retreats to Tortuga.

JUNE 11, 1670. The Spanish corsair Rivero reappears off northern Jamaica, having sortied from Cartagena at the end of May, accompanied by the

Gallardina or "Graceful" (a French privateer seized two years previously). Flying false English colors, they pursue William Harris's sloop for an hour and a half after he arrives to trade. The English master eventually beaches his sloop and escapes inland, firing at Rivero's men as they come ashore. His sloop is refloated, then sailed away to Cuba along with a canoe found on the beach. One week later, the *Fama* and the *Gallardina* return, landing 30 men at Montego Bay to burn its settlements before retiring into Cuba once more.

LATE SPRING 1670. The Dutch-born Jamaican privateer and plantation owner Laurens Prins or "Lawrence Prince," along with his English colleagues Harris and Ludbury, take it upon themselves to retaliate for Rivero's nuisance raids by sailing up Colombia's Magdalena River to sack the inland port of Santa Cruz de Mompox (modern Mompós). This attempt is checked by a fort recently installed upon its river, so the trio instead heads westward in August, hoping for better fortune along the Mosquito Coast.

JULY 3, 1670. The Spanish corsair Rivero is back off Jamaica for a third time, having manned his captured sloop at Santiago de Cuba. Some 40 mounted Jamaican militiamen watch his trio of vessels for an hour, before they stand off to leeward. Next day, the Spanish raiders land 50 miles away and burn two houses, then the following night post a letter ashore challenging Morgan to a ship-to-ship duel.

JULY 9, 1670. Incensed by the Spanish corsair Rivero's nuisance raids, Governor Modyford and the Jamaican Council pass a resolution commissioning Morgan as "Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of all the ships of war belonging to this harbor [Port Royal]," ordering him to draw them together to "attack, seize, and destroy all the enemy's vessels that shall come within his reach." Morgan sets sail on August 11 with 11 privateer vessels and 600 men, his flag flying aboard the *Satisfaction*, now armed with 22 guns. He has also called for a freebooter assembly at Ile à Vache, though he first ventures to southern Cuba, where he leaves John Morris's 10-gun *Dolphin* on watch before tacking eastward with his main body.

AUGUST 1670. Three Spanish ships under Juan Menéndez Márquez, accompanied from St. Augustine by 14 *piraguas*, arrive outside the new English settlement at Charles Town (present-day Charleston,

South Carolina) to expel its colonists. Having been forewarned by friendly tribesmen, the English are prepared for a siege, and Menéndez retires without attempting any attack after a storm drags his ships' anchors.

AUGUST 17, 1670. After ascending Nicaragua's San Juan River, the English privateer captains Prins, Harris, and Ludbury seize the new Fort San Carlos de Austria (installed after Morris's and Martien's raid five years previously), then steal across its lake with their 170 men to also surprise Granada on August 26. The freebooters wreak considerable havoc in this city before withdrawing with 200 men and women captives and driving home their demand for 70,000 pesos' ransom by "sending the head of a priest in a basket" to its provincial authorities. They finally sail away with the rest of their booty.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1670. After touching at Tortuga Island (Haiti), Morgan and his privateer fleet continue south toward their rendezvous off Ile à Vache. Four days later, Morgan detaches six vessels under Edward Collier to gather provisions and intelligence from the Spanish Main.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1670. Deputy Governor de Renou of Saint Domingue (Haiti) reaches the French governor general de Baas at Saint Kitts, requesting assistance on behalf of D'Ogeron to suppress a buccaneer mutiny (see "Early May 1670" entry). Eventually, the 14-gun, 80-ton royal frigate *Aurore* (ex-*Normande*) of 36-year-old captain Louis Gabaret is detached from Grenada to help.

Reaching Tortuga, Gabaret escorts D'Ogeron back to Léogâne, where several hundred buccaneers swear fealty to France, yet refuse to abide by its West Indies Company rule. A like reception awaits at Petit Goâve, where D'Ogeron storms angrily ashore and disperses its mutineers before returning to Tortuga. Gabaret thereupon sails for Europe, leaving D'Ogeron to resolve the issue by eventually moderating his conditions and granting a general amnesty at the end of April 1671.

OCTOBER 1670. Off southeastern Cuba, Morris's 10-gun, 60-man privateer *Dolphin* is forced into a small bay by a threatening storm. Two hours later, just before dark, Rivero sails in for the same purpose with his 14-gun *Fama*, delighted to find the smaller Jamaican ship embayed. Setting men ashore to cut off all escape, the Spaniards prepare to attack

at dawn; yet it is Morris who moves first next morning, bearing down upon the *Fama* with the land breeze and boarding at his first attempt. Rivero is killed, and his crew jump into the sea, where some drown but most are slaughtered by the English privateers so that only five Spaniards reach shore alive. Later that same month, Morris leads the *Fama*—now renamed *Lamb*—to Morgan's rendezvous off Ile à Vache. Despite the death of this Spanish tormentor, however, the English still press on with their plans for a major blow against Spanish America.

OCTOBER 24, 1670. At daybreak, Collier's half-dozen English privateers appear off Río hacha, disembarking a force to march against its tiny four-gun fort. In the harbor lies the Spanish corsair *Gallardina*, whose crew is terrified of falling into buccaneer hands. Río hacha's fort holds out for a day and night before surrendering, after which Collier conducts a pair of executions and tortures several prominent captives for their wealth. He weighs anchor almost four weeks later to rejoin Morgan with meat, maize, 38 prisoners, the *Gallardina*, and one other prize.

OCTOBER 29, 1670. The English privateer captains Prins, Harris, and Ludbury return to Jamaica from their rampage through Central America, being mildly reprimanded by Governor Modyford for attacking Spanish America without permission. They are then ordered to join Morgan's expedition, which is regrouping after being scattered by a storm off Ile à Vache.

NOVEMBER 1, 1670. The 29-year-old unemployed Royal Navy captain John Narborough enters the Strait of Magellan from Patagonia aboard the *Sweepstakes*, a private frigate of 36 guns, 300 tons, and 80 men, to trade with Spain's Pacific colonies. After passing Cape Pilar on the last day of the month, the *Sweepstakes* anchors in Valdivia Bay by Christmas (December 15, 1670 [O.S.]), receiving a friendly reception. But the Spaniards arrest a four-man landing party three days later, and Narborough finds the port closed to him. Unable to recover his men, nor being authorized to take any offensive actions, he departs on January 1, 1671, to return through the Strait, arriving back in England by June.

DECEMBER 18, 1670. Morgan's fleet quits Ile à Vache, having swelled to 38 privateer vessels and more than 2,000 English, French, and Dutch freebooters. Although his intended target is Panama,

Morgan first lays in a course for Providencia Island, which on two previous occasions has belonged to England.

DECEMBER 24, 1670. Early this morning, Morgan's buccaneer fleet appears before Providencia Island, forcing its Spanish garrison to surrender next day.

DECEMBER 28, 1670. Morgan detaches 470 men under the rather unofficially commissioned Lt. Col. Joseph Bradley of the frigate *Mayflower*, Maj. Richard Norman of the 10-gun *Lilly*, and the Dutch-born mercenary Jelles de Lecat's *Seviliaen* to sail ahead of his main body and seize Chagres, where he intends to disembark his army to advance across the Isthmus.

JANUARY 6, 1671. *Capture of Chagres.* At noon, Bradley's three ships disgorge 400 freebooters within sight of Fort San Lorenzo, making their initial assault that same afternoon. The 360 defenders wait confidently under *castellano* or "garrison commander" Pedro de Elizalde y Ursúa, halting Bradley's first and second charges with deadly volleys. As dusk falls, the English commander switches tactics, leading his men through some gullies to toss grenades and firepots inside, igniting the fort's wooden stockades. These fires spread throughout the night, consuming the defenses and detonating San Lorenzo's magazines. In the darkness, 150 Spanish soldiers desert, yet enough remain to again break Bradley's first two assaults the next morning.

Finally, a contingent of Tortuga *flibustiers* fights its way inside on the third attempt, Elizalde and his 70 surviving defenders fighting bravely to the last man. At least 30 buccaneers are killed and another 76 injured during these final assaults—including Bradley, who is shot through both legs. The attackers' total losses are estimated at slightly more than 100 dead and 70 wounded. Norman assumes overall command while Bradley convalesces, but five days later, just as Morgan's ships hove into view, Bradley dies.

JANUARY 12, 1671. Having departed Providencia a few days after Bradley, Morgan's fleet comes within sight of Chagres. As his flagship *Satisfaction* leads the way into harbor, it strikes a reef and sinks along with another four vessels astern. Ten men are drowned, yet losses are otherwise minimal.

After a week spent refurbishing Fort San Lorenzo and ensconcing 300 defenders under Norman, plus



A French print from 1688 depicting a soldier igniting a hand grenade. (Author's Collection)

200 sailors as anchor watches aboard their ships, Morgan ventures upriver with 1,500 men, 7 small ships, and 36 boats. An epic seven-day trek ensues through the jungle, the Spaniards shrinking away before this host; nonetheless, the climate, terrain, hunger, and thirst prove formidable obstacles.

JANUARY 20, 1671. In Panama City, 52-year-old governor Juan Pérez de Guzmán, Knight of the Order of Santiago, rises from his sick bed and rides forth next day with 800 militiamen to encamp at Guayabal, awaiting news of Morgan. But as the invaders continue their advance, Spanish morale plummets, so that by January 24 the governor awakens to find two-thirds of his army gone. Retreating into Panama City, Pérez de Guzmán orders all able-bodied men to muster at Mata Asnillos (two and a half miles southwest of the city), while noncombatants are evacuated by ship.

JANUARY 27, 1671. At 9:00 a.m., Morgan's vanguard breasts a hill and sights the Pacific. Toward noon, the buccaneers come upon a plain filled with cattle, which they eat. Thus refreshed, they press on

and this afternoon espy the tiled roofs of Panama City, with a Spanish army drawn up outside to bar their path.

JANUARY 28, 1671. *Sack of Panama.* Morgan begins his final advance at sunrise, 1,200 buccaneers marching steadily into battle. Governor Pérez de Guzmán has 1,200 militia infantrymen drawn up in a line six men deep at Mata Asnillos, with two companies of 200 militia riders apiece on either flank. His inexperienced troops have few firearms and no artillery, however, so they are no match for the better-armed, veteran freebooters.

Morgan's 300-man van under "Lieutenant Colonel" Prins and "Major" Morris are still advancing up a hillock on the Spaniards' right, when Pérez de Guzmán's unwieldy throng launches an undisciplined dash against the buccaneers. They break this wild Spanish charge with steady fusillades, more than 100 militiamen being killed with the first volley. This murderous fire, to which the Panamanians can scarcely reply, undoes their spirit and causes wholesale panic. The defenders break and flee, leaving 400 casualties on the battlefield, as opposed to only 15 buccaneer casualties.

Panama City is occupied, but many of its buildings are set ablaze as the raiders enter, most of its riches having previously been removed offshore. Although Morgan remains in the city for the next four weeks, he finds its wealth largely gone. Despite cruel tortures inflicted by the frustrated invaders, relatively little booty can be extracted from Panama or its outlying district so that, when his army marches back to Chagres and makes its final division of spoils, the rank-and-file buccaneers receive only £15–£18 per head, prompting ugly talk of being defrauded.

MARCH 16, 1671. Morgan hastily departs Chagres aboard the dead Bradley's *Mayflower*, accompanied by Prins's *Pearl*, Morris's *Dolphin*, and Thomas Harris's *Mary*. They reach Jamaica a couple of weeks later to find English policy reversed, a new treaty having recently been signed with Madrid, so that attacks against Spanish America are now out of favor.

Three months later, HMS *Assistance* and HMS *Welcome* enter Port Royal with a new governor, Sir Thomas Lynch. Some time later, Lynch arrests his predecessor Modyford and deports him to London to answer Madrid's complaints about West Indian depredations.

Relocation of Panama City

When the first Spanish survivors crept back into Panama City in March 1671, they found most of its buildings reduced to charred ruins. Only the Augustinian convent and a few shacks along its northern fringe had escaped destruction. Disease soon appeared as well, more than 3,000 of 10,000 inhabitants dying as a result. Another 600 had been marched off as captives by the buccaneers, besides those slain at the Battle of Mata Asnillos.

Traumatized by these horrors, few citizens wished to rebuild their homes in such a vulnerable spot. When Antonio Fernández de Córdoba y Mendoza, Knight of the Order of Santiago, arrived from Cadiz as the new audiencia president in mid-January 1672, they clamored for a move. Panama's capital was to be abandoned altogether, shifting five miles southwest onto La Punta headland. This rocky protrusion was naturally defensible, being encircled by a ring of reefs, while ramparts could be erected across its narrow access to the mainland. Fresh water was available from Chorrillo Spring just to its west in the shadow of 560-foot Ancón Hill. The Perico Island anchorage also lay much closer, so cargos would only have to be transported two miles to be deposited at El Taller Beach.

Within a year, work began on clearing this new site. By the time official sanction was received from Madrid, it only remained for Governor Fernández to distribute plots to the first 300 residents in a ceremony on January 21, 1673. The original city, which Morgan had gutted, gradually became depopulated, its ruins being referred to as *Panamá la Vieja* or "Old Panama." This transfer nonetheless took time, as moving proved expensive for people who had lost everything, while many preferred to go elsewhere. Fernández also died in the unhealthy older city on April 8, being succeeded by the corrupt *oidor* or "justice" Luis de Lozada, who used public funds to build himself a palatial home and seized unclaimed plots.

By 1675, the new city still only had 1,600 residents, a fraction of its number prior to the buccaneer raid. But despite its shrunken populace, the Crown increased the garrison from 200 to 500 royal troops plus 300 seamen. They offered such spirited resistance when 330 buccaneers reappeared offshore in early May 1680 that these rovers dispersed to pillage weaker towns. Panama was saved.

JULY 1671. Commo. René de Gousabats, Sieur de Villepars, arrives off Saint Domingue with two French warships and three frigates to restore government rule following the buccaneer revolt against D'Ogeron (see "Early May 1670" entry). His squadron finds the island now peaceable.



Proposed street layout for the new Panama City, as it was to be reconstituted on La Punta headland after Morgan's raid. It would take many years for the capital to become this densely populated. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

JULY 15, 1671. French governor general de Baas officially restores half of Saint Kitts to Sir Charles Wheeler, newly appointed governor general for the English Leeward Islands, fulfilling the terms of the Treaty of Breda signed almost four years previously.

SEPTEMBER 1671. Commodore de Villepars loses his flagship by running it aground on Tortuga Island (Haiti). Next year, the commodore himself will die and be succeeded in command of France's West Indian squadron by Captain de Montortié.

OCTOBER 29, 1671. Given the increasing size and frequency of buccaneer raids in the New World,

Madrid authorizes Guatemala's captain general Francisco Fernando de Escobedo to erect a new fortress on the strategic San Juan River of Nicaragua.

NOVEMBER 1671. An arrest order for Morgan arrives at Jamaica. Governor Lynch is loath to comply, fearing it will alienate the privateers on whom he relies for the island's defense. He therefore defers the actual detention until mid-April 1672, at which time the freebooter admiral is conducted aboard the 36-gun royal frigate *Welcome* of Capt. John Keene to travel for England in comfort as part of a three-ship merchant convoy.

Morgan's legendary luck continues to hold, for by the time he reaches London in August 1672, the Crown is distracted by the Third Anglo-Dutch War. When England's French allies declare war against Spain the next year, there is no longer any need to appease Madrid, so all charges are dropped. In July 1673, Morgan is consulted as to the best methods of ensuring Jamaica's security. By November 1674, he is so restored into favor as to be knighted and appointed deputy governor of the island, returning into Port Royal on March 15, 1675, and serving in this office until his death 13 years later.

MARCH 31, 1672. This night citizens in the Mexican seaport of Campeche awaken to a huge conflagration at nearby San Román Beach, where a vast quantity of timber has been stockpiled for the construction of a *guardacosta* frigate and two armed launches. Pirates have slipped ashore to set this mass of timber ablaze, and they then infiltrate the illuminated harbor aboard their ships, although without attacking the panic-stricken garrison.

Next morning, the raiders depart to intercept an unsuspecting merchantman, which is returning into port from Veracruz bearing a rich cargo and 120,000 pesos in silver. The pirates then continue westward, disembarking to ravage the Spanish settlements at Tabasco. On their return passage eastward, they will also sack and torch the town of Champotón.

THIRD ANGLO-DUTCH WAR (1672–1674) AND FRANCO-SPANISH WAR (1673–1679)

In England Charles II treacherously declares war against the Netherlands in March 1672, being joined by his secret French allies one month later. Although England regards Holland as a commercial rival, this particular conflict proves unpopular with the public, having been engineered by

Louis XIV of France whose armies quickly invade the Low Countries. They are checked, though, after which the new Dutch leader Willem II forms alliances with Brandenburg, the Holy Roman Empire, Spain, and Lorraine, so that strengths even out. A discouraged England soon retires, leaving the Continental powers to fight it out.

LATE JUNE 1672. Gov. Sir William Stapleton of the English Leeward Islands leads an invasion force against Sint Eustatius, being joined shortly thereafter by a French contingent from Saint Kitts. The outnumbered Dutch garrison surrenders to the English by the end of this same month, as does neighboring Sabá by July 4 and Tortola and Virgin Gorda in the Virgin Islands somewhat later. The French, meanwhile, seize Saint Martin without loss.

DECEMBER 18, 1672. Bridge arrives off Tobago with his flagship *King David*, accompanied by 600 volunteers aboard a half-dozen lesser craft from Barbados. After five or six hours of intense fighting, the 400 Dutch residents under Gov. Pieter Constant agree to surrender New Walcheren and be transported to Barbados. Two days later a French frigate also arrives from Martinique with a similar hostile intent, only to find Tobago already in English hands.

FEBRUARY 1673. San Juan de los Remedios (Cuba) is surprised by buccaneer raiders, 14 of its women being carried off as hostages.

FEBRUARY 8, 1673. Given the failure of Fort San Carlos de Austria to prevent enemy ascents of the San Juan River, Captain General de Escobedo departs Granada on an inspection tour with the Spanish military engineer Martín de Andujar, returning 20 days later after selecting an old 16th-century site called the Raudal del Diablo or the “Devil’s Torrent” at Santa Cruz to build a much larger new fort. Construction starts on March 10, destined to become two years later the Fortress of the Limpia, Pura e Inmaculada Concepción (modern El Castillo).

FEBRUARY 18, 1673. The 50-gun French warship *Ecueil* and smaller *Petite Infante* arrive at Tortuga Island (Haiti), having rounded Môle Saint Nicolas with 400 volunteers from Léogâne and Petit Goâve under Governor d’Ogeron. This force has been raised to join Governor General de Baas in the Windward Isles, who—having learnt during the latter half of 1672 of the outbreak of Franco-Dutch hostilities in

Europe—is organizing a strike against Curaçao and so has detached these two warships to Saint Domingue with orders to rejoin him off Saint Croix by March 4. Almost immediately after touching Tortuga, D’Ogeron gets under way again, having been further reinforced by numerous more volunteers aboard a half-dozen privateer vessels.

FEBRUARY 25, 1673. This night, D’Ogeron’s *Ecueil* runs aground through navigational error near Arecibo in northwestern Puerto Rico, more than 500 men struggling ashore through its surf. D’Ogeron sends Lieutenant Brodart and his nephew Jacques Nepveu, Sieur de Pouançay, to the local Spanish authorities requesting aid, but buccaneers having so long victimized these shores, both emissaries are thrown into jail and a host of Spanish militiamen descends upon the remainder, subduing them after a one-sided clash in which 10 Puerto Ricans die and 12 are wounded as opposed to 40 fatalities among D’Ogeron’s group. Gov. Gaspar de Arteaga y Aunavidao then orders the 460 French survivors marched around his island to San Germán, where they are settled under a loose guard of 60 Spanish soldiers. Six months later, D’Ogeron escapes.

MARCH 1673. Zeeland’s Commodore Cornelis Evertsen de Jongste—nicknamed “Kees the Devil”—arrives off Suriname with his 44-gun, 186-man flagship *Swaenenburgh* (ex-HMS *Saint Patrick*) under Flg. Capt. Evert Evertsen Corneliszoon; the 30-gun, 157-man *Schaeckerloo* under Passchier de Witte; the 25-gun, 158-man *Suriname* (ex-English *Richard and James*) under Evert Evertsen Franszoon; the 6-gun, 22-man snow *Zeehond* under Daniel Thijssen; the 6-gun, 34-man ketch *Sint Joris* of Cornelis Eewoutsen; plus the 4-gun, 30-man victualler *Eendracht* of Maerten Andriessen.

Evertsen’s original mission upon being dispatched out of Flushing on December 5, 1672, by the Zeeland Chamber of the Dutch West India Company (WIC) was a privateering venture to intercept a homeward-bound English East India Company convoy at St. Helena. After touching at Madeira and the Canaries, however, he blundered into an English

force at the Cape Verde Islands in February 1673, losing the element of surprise. Evertsen has therefore turned to his alternate commission, the reconquest of the disputed settlements at Cayenne.

After disembarking troops and provisions at Suriname's Fort Zeelandia starting on March 25, Evertsen decides instead to scour the West Indies, reinforcing Dutch colonies while simultaneously attacking Anglo-French interests. He will therefore steer northwestward into the Lesser Antilles six weeks later.

EARLY MARCH 1673. After vainly awaiting the arrival of D'Ogeron's Saint Domingue contingent—only the *Petite Infante* appearing with 100 buccaneers—French governor general de Baas quits his Saint Croix rendezvous and steers toward Curaçao with his 70-gun royal flagship *Belliqueux* under Captain Dumé d'Amplimont, the frigates *Sibylle* and

Fée, plus three transports bearing 600 volunteers from Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Saint Kitts.

After arriving off Curaçao's coast on March 13, then disembarking the next day on the north shore of Santa Barbara Bay on the island's eastern side, de Baas skirmishes with the defenders of tiny Fort Tolcksburg and attempts to advance overland with his small army. He becomes disconcerted by the strength of the acting governor Jan Doncker's defenses and the number of ships lying inshore, covering the approaches to the capital, Willemstad. After hurriedly consulting with his military engineer, Louis Ancelin de Gémosat, de Baas retreats, reembarking his men by March 16 to sail away two days later.

LATE MARCH 1673. The English privateer Peter Wroth approaches the Suriname River mouth from Barbados with his 20-ton, 6-gun sloop *Little Kitt*, manned by 30 men, intending to raid the turtling

Kees the Devil

Cornelis Evertsen was born in the Zeeland seaport of Vlissingen or Flushing on November 16, 1642. He was reared in a proud naval tradition, a descendant of the first Sea Beggars. He was the second son of 12 children born to Capt. Cornelis "Kees" Evertsen and his first wife, Johanna Gorcum. A contraction of Cornelis, "Kees" was a common Dutch nickname. Because his infant son and 14-year-old nephew shared the exact same name, Cornelis the father—who eventually became lieutenant admiral of Zeeland—became known as Evertsen *de Oude* or "the Elder." Cornelis the cousin, who rose to the rank of vice admiral, was called Evertsen *de Jonge* or "the Younger," while the infant Cornelis, destined to become a lieutenant admiral like his father, gained fame as Evertsen *de Jongste* or "the Youngest." The latter proved so willful and hot-tempered a child that he was also nicknamed *Keesje de Duivel* or "Little Kees the Devil."

By the age of 10, young Kees had already sailed aboard his father's ship. Three years later, he was entered into the books of Zeeland's navy, and by 1661, he was second officer aboard his father's flagship *Vlissingen*. And when frictions with England worsened in the winter of 1664–1665, he was in command of the 32-gun privateer *Eendracht*.

In February 1665, just prior to the eruption of the Second Anglo-Dutch War, Evertsen and another Dutch ship fought a pitched duel against a trio of British men-of-war before being captured. Next month, the diarist John Evelyn recorded how he took the captive young officer before Charles II, who "gave him his hand to kiss, and restored him his liberty." The English king's younger brother, James, Duke of York, who was also present, asked about a bullet hole in Evertsen's hat. He was impressed when the 23-year-old Dutchman casually replied "that he wished it had gone through his head, rather than be taken."

Restored to Zeeland, Evertsen fought that same year in the Battle of Lowestoft, then in June 1666 commanded his father's flagship *Walcheren* in the Four Days' Fight. On its first evening, he saw his father cut in two by the last shot fired from the escaping HMS *Henry* of Rear Adm. Sir John Harman. Then in August, Evertsen took part in the Battle of Saint James's Day, where his uncle was slain. And in 1667, Kees served in Michiel de Ruyter's bold Medway raid, which helped to end the conflict.

Five years later, Evertsen also fought the opening battle of the Third Anglo-Dutch War by defending the Smyrna convoy against Sir Robert Holmes before hostilities were declared. Then in May 1672, Kees commanded the *Swaenenburgh* in the Battle of Solebay. Being a Zeelander, he was an early supporter and intimate of Willem II of Orange. After the 22-year-old prince was acclaimed as Stadthouder that June, Evertsen started to rise into high positions. Once the European campaigning season ended with the onset of that winter, he was sent on a privateering cruise. Even his unauthorized seizure of New York City could not prevent his promotion to rear admiral by the age of 32.

camp at Three Creeks. Finding its waterway blocked by the Dutch and thus learning of Evertsen's arrival, he immediately departs with this intelligence, which is eventually forwarded to London.

MAY 22, 1673. At noon Evertsen sights a half-dozen vessels off Cul de Sac Bay at Martinique flying French colors. When he bears down, they prove to be Commo. Jacob Binckes's (or Benckes) two-year-old frigate *Noordhollandt* (flag) of 46 guns and 210 men, three other men-of-war, plus a pair of prizes. Binckes left Amsterdam the previous December on a similar mission, and both commodores agree to join forces and attempt the French harbor entrance that same night, only to be prevented by contrary winds.

The united Dutch squadrons thereupon proceed toward Guadeloupe, seizing the French merchantmen *Saint Joseph* and *Françoise* off its coast, as well as the island trader *Nouveau France* and the *Saint Michael* of Galway from beneath the English batteries at Monserrat shortly thereafter. Nevis and Saint Kitts are also bombarded in passing, before Sint Eustatius is reached on May 29.



Kees the Devil as painted by Nicolaes Maes in 1680, a few months after succeeding his deceased cousin Cornelis Evertsen de Jonge as vice admiral of Zeeland. (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)

When its acting English governor John Pognon refuses to surrender, the Dutch open fire upon the fort and disembark 600 men, quickly overwhelming its defenders. Two prizes are also captured off-shore along with 200 slaves, after which Sabá is liberated a few days later. The English garrisons are then deported to Saint Kitts, while those Dutch residents who previously sided with the invaders are transported to Curaçao. With too few loyal inhabitants left to hold the islands, Binckes and Evertsen destroy their installations, then strike north by June 8 bound for Virginia.

JUNE 1673. The Cuban-born mulatto buccaneer Diego Grillo, with his 15-gun vessel, intercepts a Spanish merchant frigate bound from Havana toward Campeche. A few days later, 150 Spaniards exit Havana aboard a ship and two frigates to engage this raider. Instead, they are defeated off Nuevitas, Grillo executing all 20 peninsular-born Spanish captives before releasing the rest.

JULY 1673. Binckes and Evertsen raid the Virginia coast, being resisted in Chesapeake Bay by the Royal Navy's hired vessels *Barnaby* and *Augustine*. The Dutch rovers then continue up the Atlantic Seaboard toward New York.

AUGUST 1673. After a particularly audacious raid against Coatzacoalcos by a small English vessel several months previously, in which three villages were ransacked and eight Indians carried off, the Mexican viceroy Antonio Sebastián de Toledo Molina y Salazar, Marqués de Mancera, orders Veracruz's new *sargento mayor* or "garrison commander" Mateo Alonso de Huidobro to pursue these interlopers with a frigate and three *piraguas*. He overtakes them near Santa Ana Bar (Tabasco), forcing them to beach their vessel and set it ablaze before disappearing into the jungle.

Upon his return into Veracruz, however, accounts of further nuisance raids arrive, and two enemy ships are reported to be inside the Laguna de Términos. Therefore a second, larger enterprise is mounted, de Huidobro leaving Veracruz again on August 14 with three frigates, a sloop, and 300 soldiers from San Juan de Ulúa's garrison. The expedition arrives undetected off Xicalango Point, where they are approached by three *piraguas*. Belatedly realizing their danger, they suddenly veer around and flee into the Laguna, while de Huidobro's men storm ashore. One interloper is killed and several others wounded, abandoned huts and boats are burned, but the Spanish

men-of-war draw too much water to pass over the bar. A brigantine can be seen heading deeper into the Laguna, but de Huidobro has no choice but to continue toward Campeche. En route, he chases another *piragua* manned by a mixed English, French, and Indian crew, which escapes when a storm sets in.

After visiting Campeche, de Huidobro reverses course toward Veracruz and intercepts the brigantine that previously eluded him—this time outside the Laguna—along with a Spanish prize. Its Dutch captain, Jan Lucas, is carried into Veracruz along with his crew by late October.

AUGUST 7, 1673. *Reoccupation of New York.*

Evertsen and Binckes anchor off Sandy Hook, outside the harbor at New York City (formerly New Amsterdam). From Dutch-born residents who paddle out from Long Island, they learn that its English governor, Francis Lovelace, is out of town and that Fort James in lower Manhattan is unprepared for action. The two Dutch squadrons therefore penetrate the harbor next day and anchor off Staten Island, where they are approached on August 9 by a boat from the fort bearing the governor's brother Ens. Thomas Lovelace.

His challenge is answered by Evertsen, who shouts back that they have come to restore the rule “of Their Mightinesses, the Lords States-General, and His Serene Highness, the Lord Prince of Orange.” The attackers then advance and disembark 600 troops under Capt. Anthony Colve, who are welcomed by the local Dutch residents. The frigates meanwhile bear down on Fort James, and after an hour's exchange of gunfire that produces only minor casualties, it surrenders. Governor Lovelace returns to the city a few days later and is seized, to be deported to England when Binckes sails for Europe shortly thereafter, having detached Capt. Nikolaas Boes with four warships to raid Newfoundland. (The English governor will be thrown into the Tower of London upon his arrival for his defeat.)

Before Binckes leaves, however, the two commodores reinstate Dutch rule, renaming the colony as “New Orange” and appointing Colve as acting governor general. English settlements at the eastern end of Long Island refuse to acknowledge this change of administration. When three new commissioners led by Cornelis Steenwyck sail to the East Riding on October 31 aboard the snow *Zeehond*, they are turned back by a hostile crowd. Next February 1674, the *Zeehond* and two other Dutch warships again threaten Southold, retreating after an exchange of volleys.

In the spring of 1674, Evertsen departs to cross the Atlantic with his own squadron. In conjunction with Binckes, their New World operations have captured 34 English and French ships, plus destroyed at least 150 others. However, the reoccupation of New York meets with disapproval on their return, as the Netherlands is already deep in negotiations to conclude a separate peace with England. Evertsen is even charged by the Zeeland Admiralty in July 1674 with “disobedience of orders” for having exceeded his original WIC instructions to attack only St. Helena or Cayenne.

New York is restored to English domination that same November, and nothing more is said about the damages wrought by Binckes's and Evertsen's American foray. The latter is exonerated and next year promoted to rear admiral of Zeeland.

OCTOBER 7, 1673. Governor d'Ogeron, having returned to Saint Domingue after a harrowing escape from Puerto Rico (see “February 25, 1673” entry), raises 500 *flibustiers* on Tortuga Island to rescue his imprisoned men. Pausing at Samaná Bay for reinforcements, his expedition appears before Aguada on Puerto Rico by mid-October, being incorrectly informed that Spanish governor de Arteaga might consider an exchange.

When an exchange is not forthcoming, and despite the peace prevailing between France and Spain, d'Ogeron blunders ashore with 300 men and tries to seize hostages, marching as far as six miles inland on the third day of his disembarkation before being ambushed and forced to retreat after losing 17 men. The Spaniards allegedly lose double this number, and in their wrath, they butcher the *flibustier* wounded; de Arteaga furthermore orders 40 French prisoners at San Germán executed and the rest placed in strict confinement.

D'Ogeron cruises helplessly off Puerto Rico for the next couple of months until word arrives from Europe that France and Spain are officially at war, dashing his final hopes of ransoming his followers. Discouraged, he returns into Tortuga by December 29.

OCTOBER 15, 1673. In Europe, after several months of strained relations, France declares war against Spain.

MARCH 6, 1674. After winter-long negotiations, the second Treaty of Westminster is ratified and proclaimed in Europe, reestablishing peace between

England and the Netherlands by promising to restore Sint Eustatius, Tobago, and Sabá to the Dutch, and New York to the English.

EARLY JULY 1674. The Dutch corsair Jurriaen Aernouts arrives at New York with his frigate *Vliegende Postpaard*, commissioned by Governor Doncker of Curaçao to attack English and French interests. Learning that New York is soon to be restored to English rule by the Treaty of Westminster, Aernouts decides to attack the French farther north in Acadia (Maine and New Brunswick). While preparing for this enterprise, he meets Capt. John Rhoades of Boston, who is well acquainted with these settlements, enlisting him and several other Anglo-Americans.

Shortly thereafter, Aernouts sails into the Bay of Fundy and lands 110 men to advance against the French stronghold of Penobscot (Pentagoët). The invaders overwhelm its 30-man garrison on August 11 after a one-hour fight. French Governor Jacques

de Chambly is captured with a musket wound in one arm, and its defenses are thrown down. Aernouts then ravages several smaller outposts before entering the Saint Jean River and seizing the secondary French fort at Jemsec. Its lieutenant governor, Pierre de Joybert de Soulanges et de Marson, is also taken, and Aernouts renames this entire territory “New Holland” before retiring into Boston.

Prior to departing on his return voyage toward the Antilles, Aernouts appoints Rhoades as acting governor for this new colony on September 11, furnishing him with two small armed vessels. The Massachusetts authorities later refuse to acknowledge Dutch jurisdiction over this region.

JULY 19, 1674. *De Ruyter and the “Victory of Rum.”* With England’s withdrawal from the alliance against the Netherlands, the Dutch are free to take the offensive against France’s overseas empire. Therefore, Adm. Michiel de Ruyter materializes at



A Dutch dispatch yacht bearing down on de Ruyter's flagship Zeven Provinciën off the Texel, with orders to weigh for Africa and the New World; by Willem van de Velde the Younger. (National Maritime Museum, London)

3:00 p.m. off Martinique, with his 80-gun, 566-man flagship *Zeven Provinciën* leading a Rotterdam squadron consisting of the 60-gun, 290-man *Schieland* under Adriaan Poort; the 42-gun, 244-man *Zeelandia* of Pieter de Liefde; the 36-gun, 169-man *Utrecht* of Barent Rees; the fireships *Louisa* under Jan Danielszoon van den Rijn and *Maria* under Dirk de Munnik; the snows *Faam* under Jakob Hoek and *Griffioen* under Evert de Liefde; the 10-gun, 40-man *Nieuw Rotterdam* of Frans van Nydek, 8-gun, 30-man *Moriaans Hoofd* of Moises Wichmans, 9-gun, 30-man *Juffrouw Katarina* of Cornelis van der Hoeven, 8-gun, 29-man *Blaauwen Arend* of Isaak Teuniszoon van Anten, and *Swaan* of Joost Gilliszoon van den Brande, all five acting as troop transports; plus the 4-gun, 14-man store-ship *Haas* of Klaas Huigen, and the galliot *Sint Pieter* of Pieter Drooghart.

De Ruyter is furthermore accompanied by an Amsterdam squadron under his 25-year-old son, Rear Adm. Engel de Ruyter, aboard the 70-gun, 379-man *Spiegel*, which is leading the 58-gun, 183-man *Geloof* of Thomas Tobiaszoon; the 56-gun, 206-man *Oisterwijk* of Pieter van Middeland; the 60-gun, 198-man *Provincie van Utrecht* of Joan de Witte; the 52-gun, 197-man *Tijdverdijf* of Count van Stierum; the 50-gun, 188-man *Bescherming* of Pieter de Sitter; the 44-gun *Burg van Leyden* of Philis de Munnik; the 34-gun, 96-man *Damiaten* of Cornelis van der Zaan; the 4-gun, 20-man fireships *Groene Draak* of Willem Willemszoon, *Zaaijer* of Cornelis Boermans, *Leidster* of Jan van Kampen, and *Zalm* of Arent Ruighaver; the snows *Hoen* of 12 guns and 45 men under Klaas Portugaal, *Tonijn* of 8 guns and 28 men under Philips Melkenbeeke, and *Bonte Haan* of 8 guns and 36 men under Zeger Corneliszoon; the transports *Potter Oppendoes* with 16 guns and 39 men under Roemer Vlak, *Barkhout* with 12 guns and 40 men under Michiel Kind, *Sphaera Mundi* with 9 guns and 32 men under Abraham Taalman, *Graaf Floris* with 12 guns and 32 men under Jan Noiroot, *Liefde* with 16 guns and 32 men under Jan Rijlofszoon, *Neptunus* with 12 guns and 32 men under Hans Hartwijk, *Prins te Paard* with 12 guns and 33 men under Barent Haas, plus *Jupiter* with 12 guns and 31 men under Willem van Ewyk; the victuallers *Sint Jan Evangelist* of Jan Evertszoon, *Koning David* of Heertge Karstens, *Sint Pieter* of Hendrik Walop, and *Witte Tas* of Jan Adriaanszoon; as well as the galliots *Witte Paard* of Meindert Jakobszoon Quast and *Jonge Tobias* of Cornelis Pieterszoon Heertjes.

The Zeeland squadron is led by Vice Adm. Cornelis Evertsen de Jonge or “the Younger” aboard his

60-gun, 305-man vice-flagship *Zierikzee*, with the 50-gun, 220-man *Vlissingen* of Karel van der Putten; the 32-gun, 120-man *Delft* of Adriaan Bankert; the snow *Bruinvis* of Matthys Laurenszoon; as well as the 8-gun, 24-man water transport *Wijnrank* of Cornelis Lyncourt. The Hoorn or Noordeerkwartier squadron makes up the rest of the fleet: the 56-gun, 237-man *Gelderland*; the 46-gun, 198-man *Caleb* of Jan Muys; the 40-gun, 166-man *Jupiter* of Pieter Bakker; the 12-gun, 41-man transport *Prins te Paard*; and the 12-gun, 36-man *Wapen van Hoorn* under Wijnbergen. There are 3,400 troops under Col. Jan van Uyttenhove traveling aboard this expedition.

The French have been forewarned of de Ruyter’s approach, but they are gathered in strength at their main settlement of Saint Pierre, farther northwest up the coast. Being familiar with this island from previous visits, as well as carrying the Huguenot turncoat Charles de Birac of Gascony, de Ruyter instead bears down upon its principal anchorage of Cul de Sac Royal. He intends to seize the lightly defended Fort Royal (modern Fort de France), then disembark Van Uyttenhove’s army to strike overland from this beachhead. But the Dutch admiral fails to take the port that first day when his fleet becomes becalmed.

During the ensuing night, 118 hastily assembled men under de Baas de l’Herpinière (nephew of the French governor general, who lies ill at Saint Pierre) work frantically to shore up Fort Royal’s defenses, supplemented by crews from the vessels anchored in the adjacent Carénage: Capt. Thomas Claude Renart de Fuch Samberg, Marquis d’Amblimont’s, royal warship *Jeux* of 44 guns, 350 tons, and 150 men; the 22-gun merchantman *Saint Eustache* of Saint-Malo; the *Sagesse* of Bordeaux; the *Notre Dame* of Ciotat; and the *Saint Joseph* of Toulon. The latter two vessels are scuttled as block ships, while their 25 crew members go ashore under masters Antoine Ganteaume and Joune, plus Ensign de Martignac, a sergeant, and 16 marines from the *Jeux*, to bolster Fort Royal’s slender garrison.

By dawn, the French have mustered enough men under Guillaume d’Orange to stretch booms across the Carénage’s entrance and work their batteries, while the 65-year-old island governor Antoine André Sainte Marthe de Lalande (a distinguished military veteran) arrives by boat to assume overall command. When de Ruyter approaches Fort Royal on the morning of July 20, he is greeted by heavy gunfire; and when Uyttenhove’s troops disembark nearby at 9:00 a.m., they encounter positions of great natural strength. New French ramparts defend

the rocky peninsula, so that the Dutch columns soon become ensnared in a cross fire between the batteries, as well as receiving fire from D'Amblimont's *Jeux* and Captain Beaulieu's *Saint Eustache* anchored in the Carénage.

The 1,000 Dutch attackers have no siege pieces, scaling ladders, or support fire from de Ruyter's more distant ships. Their discipline, moreover, collapses when a rum warehouse is breached. The Dutch land commanders therefore attempt to regroup in the lee of a nearby cliff, but D'Amblimont quickly lands a half-dozen guns from his frigate and opens fire upon this new position. Van Uyttenhove is seriously wounded, and the Dutch morale snaps so that, by 11:00 a.m., the invaders are streaming off toward their boats. They return at 2:00 p.m. for a second try under Vice Admiral Evertsen and Rear Admiral de Ruyter. Again, the assault troops suffer heavily from the combined French cross fires and two hours later retire to their transports in defeat when Michiel de Ruyter hoists the white recall signal from *Zeven Provinciën*. Dutch casualties total 143 killed and 318 wounded, as opposed to 15 French dead, among them D'Orange.

Not yet realizing that they have won a great victory, the masters of the *Saint Eustache* and the *Sagesse* set their ships aflame and come ashore overnight, while D'Amblimont spends a nervous time aboard his royal frigate, preparing to do the same. Dawn of July 21, though, reveals De Ruyter gone, his fleet staggering north toward Dominica to recuperate. From there, a few Dutch ships return southward on July 25, although their main body continues north, passing Guadeloupe next day to visit the English on Nevis. Eventually, de Ruyter steers for Europe, sickness raging throughout his crowded transports. The French will remember their unexpected win as the *Victoire du Rhum* or "Victory of Rum."

MARCH 1675. The Spaniards complete the 32-gun Fortress of the Limpia, Pura e Inmaculada Concepción, on the San Juan River (modern El Castillo, Nicaragua), the engineer Diego Gómez de Ocampo being installed as its first garrison commander.

APRIL 1675. The English privateer John Bennett—his 20-man brigantine bearing a commission from Governor d'Ogeron of French Saint Domingue to campaign against the Spaniards—intercepts the 50-ton hired frigate *Buen Jesús de las Almas* of Bernardo Ferrer Espejo as it approaches the coast of Hispaniola with 46,471 pesos in payrolls for that island.

APRIL 13, 1675. John, Lord Vaughan (new governor of Jamaica), issues a proclamation at Port Royal ordering all English privateers to refrain from serving under foreign flags, now that England is at peace. With France still at war against both Spain and Holland, though, thus freely issuing commissions, many freebooters will choose to ignore this injunction and continue roving.

SUMMER 1675. The Dutch corsairs Jurriaen Aernouts and Jan Erasmus Reyning make a descent upon Grenada with about 100 raiders, quickly occupying its principal French fort, garrisoned by only eight men. They fail to notice, however, the arrival of enemy reinforcements, who in turn besiege the Dutchmen inside this keep and starve them into submission. Aernouts, Reyning, and the other captives are conveyed to Martinique aboard the 52-gun, 1,000-ton royal warship *Émerillon* of Captain



Capt. William Dampier, "pirate and hydrographer," as painted by Thomas Murray around 1698, the year after publication of Dampier's *Voyage around the World*. (Russell, W. Clark. William Dampier, 1894)

William Dampier

William Dampier was born at East Coker, near Yeovil in England. The son of a tenant farmer, he was baptized on June 8, 1652 (O.S.). His father died when William was only 10 years old, and his mother died when he was 16. The teenage orphan was sent to sea in charge of a Weymouth trader, making a voyage to France, then another to Newfoundland. After a brief pause, Dampier sailed to Bantam in Asia aboard the East Indiaman *John and Martha*, returning to England just as the Third Anglo-Dutch War erupted in 1672. The next year, he was rated an able seaman aboard the 100-gun HMS *Royal Prince*, Sir Edward Spragge's flagship at the battles of Schooneveldt and the Texel. Dampier missed this latter engagement, having been sent home sick.

His health restored and hostilities with the Dutch ended, Dampier accepted an offer in 1674 from his father's old landlord, Col. William Helyar, to go to Jamaica as assistant manager on the Begbrook Plantation. Soon tiring of this occupation, the restless young man started Caribbean trading voyages. In August 1675, Dampier shipped out on a ketch, bound into the "Bay of Campeche" or Laguna de Términos (Mexico) with a cargo of rum and sugar to trade for logwood. So taken was he with the bayman's life that he made his way back there in February 1676.

Dampier remained in the Laguna for more than two years. By the time he sailed for England in the autumn of 1678, he had amassed such a sum that he could marry a young woman named Judith, "out of the family of the Duchess of Grafton." The next spring, Dampier returned to the West Indies aboard the *Loyal Merchant*, leaving his young wife at Arlington House. He remained on Jamaica until Christmas 1679, when on the verge of traveling home he was persuaded to go on a short voyage to the Mosquito Coast. It was the start of a lifetime of remarkable travel and adventure.

He joined a buccaneer crew under Capt. Richard Sawkins, who became part of a pirate fleet under John Coxon. They crossed the Isthmus of Panama and terrorized the Pacific for a year and a half. Once back in the Caribbean, Dampier and 19 companions went to Virginia in July 1682. They joined Capt. John Cooke's *Revenge* and crossed to Sierra Leone in West Africa to steal a 36-gun Danish ship. Renamed *Bachelor's Delight*, they then rounded Cape Horn into the South Seas for another two and a half years. In the spring of 1686, Dampier struck out from the Mexican coast toward Guam aboard Charles Swan's *Cygnnet*.

Dampier cruised Far Eastern waters for another five years before finally regaining England aboard the Indiaman *Defence* in September 1691. What truly distinguished Dampier, however, was his intelligence and powers of observation. They became evident when he published his *Voyage around the World* six years later, which was an instant best-seller. Dampier sailed around the world two more times and covered more than 200,000 miles in all. Even after his death in March 1715, his books continued to be read by such men as Charles Darwin, Jonathan Swift, Daniel Defoe, James Cook, and Horatio Nelson. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in fact, called him a "man of exquisite mind."

Louis Chadeau, Seigneur de La Clocheterie, where they eventually succeed in escaping, regaining Curaçao by 1676.

JUNE 17, 1675 (O.S.). *King Philip's War.* In New England, the Algonquian tribes have grown increasingly restive because of Puritan expansion inland from Plymouth (Massachusetts), as well as offended by their religious proselytization and other mistreatment. As a result, the *sachem* or "chieftain" Metacomet, known to the English as Philip, begins organizing his Wampanoag tribes around Mount Hope for an uprising.

On June 17 (O.S.), Indian bands begin raiding Puritan farms, resulting in a warrior being shot the next day at Swansea. Hostilities around this settlement quickly escalate and burst into open warfare by June 24 (O.S.). Isolated Puritan farms and hamlets are destroyed before 500 militiamen can be

raised at Plymouth and Boston to advance into Wampanoag territory four days later. Philip's followers fall back into the Pocasset Swamp, from where they burn Swansea and Dartmouth as well as attack Taunton and Rehoboth, before slipping across the Taunton River on July 28 (O.S.) and being scattered by 50 Mohican Indians loyal to the English four days later.

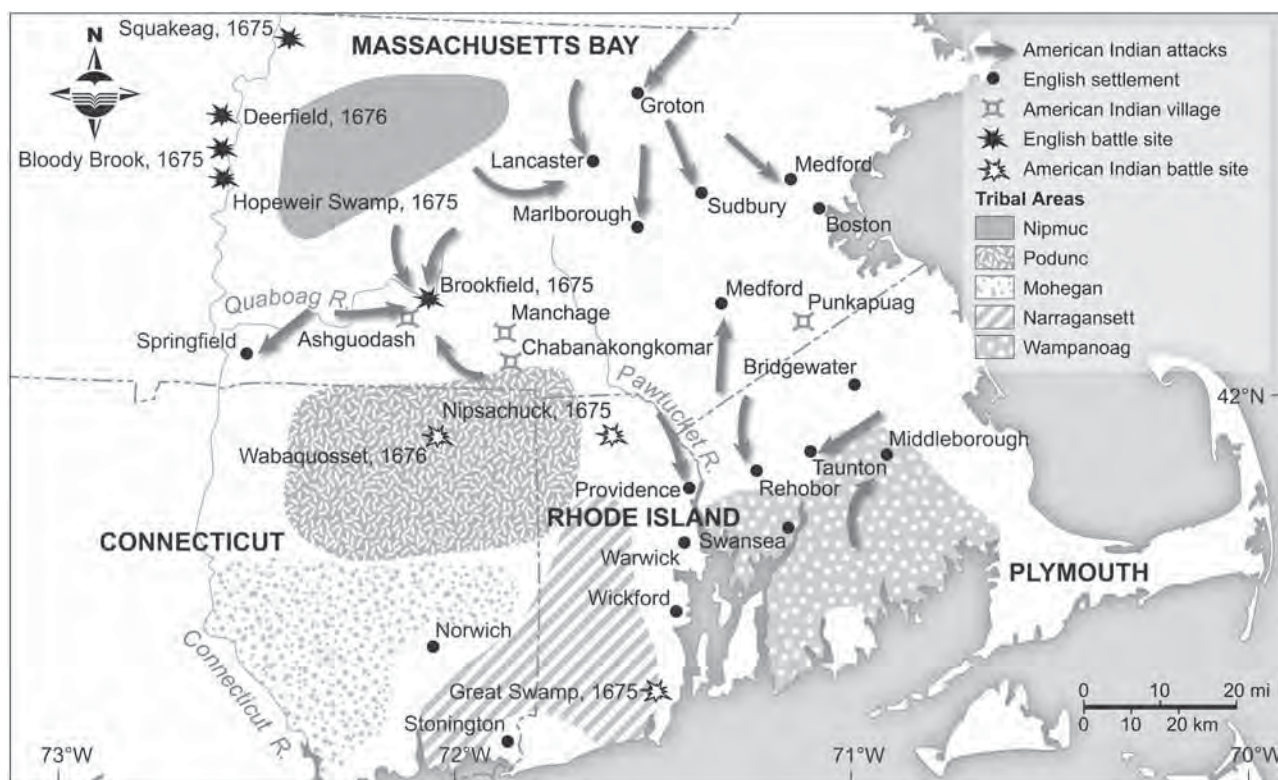
The defeated Philip escapes into neighboring Nipmuk territory with only 40 warriors and 250 non-combatants, prompting the Puritans to disband their militia. However, on August 2 (O.S.), 20 Connecticut troopers under captains Edward Hutchinson and Thomas Wheeler are ambushed while peacefully approaching a Nipmuk gathering near Brookfield, suffering 8 killed and 5 wounded. The town of Brookfield is then leveled by a war band led by Chief Sagamore John; its 83 terrified survivors are rescued two evenings later by 73-year-old major

Simon Williard with 46 troopers and 5 loyal scouts from Groton. Again, an additional 350 militiamen rush into this area, only to find the hostiles gone. An Indian band is eventually attacked near Hatfield late in August by captains Richard Beers and Thomas Lathrop, who slay 26 Nipmucs at a cost of 10 English dead. This action provokes the natives under chiefs Manaco, alias One-Eyed John, and Sagamore Sam to attack Deerfield in retaliation on September 1 (O.S.), to destroy Northfield the next day, then to devastate Beers's 36-man relief column just south of there on September 3 (O.S.), killing the captain and 20 of his men. Lathrop is killed on September 18 (O.S.) when his 90-man wagon train is ambushed after evacuating Deerfield, being almost totally annihilated five miles south at Bloody Brook. Frightened English settlers abandon the Connecticut Valley to huddle around Hatfield and Hadley, while Springfield is attacked but not entirely overrun on October 5 (O.S.).

On November 2 (O.S.), the New Englanders declare war against the Narragansett tribe of Rhode Island as well, convinced that they have been abetting the hostiles. Five weeks later, seven companies of Massachusetts militia—527 men—under Maj.

Samuel Appleton depart Dedham, uniting at Pawtuxet on December 11 (O.S.) with an additional 158 from Plymouth under Maj. William Bradford and Capt. John Gorham. Together they sweep through Narragansett territory over the next seven days, destroying minor villages and killing or capturing three-score natives before meeting 300 Connecticut troops and 150 Mohican allies under Maj. Robert Treat at Petasquamscot. After a further seven-hour trek across a frozen swamp through heavy snow, this army surprises 3,000 Narragansetts within a fortified camp at noon on December 19 (O.S.). The English fight their way inside after three hours' intense combat, during which they suffer 68 dead and 150 wounded; the natives are driven into the wilderness after enduring several hundred casualties. Still, the exhausted victors cannot hold their prize after this so-called Great Swamp Fight, instead retiring toward Wickford with considerable hardship.

Gov. Josiah Winslow of Plymouth subsequently attempts to maintain pressure on the scattered Narragansett bands with 1,500 militiamen, but the discouraged New Englanders disband by February 6, 1676 (O.S.). Four days later, Philip, with 300–400 Narragansett and Nipmuk warriors, razes Lancaster



King Philip's War, 1675–1676.

in a dawn raid, departing before any rescuers can appear. On February 21 (O.S.), he burns 40 houses at Medfield, then evades a pursuing column under Major General Denison. Numerous hit-and-run raids by the Indians ensue during that unusually mild winter: Weymouth is attacked on February 28 (O.S.), Groton three days later, the outskirts of Plymouth on March 12 (O.S.), Warwick five days later, Marlboro on March 26 (O.S.), Seekonk and Longmeadow two days later, Bridgewater and Billerica on April 9 (O.S.), Chelmsford six days after. Then the natives descend upon Sudbury—15 miles outside of Boston—in great numbers early on the morning of April 21 (O.S.), inflicting heavy casualties before withdrawing.

Despite these successes, spring sees a revival in English fortunes, while the natives succumb to famine and disease. When a band of warriors approaches Hadley on June 11, 1676 (O.S.), they find it defended by 500 troops, so retire without attacking. Morale among the hostiles soon collapses, each small band looking to its own survival; some surrender to the English, while others are hunted down and exterminated. On August 12 (O.S.), Capt. Benjamin Church surprises Philip's camp near Mount Hope and kills him, his head being carried into Plymouth on a pole. During the course of these year-long hostilities, 600 colonists have died, totaling one out of every 16 English males of military age in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

JULY 1675. Rogue Doeg and Susquehannock Indians (Siouan-speaking natives driven out of their traditional homelands by Iroquois pressure) slip across Virginia's border to rob and murder several English settlers, before retiring into Maryland. They are pursued by Virginia militiamen, who attack and kill a number of raiders before withdrawing.

Such clashes are not uncommon, but this particular incident gains greater significance when the Maryland authorities contact Gov. Sir William Berkeley of Virginia, proposing a joint operation. Berkeley orders John Washington and Isaac Allerton to raise a company of militia late in August to campaign with the Marylanders. Both contingents meet and advance upon the principal Susquehannock stronghold, arriving in late September to accuse its inhabitants of participating in the summer raid. The natives vigorously deny it, but an unconvinced Washington and Allerton lead five chieftains away to be executed. The English then besiege the stronghold, but a few nights later its Susquehannock inhabitants escape.

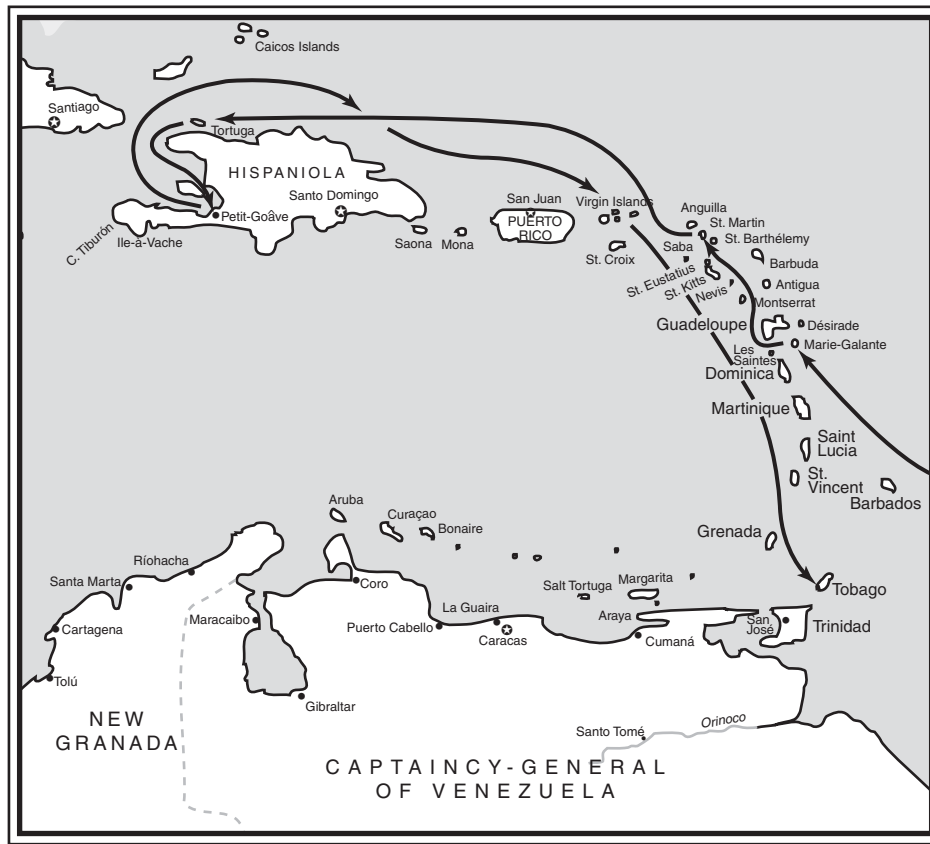
JANUARY 1676. Enraged by the summary execution of their five chieftains that previous autumn, the Susquehannock take revenge by attacking the English settlements along the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers, killing 36 people. News of this foray creates panic throughout Virginia, with Governor Berkeley attempting to control passions and protect friendly Indians.

APRIL 1676. *Bacon's Rebellion.* Convinced that they are about to endure a massive Indian attack because of Berkeley's inaction, Virginia hotheads rally around a new councilor named Nathaniel Bacon to advance into the wilderness southwest of Henrico County and hunt natives. They join a band of friendly Indians and attack a group of Susquehannocks, but after this victory the Virginians fall out with their allies, destroying their village before retiring.

A furious Governor Berkeley in the meantime has marched with 300 men to intercept Bacon but arrives too late to prevent his departure. He removes Bacon from the council and declares him in rebellion. Encountering much pro-Bacon sentiment, the governor thereupon decides to dissolve the assembly and call for the first general elections in 14 years. Bacon is easily elected burgess for Henrico County, yet when he arrives off Jamestown in his sloop to take his seat on June 5, his vessel is fired upon and he is arrested. Brought before Berkeley, he begs forgiveness, is pardoned, and allowed to return upriver to his plantation, apparently being promised command of a forthcoming Indian campaign.

The assembly meanwhile remains in session until the end of that month, when Bacon suddenly reappears in Jamestown with 500 armed men, terrorizing its members into giving him his Indian command, plus restitution of his sloop, before marching off into the wilderness. While scouting around the James Falls that summer and early autumn, Bacon learns that the governor has again declared him a rebel. Retracing his steps toward Jamestown, Bacon forces Berkeley to flee to Accomack on the eastern shore and attempts to assume control over the entire government.

To reconfirm his reputation as the people's champion, Bacon sets off once more against the Indians, destroying the main encampment of the Pamunkey on the pretext that they are secretly aiding the Susquehannocks. During his absence, Berkeley reoccupies Jamestown, which is besieged upon Bacon's return, forcing the governor to retreat for a second time into his Accomack stronghold. On this occa-



Binckes's 1676 sweep through the West Indies.

sion, though, Jamestown is burned to the ground, after which the rebellion begins to fall apart. Bacon dies of disease on October 26, freeing Berkeley to stamp out the last vestiges of his rebellion over that ensuing winter. The governor is nonetheless recalled to London and dies in disgrace, after more than 1,000 troops arrive from England early in 1677 under Col. Herbert Jeffreys of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards and the Royal Navy's Commo. Sir John Berry.

MAY 3, 1676. *Binckes's Campaign.* At 2:00 p.m. this Sunday afternoon, French lookouts stationed at Montjoly outside Cayenne (French Guiana) spot an approaching fleet. It proves to be under recently promoted Vice Adm. Jacob Binckes of Amsterdam, who has returned to the Americas with three ships of the line with 44–56 guns each; six frigates of 24–36 guns; a fireship; and 16 transports. Next morning, he sends in a boat under a flag of truce, calling on the French to capitulate.

When no reply is received, Binckes disembarks 900 troops at Queslin Cove on May 5, who advance upon Rémire. Meanwhile, his three heaviest warships

circle around, cross Cayenne's 12-foot bar, and anchor opposite Fort Saint Louis to initiate a bombardment by 2:00 p.m. Rémire is quickly overrun, therefore Governor Le Febvre de Lézy feels compelled to surrender his battered stronghold (which contains only 180 defenders and 120 noncombatants).

On May 6, Binckes installs a new administration at Cayenne under its former Dutch governor, Quirijn Spranger, who is to govern over 120 Dutch settlers until reinforced from Holland. Le Febvre de Lézy and the bulk of his French colonists are carried away to be deported to France, after which Binckes proceeds northwestward to visit a like treatment upon Marie-Galante.

JUNE 1676. Binckes materializes off Marie Galante, whose French residents—many unhappy over royal minister Jean Baptiste Colbert's stringent new trade regulations—offer no resistance, even agreeing to emigrate to the new Dutch colony that Binckes is to establish on Tobago. After throwing down Marie-Galante's fortifications and embarking its inhabitants, Binckes sights Guadeloupe on June 16. However, considering its defenses too strong, he passes

by and instead pursues a trio of French vessels off-shore, without success.

LATE JUNE 1676. Binckes arrives at Saint Martin to disembark 500 men and reconquer this island from the French. The latter offer a spirited resistance under Governor de Magne from behind a recently constructed fortress and parapet near its salt pans. During this fighting, the defenders apparently fire upon Dutch emissaries sent to negotiate terms, so Binckes orders that no quarter be given. The Dutch eventually surmount a hill overlooking this parapet, shooting down into it and killing de Magne, after which the French settlers scatter. Angry, Binckes commandeers 100 slaves and a large number of cattle before departing, yet no Dutch garrison is installed, and the French soon reoccupy their devastated stronghold.

From Saint Martin, Binckes divides his command, directing Commo. Jan Bont to sail toward Tobago with a squadron bearing colonists under its new Swedish-born governor designate, Hendrik Carloff, to begin refounding “New Walcheren” (see “December 18, 1672” entry); the admiral meanwhile probes farther west with a larger force in the forlorn hope of inciting a revolt among the *boucaniers* of Saint Domingue (Haiti), who are known to be resentful against the high tariffs of France’s West Indies company.

JUNE 30, 1676. Some 800 buccaneers attempt to penetrate the Matina Valley (Costa Rica) in search of booty, only to suffer a couple of hundred casualties in a clash at Moin Beach against 500 Spanish militiamen and 200 native archers that were marched from the capital, Cartago, by Gov. Juan Francisco Sáenz Vázquez.

JULY 16, 1676. Having failed to persuade any French residents along Saint Domingue’s northern coastline to reject Parisian rule, Binckes arrives before Petit Goâve with his 50-gun flagship *Bescherming*, the 44-gun *Zeelandia* under Pieter Constant (ex-governor of Dutch Tobago), the 24-gun *Popkesburg* under Pieter Stolwyck, and the privateer sloop *Fortuijn* under Jan Erasmus Reyning.

Loading tobacco in Petit Goâve’s roads are the 14-gun, 28-man *Saint René* of Nantes under Pierre Chevalier; the 14-gun, 40-man *Florissant* of Nantes; the 18-gun, 50-man *Dauphin* of Havre under Jean Dupont; the 18-gun, 50-man *Alcyon* of Dieppe under Jean Pimont; the 16-gun, 35-man *Roi David* of

Honfleur under Captain Martin; the 2-gun, 14-man *Marie* of Dieppe; and the 22-gun, 40-man *Lis Couronné* under Jean Ducasse.

Binckes decides upon a more direct approach, launching a lopsided battle in which the French resist gamely, suffering many killed and wounded before their merchantmen are boarded that night. The Dutch seize three as prizes, judging the rest to be too heavily damaged. However, they cannot then go ashore because of the timely arrival of French reinforcements overland from Tortuga Island under acting governor Pierre Paul Tarin de Cussy. After dispatching his prizes toward the Netherlands, Binckes reverses course through the Antilles toward Tobago.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1676. Binckes reaches Tobago to discover that all the colonizing vessels of Commo-dore Bont’s detached squadron have arrived, save three minor vessels intercepted off Nevis by a pair of French men-of-war under Commo. Rouxel de Médavy, Marquis de Grancey d’Argentan, plus Bont’s own flagship (the latter has inexplicably sailed back toward Europe—he is eventually beheaded for desertion). The admiral begins organizing the island’s defenses, erecting a fort called Sterreschans or the “Star Bastion” to cover Klip or Roodklip Bay (“Red Rock,” modern Rockly Bay) plus a smaller redoubt nearby, in anticipation of a French counteroffensive. Dutch morale is boosted in February 1677 by the appearance of a relief convoy bearing 150 soldiers, more settlers, and provisions.

DECEMBER 17, 1676. *D’Estrées’s Counteroffensive.* The haughty 52-year-old vice admiral Jean, Comte (later Duc) d’Estrées, appears from Brest before Rémire at Dutch-held Cayenne with his 72-gun, 1,000-ton flagship *Glorieux* (ex-*Agréable*), as well as the warships *Intrépide*, *Fendant*, *Marquis*, and *Précieux*, plus five frigates, and three sloops. These vessels have been dispatched by Louis XIV to reverse the recent Dutch gains made by Binckes, and they are piloted in their approach by the colony’s expelled French governor, Le Febvre de Lézy.

A veteran field marshal before joining France’s Royal Navy, d’Estrées disembarks 800 troops next day at Conobé Bay and forms them into two columns, one led by himself and the other by Captain Panetié of the 50-gun, 800-ton *Précieux*. Commo. Louis Gabaret of the 56-gun, 900-ton *Intrépide* (ex-*Saint-Esprit*) blockades the Armire roadstead with five men-of-war, until the two land columns enter the deserted town of Cayenne on December 19, its

outnumbered Dutch residents having retreated inside Fort Saint Louis without offering resistance.

After vainly calling upon the Dutch garrison commander, Quirijn Spranger, to surrender, the remaining French warships close in to support d'Estrées's columns. The attackers storm its ramparts at 9:00 p.m. on December 21, carrying the citadel a half hour later at a cost of 25 French dead and 92 wounded (including Panetié, whose jaw is shattered), compared to 20 killed, 38 injured, and 219 captured among its defenders.

Le Febvre de Lézy is thereupon restored into office as governor of French Guiana and left 150 soldiers to reconstitute his garrison. After refreshing his ships and dispatching 260 Dutch prisoners toward Europe (where they are to be severely mistreated), d'Estrées presses northwestward to continue his West Indian campaign. Le Febvre de Lézy will spend the next several months razing smaller Dutch outposts inland.

JANUARY 19, 1677. D'Estrées reaches Martinique, hoping to gain intelligence about Dutch defensive measures at his next intended target of Tobago and be reinforced by *flibustier* contingents. Governor General de Baas dies on January 24 after a protracted illness, after which d'Estrées sets sail on February 12, slowly steering toward Tobago while his strength gradually expands to 10 men-of-war, 6 lesser warships (*Fanfaron*, *Coche*, *Bayonnais*, *Entreprenant*, *Adroite*, and *Assurée*), a fireship, some victuallers, and more than 4,000 men.

JANUARY 24, 1677. The 29-year-old French commander Charles François d'Angennes, Marquis de Maintenon, disembarks 500–600 men on the Spanish island of Margarita (Venezuela) and partially destroys its capital of La Asunción. This raid will in turn prompt the Spaniards under Juan Fermin Huidobro to shortly thereafter commence erecting a stone fortress, dubbed Castillo de Santa Rosa upon its completion in 1683.

JANUARY 29, 1677 (O.S.). The veteran commodore Sir John Berry reaches the James River in Virginia with his flagship HMS *Bristol* and ketch *Deptford*, to be followed over the next couple of weeks by the frigates *Rose* and *Dartmouth* and the small convoy of hired merchantmen that they are escorting. One thousand troops of Colonel Jeffreys's regiment have been sent from England because of concerns about Indian uprisings and Bacon's rebel-

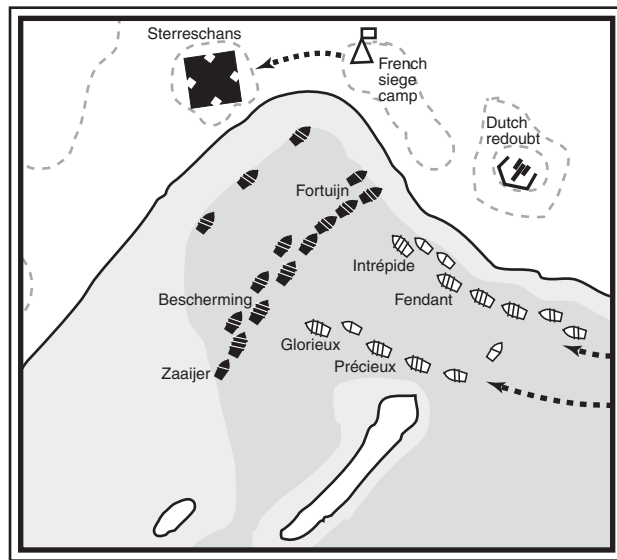
lion (see "April 1676" entry). Finding the situation largely stabilized, Berry returns homeward shortly thereafter.

FEBRUARY 18, 1677. On Tobago, Binckes receives word of two small French vessels reconnoitering the approaches to Klip (modern Rockly) Bay, correctly surmising them to be advance units from d'Estrées's approaching fleet. This same night, the Dutch admiral also receives intelligence—brought from the English on Nevis by his Dutch auxiliary Jan Erasmus Reyning—advising of Cayenne's fall and d'Estrées's recruitment of West Indian privateers. The next day, Binckes and his 1,700 followers count 9 unidentified sail off their coast, which increase to 14 by February 20. This ominous buildup leads the admiral to redouble his defensive preparations, marshalling soldiers and sailors around Sterreschans fortress, while ferrying noncombatants out to the ships anchored under the protection of its guns.

FEBRUARY 21, 1677. This evening, d'Estrées disembarks seven infantry companies and 200 sailors (more than 1,000 men in total) at a quiet inlet, marching overland under Lt. Col. Hérouard de la Pirogerie and Maj. Hubert d'Andigny, Chevalier de Grandfontaine, toward Tobago's distant Dutch stronghold. On February 23, a French emissary approaches Sterreschans fortress, calling upon its defenders to surrender, which is rejected. The French army therefore resumes its advance, skirmishing with Dutch units until coming within sight of Sterreschans a few days later and emplacing a siege battery.

The French commanders are daunted by this imposing, well-armed fortification with its encircling river moat, but eventually—concerned about his dwindling provisions—d'Estrées orders a probe made between 9:00 and 10:00 p.m., supported by 14 light vessels feinting against the harbor entrance. This assault does not prosper, and the French are seriously considering lifting their siege, when d'Estrées decides at a general conference on March 2 to make one last desperate storm by both sea and land.

MARCH 3 (ASH WEDNESDAY), 1677. *First Battle of Tobago.* In the first light at 6:00 a.m., piloted by a Dutch turncoat, d'Estrées heads into what are today the outer reaches of Scarborough Bay inside Rockly Bay with his 72-gun, 445-man, 1,000-ton flagship *Glorieux*; the 50-gun, 350-man, 800-ton *Précieux* under Mascarany; the 36-gun, 280-man,



First Battle of Tobago.

350-ton *Émerillon* (formerly *Actif*) of Nicolas Le Febvre de Méricourt; and the 38-gun, 250-man, 500-ton *Laurier* (former *Serpente*) under Charles François de Machault.

Closer inshore, d'Estrées's second-in-command Louis Gabaret leads his own 56-gun, 320-man, 900-ton vice-flagship *Intrépide*; the 62-gun, 380-man, 900-ton *Fendant* (formerly *Grâces*) of Charles, Comte de Blénac; the 48-gun, 300-man *Marquis* of the Chevalier de Lézines; the 50-gun, 300-man, 600-ton *Galant* of De Montortié; the 36-gun, 240-man, 350-ton *Soleil d'Afrique* (former *Éclair*) of De La Borde; and the 38-gun, 240-man, 350-ton *Jeux* of De La Cassini. This French fleet is furthermore accompanied by a pair of *aviso* or "dispatch" sloops, a fireship (which will soon run aground), and a galliot.

D'Estrées's audacity has caught the Dutch fleet off guard, their warships having been stripped of fighting men to bolster the defenses ashore. Awaiting the French, anchored in a curving line, are the 13-man fireship *Zaaijer* of Heertje Carstenszoon; the 44-gun, 118-man *Zeelandia* of Pieter Constant; the 24-gun, 25-man French prize *Alcyon* under Cornelis Stolwyck; the 50-gun, 153-man flagship *Bescherming* of Jacob Binckes; the 26-gun, 35-man victualler *Duc de Yorck* of Frederik Sweers; the 56-gun, 128-man vice-flagship *Huis te Kruiningen* of Roemer Vlacq; the 31-gun, 25-man victualler *Gouden Monnik* of Dirk Schoen; the 36-gun, 83-man *Middelburg* of Jan Swart; the 28-gun, 74-man *Gouden Ster* of Pieter Coreman; the 24-gun, 52-man

Popkesburg of Pieter Stolwyck; the 34-gun, 73-man *Leyden* of Galtje Galtjes; and the 25-man sloop *Fortuijn* of Jan Erasmus Reyning. Behind them lie the beached hulk *Starrenburg*, a neutral Portuguese vessel, and the 12-gun transport *Sphaera Mundi*, crammed with more than 200 women and children, several hundred slaves, plus its regular 30-man complement.

D'Estrées's fleet enters with guns blazing, expending more than 1,000 rounds against the Dutch batteries and suffering numerous casualties from their counterfire, before reaching the moored warships shortly before 9:00 a.m. Inshore, the *Marquis* closes upon *Leyden* despite ferocious countersalvos, while farther out the *Glorieux* sinks the fireship *Zaaijer*, then grapples with the *Huis te Kruiningen*. The Dutch vice-flagship is boarded and carried within 15 minutes by the Chevalier d'Hervault, while nearby *Précieux* begins a losing struggle against the Dutch flagship *Bescherming*, and the *Marquis* overwhelms the *Leyden*. On land, Colonel de la Pirogerie sends assault-columns against Sterreschans, only to be turned back by the efficient Dutch artillery. Twice more, the French soldiers rush its walls, suffering almost 200 casualties before giving up.

This repulse allows Binckes to shift his attention to the harbor, where flames soon begin spreading among the entangled vessels, multiplied by heated shots fired from Sterreschans. Eventually, conflagrations take hold throughout both fleets; d'Estrées's own *Glorieux* is almost destroyed when the captive *Huis te Kruiningen* explodes. The French admiral himself is wounded in the head, and his flagship subsequently catches fire and burns down to the waterline, along with the *Marquis* and the *Assurée*. Ten of the 13 Dutch vessels are also consumed; the badly damaged *Bescherming*, *Zeelandia*, and *Alcyon* emerge as sole survivors. Two French vessels, *Intrépide* and *Précieux*, run aground and are captured, despite d'Estrées's cold-blooded order that they be burned, notwithstanding the wounded men heaped upon their decks. The *Fendant* and the *Galant* are dismasted, while the *Émerillon* sustains considerable damage as well.

All told, the French suffer more than 1,000 casualties, Colonel de la Pirogerie, Commodore Gabaret, captains de Lézines, and De La Borde numbering among their dead. Dutch casualties are 344 men, with captains Vlacq, Galtjes, Sweers, Constant, and Coreman among them. Three days after withdrawing into Palmyt Bay (modern Petit Tree Lagoon), six miles southwest of Sterreschans, d'Estrées limps away for Grenada and Martinique, proclaiming victory

despite his retreat and heavy losses. By early July, he is back in Versailles reporting to the king, who orders his admiral to return into the West Indies and complete this mission.

MARCH 7, 1677. A buccaneering expedition sneaks upon the Mexican town of Jalpa before sunrise, having departed the Laguna de Términos six days earlier, led by a French rover named André Ribaut with 35 men aboard his 3-gun frigate. Another 117 freebooters sail aboard the frigate and brigantine of an English captain named George Rivers, who has also bolstered Ribaut's crew with an additional 70 men. The rovers' intent is to seize a rich cargo of silver and arms recently salvaged from Campeche's coast-guard frigate *Pescadora*, which has sunk near the entrance to the Grijalva River in mid-November 1676 while returning from Veracruz under Capt. Fermín de Huidobro.

The buccaneers anchor their vessels near Barra de Dos Bocas and advance up the Seco River, guided by a mulatto prisoner named Bartolomé Saraos. Forging streams more than 20 times during this trek, 150 heavily armed freebooters eventually appear outside Jalpa before sunrise on Sunday, March 7, attacking and overwhelming its Spanish citizenry in their beds. However, the treasure and arms have already been shipped back toward the coast with the mule train of José Tenorio, so 40 buccaneers are sent in pursuit to the coastal town of Amatitlán; however, they arrive too late, despite killing three teamsters and capturing the rest of Tenorio's men. Only the slow matches and powder flasks have not yet been sent aboard ship for transfer to Campeche. The frustrated Ribaut and Rivers therefore evacuate Jalpa at 10:00 a.m. of March 8, taking whatever booty and prisoners they can. The raiders are back aboard their ships before any Spanish militia units from outlying areas can react, not having suffered a single loss during their incursion.

LATE JUNE 1677. The French privateer Pierre La Garde attacks Santa Marta (Colombia), seconded by English mercenaries under captains John Coxon and William Barnes. They surprise the port at dawn and take many captives, including its governor, Vicente Sebastián Mestre, and 53-year-old bishop Dr. Lucas Fernández y Piedrahita, whom they hold for ransom while ransacking the buildings.

JULY 6, 1677. Francisco de Alberrós, the Spanish governor designate of Venezuela, arrives from Cadiz

at La Guaira aboard the 450-ton *San José, Santa Rosa María y San Pedro de Alcántara*. He has agreed to purchase this vessel in Spain for the Crown on the understanding that it will transport him out to his destination, and then its value will be reimbursed to him out of local taxes.

The vessel is intended to serve as the flagship of a newly reconstituted *Armada de Barlovento* (Windward Fleet) in the West Indies. It is being followed out from Cadiz by three smaller warships, which will enter Cartagena four days later. All four will be united at year's end with the 350-ton vice-flagship *Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu y San Lorenzo*, which has been sold to the Crown by Antonio de Astina on condition that he be appointed *almirante* or second-in-command of the armada and might recoup its value at Puerto Rico. The *Aranzazu* will not depart Spain until October, conveying a quicksilver consignment to Veracruz.

JULY 10, 1677. The 240-ton Spanish warship *San Juan* (formerly the French *Dauphine*, more commonly called *Princesa* or *Francesa* by the Spaniards), the 200-ton *Nuestra Señora del Camino*, and 200-ton *Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje* (alias *Mogoleño*) arrive at Cartagena, intended to form part of the new *Armada de Barlovento*. Captains José de Arizmendi, Felipe de Diústegui, and Francisco López de Gámara report to their new *capitán general* Antonio de Quintana, a veteran of 20 years' service with Cartagena's coast guard.

Immediately, this trio is dispatched along with 2 hired merchantmen and 500 troops to rescue Santa Marta, which is still occupied by La Garde, Coxon, and Barnes. Quintana's flotilla supposedly bombards these invaders before being driven off by a storm, although Spanish witnesses later charge that the men-of-war engage reluctantly, as they are heavily laden with European imports. By the time they return to the attack a few days later, the buccaneers have withdrawn from Santa Marta with their hostages.

JULY 28, 1677. La Garde and Barnes arrive at Port Royal (Jamaica) to spend their booty from Santa Marta. Three days later, Coxon enters port and personally escorts the captive Bishop Fernández and a Spanish friar before the island governor, Lord Vaughan. The prelate is nobly housed, and English officers are sent aboard the buccaneer flotilla to attempt "to procure the liberty of the [Spanish] Governor and others, but finding the privateers all drunk, it was impossible to persuade them to do anything by fair means."

Vaughan therefore orders the French to depart and officially informs Coxon and his English followers that it is illegal for them to continue serving under foreign colors. The governor reports that the French are “damnably enraged” at being deprived of their English companions, so they sail off without releasing any more captives. Fernández is soon after restored to Cartagena and is reappointed as bishop of Panama.

OCTOBER 3, 1677. Admiral d’Estrées departs Brest with his new 72-gun flagship *Terrible*; the 66-gun vice-flagship *Tonnant* under the Marquis de Grancey; 70-gun *Belliqueux* under Rear Adm. Charles de Courbon, Seigneur de Romegeux and Comte de Blénac (new governor general for the French West Indies, replacing the deceased De Baas); the 56-gun ships of the line *Bourbon*, *Prince*, and *Hercule*; the 44-gun, 400-ton *Alcyon* (ex-*Havre*); the 40-gun, 480-ton *Brillant* (ex-*Basque*); the 38-gun, 400-ton *Étoile* (former fireship *Actif*); and the 36-gun *Émerillon*; the 36-gun, 550-ton *flûte* or “armed transport” *Dromadaire* and the 24-gun, 450-ton *Tardif*; a hospital ship; the 24-gun, 180-ton frigate *Maligne*; the 10-gun, 290-ton fireship *Périlleux* and the 6-gun, 90-ton *Brutal* (ex-English *Rueben* or *Justice*); plus a *barco luengo* and a *caïque*.

During his outward passage, d’Estrées destroys the Dutch slaving station at Gorée in West Africa early in November, before entering the West Indies later this same month, steering for Tobago.

NOVEMBER 9, 1677. At nightfall, the French buccaneer Pierre de Frasnquénay leads 400 *flibustiers* ashore at Justicia Inlet, planning to fall upon nearby Santiago de Cuba while it sleeps. (He believes that its defenses are still weakened after a devastating earthquake two years previously.) However, the invaders are guided through winding jungle trails by a simpleminded Spanish captive named Juan Perdomo, becoming so confused that one column fires upon another by mistake in the darkness. With the element of surprise lost and 14 *boucaniers* dead, Frasnquénay has no choice but to retire to his waiting ships the next day.

DECEMBER 6, 1677. *Second Battle of Tobago.* The abrupt reappearance of d’Estrées finds this island’s Dutch defenders completely unrecovered. Binckes has sent the repaired French prize *Intrépide* under a badly wounded Constant to the Netherlands to beg for reinforcements, but none has arrived. Within

Klip (modern Rockly) Bay lie the damaged flagship *Bescherming* and prize *Précieux*, plus three minor vessels. On land, the Dutch garrison is reduced to fewer than 500 effectives as a result of losses during its first defense plus subsequent bouts of disease. Binckes’s sole ally is the weather, which bursts into torrential downpours, hampering the French disembarkation and advance from Palmyt Bay.

Yet d’Estrées nonetheless quickly throws almost 1,000 troops and a siege train ashore under Grancey and Blénac, who march upon Fort Sterreschans while brushing aside 200 Dutch troops. By December 10, d’Estrées comes ashore and begins installing his siege battery under the direction of military engineer Pierre de Combes (brought specifically aboard Chadeau de La Clocheterie’s *Brillant* for this work). Having indulged in a suicidal, all-out assault the last time, d’Estrées is determined to proceed more prudently on this occasion by instituting a formal siege.

On December 12, his chief gunner Pierre Landouillette de Logivière begins firing ranging shots against the Dutch fort, laying odds that he will blow it up at the third attempt. Incredibly, Landouillette’s third round lands squarely inside Sterreschans’s magazine, killing Binckes and 250 other Dutch defenders with a mighty blast, while paralyzing the remainder. The French swarm exultantly over its ruins, with Dutch resolve collapsing. The *Étoile*, the *Hercule*, and the *Bourbon* enter Klip Bay to seize its 16 vessels, while a total of 525 prisoners are rounded up both on land and sea, as well as 45 artillery pieces and 30,000 pieces of shot. (One of the few Dutchmen to escape is the privateer Reyning, who carries word of this disaster to Curaçao aboard a tiny boat.) D’Estrées remains in Tobago until January 1678, when he throws down its fortifications, depopulates the island, and retires to Grenada.

APRIL 1678. After resting at Saint Kitts throughout March, d’Estrées transfers his fleet to Martinique in April, calling for *flibustiers* from as far away as Saint Domingue (Haiti) to rally for a descent against the last remaining Dutch outpost in the West Indies—Curaçao. Supremely confident, this French expedition quits its rendezvous off Saint Kitts by May 7, comprised of 18 royal warships and more than a dozen *flibustier* craft. It is the admiral’s intent to lead them down the Lesser Antilles, then to proceed westward past the Orchila, Roques, and Aves island groups, despite warnings from local pilots that this can be a treacherous heading. The *Étoile* and a

buccaneer vessel are sent ahead to sweep for any dangers.

MAY 11, 1678. *Aves Islands Shipwreck.* At 9:00 p.m. this Wednesday evening, one of d'Estrées's *flibustier* consorts suddenly begins firing musket shots followed by a heavy gun, signaling that the French fleet is too far south and about to sail onto the reefs around the Aves Islands group. This warning comes too late, though, many ships beginning to strike in the darkness.

Dawn of May 12 reveals the following vessels beneath the waves: the 70-gun flagship *Terrible* of Le Febvre de Méricourt; the 66-gun vice-flagship *Tonnant* of the Marquis de Grancey; the 70-gun *Bellicieux* of Capt. André, Chevalier (later Marquis) de Nesmond; the 56-gun *Bourbon* of De Rosmad, the *Prince* of Saint Aubin d'Infreville, and the *Hercule* of De Flacourt; the 50-gun *Défenseur* of the Marquis d'Amblimont; the 36-gun transport *Dromadaire* of Périer; a 24-gun unnamed caïque; and the 14-gun hired merchantman *Roi David* of Honoré Julien. Three corsair vessels of 18, 12, and 6 guns apiece—bearing 400 men between them—have also been destroyed. A total of 500 sailors and soldiers are drowned, and the French siege train is mostly lost, along with almost 500 naval guns.

The admiral therefore has no choice but to retire toward Saint Domingue on May 16 with his remaining warships and 800–900 survivors plucked from the water. Once reassembled at Petit Goâve early in June, his fleet is reduced to the 56-gun, 300-man flagship *Duc* under François d'Escoubleau, Comte de Sourdis; the men-of-war *Brillant*, *Alcyon*, and *Émerillon*; the transport *Tardif*; three fireships; and a victualler pinnace. By the time d'Estrées staggers home to France, the war with the Netherlands is virtually ended.

JUNE 10, 1678. *Grammont's Maracaibo Campaign.*

Rather than retreat with d'Estrées following his Aves Islands disaster, many *flibustiers* prefer an alternate project of their own under the veteran corsair Sieur de Grammont. Having no interest in tackling the tough Dutch garrison at Curaçao, they instead materialize unexpectedly in the Gulf of Venezuela by June 10. They include 2,000 freebooters aboard six large ships and 13 smaller craft, under commanders such as La Garde, Archambaud, the Englishman John Stel, Jean Le Gascon, Nicolas Le Fée, Desmoulin, Aymé, Pierre Gouin, Mathieu, Josée, and Nicolas Amon (nicknamed *Grenezé*, as he is apparently

an Anglo-Norman originally from the Channel island of Guernsey).

Grammont disembarks half his force and marches along the San Carlos Peninsula toward the fort guarding its bar, whose artillery he knows to be mostly pointed seaward. Its garrison commander, Francisco Pérez de Guzmán, is only able to stave off an immediate assault by stationing 100 harquebusiers outside his walls; yet heavy guns are then landed from the buccaneer flotilla, and after a brief bombardment, the Spaniards surrender. Grammont passes his ships over the bar, leaving his 6 largest to blockade the entrance while he presses on toward Maracaibo with the other 13.

This city and its outlying district are thrown into a panic; the ancient, sickly governor, Jorge Madureira Ferreira—in office scarcely a week—is unable to inspire any confidence. Citizens therefore begin fleeing in every direction, soon followed by Madureira himself, who retires to Maicao with a handful of regulars. Grammont takes Maracaibo largely unopposed on June 14 and gives it over to be sacked. *Flibustier* columns also strike out into its countryside pursuing the Spanish governor and other notables in hopes of extorting ransom, thus scattering them even farther afield.

By June 28, Grammont abandons the gutted remains of Maracaibo to cross the Laguna and fall upon Gibraltar. This town, too, is already quite deserted, and after its walls are bombarded, the 22-man garrison gives up. Emboldened by such weak resistance, Grammont marches 425 buccaneers almost 50 miles inland to Trujillo, which is defended by a regular fort with 350 troops and four artillery pieces. Again, the corsair chieftain prevails, storming this fortification from the rear on September 1, “by some hills where it seemed impossible to do so.”

Once more, terrified citizens crowd the roads, straggling 75 miles southwestward into Mérida de la Grita. Having defeated or dispersed every Spanish concentration he has encountered, Grammont retraces his steps toward the Laguna, eventually reentering Gibraltar, which is stripped bare and put to the torch on September 25. The invaders then sail away with an 18-gun merchantman from the “Coulouba” (thought to be the present-day Catatumbo) River, remaining in this region until almost the end of that year; on December 3, Grammont finally departs the Gulf of Venezuela, after razing the fort guarding its bar. His ships are laden with 77 captured cannon, booty, and numerous captives and arrive at Petit Goâve by Christmas Eve.

JULY 6, 1678. Two English buccaneer ships under captains George Spurre and Edward Neville—bearing French commissions—anchor near Jaina (Mexico), with eight *piraguas* in tow. Neville departs that same night to reconnoiter the nearby port of Campeche with his sloop, rejoining the main body at daybreak of July 7 to report that all is calm. Both captains then slip ashore with 160 freebooters, leaving instructions for their vessels to bear down upon Campeche at dawn two days later. The land party approaches the town by nocturnal stages, capturing every person it meets. Some are tortured to reveal the best access into Campeche, and one is even persuaded to deceive its guard.

An hour before daybreak on Sunday, July 10, the disguised raider column materializes before a small city gate, where their terrified captive answers the sentinel's challenge and gains them entry. In the gloom, the sentry assumes that these shadowy figures are Indians come early to market, allowing the attackers to march swiftly toward the central plaza and “with a great shout fire a heavy volley” outside the governor's residence. Campeche's garrison is taken utterly by surprise, only 9 soldiers being on duty instead of the usual 60. The *sargento mayor* (garrison commander) Gonzalo Borrallo is taken in his nightshirt, along with virtually every other prominent citizen. Spurre's *Toro* and Neville's sloop appear on schedule, two huts being fired to signal them to enter. Captives are terrorized into raising ransoms, and every building is ransacked over the next few days. Although the buccaneers remain in Campeche only until the evening of Tuesday, July 12, they withdraw with the ship *San Antonio*, a *barco luengo*, a boat, plus money and foodstuffs. They also carry off 250 black, mulatto, and Indian townspeople to sell as slaves at the Laguna de Términos. They

then proceed into Jamaica by the end of October to spend their ill-gotten gains.

AUGUST 10, 1678. In Europe, Louis XIV signs the Treaty of Nijmegen, marking an end to his hostilities with the Netherlands. By its terms, the French retain their wartime conquests of Tobago and Cayenne in Guiana.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1678. France and Spain sign a separate treaty at Nijmegen, marking an end to their European conflict; yet, unlike the peace with Holland, this document does not contain any reference to the Americas, so the fighting there will continue.

EARLY DECEMBER 1678. Two French ships and a pair of *caïques* arrive at Martinique under Commodore Forant, the 37-year-old Joseph Andrault, Marquis de Langeron, and Captain Paris. They have been sent to salvage the remains of Admiral d'Estrées's fleet from the Aves Islands, which they accomplish by recruiting another two ships and four island traders, then spending several months working the site. Eventually, 364 guns and 3,000 shot are recovered.

EARLY JULY 1679. D'Estrées returns into the West Indies from Brest ostensibly to demand prisoners from the Spanish American authorities at Cartagena and Havana, but actually to reestablish France's naval prestige throughout this theater. His 74-gun, 1,350-ton flagship *Triomphant* (ex-*Constant*) is accompanied by the 54-gun, 800-ton *Bon* of Jean Gabaret; the 46-gun, 600-ton *Opiniâtre* (ex-*Galant*) of the Comte de Sourdis; the 40-gun, 500-ton *Faucon* of the Chevalier de Nesmond; the 40-gun, 480-ton *Tigre* of Saint-Aubin d'Infreville; the 26-gun *flûte* or transport *Tempête* of De Flacourt and the 18-gun *Mignon* of De



Fort Royal as seen from the Carénage by Jean Barbot, while visiting in 1679 aboard the slaver *Soleil d'Afrique*. (British Library)

Fort de France

When the first French colonists landed on Martinique, they created the town of Saint Pierre on its northwestern shore in 1635. But the magnificent bay farther to its southeast, enclosed on three sides by hills and a peninsula, offered the best anchorage. Protected against storms, this harbor also had a stony, 100-foot-high headland jutting out from its northern bank. Beside it lay a shallow inlet, ideal for careening ships, which was soon known as the *Carénage*.

Gov. Jacques Dyel, Sieur du Parquet, erected a palisade around this promontory in 1638 and named it “Fort Royal.” But most island residents stayed clustered around the main settlement of Saint Pierre. Fort Royal remained undeveloped, until the English rear admiral Sir John Harman pulverized a French fleet anchored off Saint Pierre in July 1667. Realizing that Saint Pierre’s open roadstead was indefensible, planning accelerated to fortify Fort Royal. This project was boosted when a new governor general for the French Antilles, Jean-Charles de Baas-Castelmore, arrived a year and a half later.

He chose Martinique over Saint Kitts as his official headquarters, and his orders from Paris included a clause that one impregnable stronghold be erected on each island. De Baas decided that the original wooden stockade at Fort Royal should be strengthened in accordance with plans drawn up a few years earlier by the visiting royal engineer Blondel. De Baas moreover proposed elevating the tiny clutch of shacks and warehouses around the *Carénage* to the status of a city on October 3, 1669, and took up residence there. The royal minister Colbert approved these proposals on November 4, 1671, so that the governor general could begin issuing plots the next year.

Work had scarcely started in 1673 on the lowest circuit of stone ramparts around Fort Royal when Admiral de Ruyter’s Dutch fleet attacked in July. Fortunately, these unexpected obstacles checked the Dutch assault and saved the island. The construction of a few upper battlements of masonry did not commence until 1676 under the direction of the royal engineer Nicolas Payen. He modified Blondel’s plans and was encouraged by the vigorous new governor, Charles de Courbon, Comte de Blénac. Ten years later, the latter was able to write to the king: “I have made you a fort which provides security for all these islands.”

But its crowning stone citadel had yet to appear. When war erupted with Holland, England, and Spain in 1689, Martinique became hard-pressed. Blénac returned from Paris on February 5, 1692, with orders to complete Fort Royal and make it the island capital. Plantation owners assisted these efforts with their slaves, directed by the new royal engineer, Jean de Giou, Sieur de Caylus. Their labors were enough to discourage a direct assault when a huge English fleet under Rear Adm. Sir Francis Wheler attacked in April 1693. Despite numerous additions over the next seven decades, the fort was overcome by British invaders in February 1762. Expansion and improvements continued well into the 20th century.

Béthune; the 26-gun, 180-ton frigate *Bouffonne* and 10-gun, 75-ton frigate *Moqueuse*; bark *Utile*; plus the 10-gun, 400-ton transport *Chameau*. The arrival of this powerful squadron causes consternation throughout the Antilles, as it is believed its appearance portends another outbreak in Europe.

When d’Estrées appears off Jamaica on July 18, the English governor, Charles, Earl of Carlisle, orders its defenses manned, while Port Royal’s citizenry flee inland; but one of d’Estrées’s subordinates—the

Comte d’Erveux, Knight of the Order of Malta—merely comes ashore to request permission to take on water and provisions at nearby Bluefields Bay, which is granted. The French squadron subsequently works its way through the Greater Antilles, piloted by the 31-year-old West Indian veteran Charles François d’Angennes, Marquis de Maintenon, before finally visiting Havana on October 18, then continuing out across the Atlantic from Matanzas for France.

IRREGULAR WARFARE (1679–1688)

Notwithstanding the cessation of hostilities in Europe, frictions persist in the New World—especially as French authorities in the West Indies continue to issue privateering commissions against Spanish America because of Madrid’s refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of their existence.

FEBRUARY 11, 1679. The city of Santiago de Cuba is struck by a strong earthquake, and its defenses are heavily damaged, tempting the French corsair Pierre Bot to organize a disembarkation of buccaneers at nearby Sabana la Mar, which proves fruitless.

FEBRUARY 21, 1679. *Repulse at Guanaja.* An expedition under Grammont disembarks from three ships, two brigantines, and four lesser craft in La Gloria Bay near Guanaja along the northern coast of Cuba, advancing overland with 600 *flibustiers* against the town of Puerto Principe (modern Camagüey). The Spanish priest Francisco Garcerán chances to sight these raiders when they reach La Matanza, so carries a warning into Puerto Principe. Its inhabitants flee, allowing the invaders to enter unopposed to find its buildings mostly empty.

Some 600 Spanish militiamen meanwhile gather under *alcalde mayor* Benito de Agüero, challenging the buccaneers' retreat back toward the coast with their few captives. In a pitched battle on February 25 in the Cubitas Range, Grammont is compelled to extemporize a redoubt, suffering 70 killed before his Dutch-born colleague, Laurens de Graaf, can extricate his contingent, inflicting 67 Spanish fatalities.

Grammont regains the coast and takes 14 prominent women prisoners aboard his flotilla, whom the Spaniards ransom after 30 days.

LATE APRIL 1679. Grammont departs Petit Goâve (Haiti) for another cruise, although this time accompanied by only two or three vessels and 200 buccaneers at most. He will prowls off Havana until August.

JUNE 1679. The French buccaneer captains Bot and Bréhal, having split off from Grammont's formation near Havana, attack the Spanish salvors working the Los Mimbres wreck site of the galleon *Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas* on the east coast of Florida. Some 30 Spaniards are killed, including their leader, Martín de Melgar, and their two vessels are seized.

Bot and Bréhal then compel the native divers to continue working the wreck, making away with some 200,000 pieces of eight.

AUGUST 26, 1679. Santa Marta (Colombia) is surprised at dawn by buccaneer raiders and sacked.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1679. After sailing from Roatán Island with a mixed band of buccaneers, the English

rovers Coxon, Bartholomew Sharpe, Cornelius Essex, and others capture a Spanish merchantman in the Bay of Honduras, smuggling its cargo of "500 chests of indigo, a great quantity of cacao, cochineal, [and] tortoise shell" into Jamaica next month for sale.

LATE DECEMBER 1679. Having disposed of his Honduran booty on Jamaica, Coxon convenes an illegal assemblage at its southeastern tip of Port Morant, which is attended by Essex and Sharpe, as well as the sloops of captains Robert Allison and Thomas Magott. They agreed to unite under Coxon for an assault against Spanish Portobelo. Authorization for this venture is very sketchy, the privateers holding a mixture of outdated French and English commissions, including "let-passes" from the new Jamaican governor Lord Carlisle simply to "go into the Bay of Honduras to cut logwood."

JANUARY 17, 1680. Coxon's buccaneer flotilla departs Port Morant (Jamaica) to attack Portobelo. Less than 20 miles out at sea, they meet the French brigantine of the *flibustier* Capt. Jean Rose, who also joins the expedition. They then struggle through bad weather to Fuerte Island, 90 miles south-southwest of Cartagena.

From there, Coxon sweeps the nearby San Bernardo or "Friends" Islands to obtain landing craft, returning three days later with "four *piraguas* and six very good large canoes." The formation continues toward Isla de Pinos, 130 miles east of Portobelo amid the Archipiélago de las Mulatas, although it is forced into Isla de Oro or "Golden Island" some miles away. Coxon takes 250 buccaneers into boats and rows westward along the coast, hoping to strike before the Spaniards can detect his presence. While advancing, he comes upon "a great ship riding at anchor," which proves to be that of the *flibustier* Capitaine Lassonde, who adds 80 Frenchmen to the boat parties. Shortly thereafter, the buccaneers slip ashore in the Gulf of San Blas, proceeding afoot down the Cascajal River Valley to avoid Spanish coastal watchers.

JANUARY 20, 1680. Manuel Lobo, newly appointed Portuguese governor of Rio de Janeiro and Knight of the Order of Christo, arrives at San Gabriel Island (Uruguay) with one cavalry and three infantry companies—a total of 200 soldiers—plus 100 laborers and 18 cannon aboard the 30-gun, 300-ton flagship *Santa Veríssima* of Capt. Antônio

Fernandes Poderoso; the 14-gun, 250-ton vice-flagship of Manuel Carneiro da Costa; 10-gun, 200-ton vessel of Captain Mainardt; the 6-gun, 150-ton frigate *Jesus, Maria, Joseph* of naval lieutenant Feliciano Inácio da Silva; and a small supply boat. This expedition disembarks on the mainland opposite and, by February 4, begins erecting a stockaded fort called Colônia do Sacramento. The Spaniards across the River Plate in Buenos Aires consider this frontier outpost to be an infringement upon their territory.

FEBRUARY 6, 1680. Spanish *piraguas* steal into Mexico's Laguna de Términos under the *alcalde ordinario* or "town magistrate" Felipe de la Barreda y Villegas to strike against its English logwood cutters, who have been selling trees to outward-bound Jamaican vessels. De la Barreda manages to surprise some interlopers, returning into Campeche with a few prizes. Encouraged by this success, he leads a second expedition—consisting of a *barco luengo*, two *piraguas*, and 115 men—several weeks later, which nets a 24-gun English merchantman.

FEBRUARY 17, 1680. Having struggled overland for three days "without any food, and their feet cut with the rocks for want of shoes," Coxon's raiders are spotted by a native boy from a village three miles short of Portobelo, who sets off at a run to warn its Spanish inhabitants. The footsore buccaneers trot in pursuit, yet the Indian arrives a half hour before them and raises the alarm by "running down the street past the slaughterhouse," shouting: "To your arms, Christians, for the English are coming!"

The pirate vanguard under Allison nonetheless sweeps into Portobelo unopposed, as its few Spaniards have withdrawn inside Santiago de la Gloria Castle, leaving their dwellings and warehouses to be ransacked over the next two days. Coxon's raiders then retire 10 miles northeast to a coastal hamlet known as Bastimentos, entrenching themselves with a few prisoners on a cay a half-mile offshore, while Allison is sent in a boat to recall their anchored ships.

Three days later, several hundred Spanish militia-men arrive, having been hastened across the Isthmus

Logwood

Logwood is a dark red tropical tree found in the West Indies and Central America. For centuries prior to Columbus's arrival, natives used it to produce black, brown, or red dyes of great permanence. After the conquest of Mexico, the Spaniards were taught its fine qualities, so they continued harvesting the so-called *palo de tinte* or dyewood. Exports to Europe also became highly prized for tinting cloth, because—as the pirate chronicler Alexandre Olivier Exquemelin would later note—the dye did "not fade like ours."

Yet the greatest concentrations of logwood were found along torrid stretches of jungle shoreline, where few Spaniards chose to settle. In 1565, the royal *alcalde mayor* Diego de Quijada reported that there were such abundant stands along the coasts of "Yucatán and Tabasco and New Spain, that every year all the carracks of the world can be filled." Only small pockets were tapped, however. (More than a century later, Gov. Fernando Francisco de Escobedo informed the Crown that there were still not 1,300 Spaniards living in 1671 along the entire 1,000-mile coast of the Gulf of Mexico, the population being most concentrated around Campeche.)

As rival western European nations established outposts in the Caribbean to produce commercial crops such as sugar and tobacco, logwood came to be coveted as a secondary good. For example, the Amsterdam directors of the Dutch West India Company on July 7, 1654, instructed their representative on Curaçao "to promote the cutting of dyewood as much as possible," paying attention "that the young saplings are spared." English interest was roused as their rovers ventured out from Jamaica to raid Spanish America, discovering vast unclaimed coastal tracts where logwood grew wild.

By the early 1670s, poachers were living in the Bay of Campeche (Mexico's Laguna de Términos), the Bay of Honduras (modern Belize), and along the Mosquito Coast. They cut down logwood trees, waiting for a sail to appear over the horizon. If a paying customer, their boats were guided through the river maze to the felled trees for sale and loading. On the rare occasion that a Spanish patrol-vessel appeared, the loggers remained hidden by the jungle. Business proved good because a ton of logwood already cost £20 at Port Royal yet was worth 20 times as much in London. Masters outward bound from Jamaica therefore took the chance of visiting a logging camp to complete their cargoes with a valuable commodity at a very low price before proceeding out into the Atlantic for home.

Risks could be dire, as the Spaniards feared that these poaching settlements might evolve into full-fledged colonies; as a result, friction was common.

from Panama City. They begin firing upon the pirates from the beach but are unable to exact any vengeance before Coxon's vessels appear. He, Allison, and Sharpe subsequently impose a brief blockade on Portobelo, intercepting a *barco luengo* and a new 8-gun, 90-ton ship as they arrive from Cartagena, before distributing their booty and dispersing to Bocas del Toro "to make clean our ships, there being the best place to careen our ships, by reason there is good store of turtle and manatee and fish."

APRIL 12, 1680. Promoted to *teniente de capitán general* or "lieutenant military governor" of Campeche, de la Barreda prepares a third raid against the English in the Laguna de Términos, securing—at his own expense—half-ownership of his 24-gun prize, then supplementing it with two brigantines and six *piraguas* bearing 200 mulatto militiamen from Mérida de Yucatán, 70 regulars, and 16 gunners from Campeche's garrison, plus 240 volunteers. His officers include the corsair captains Pedro de Castro and Juan Corso.

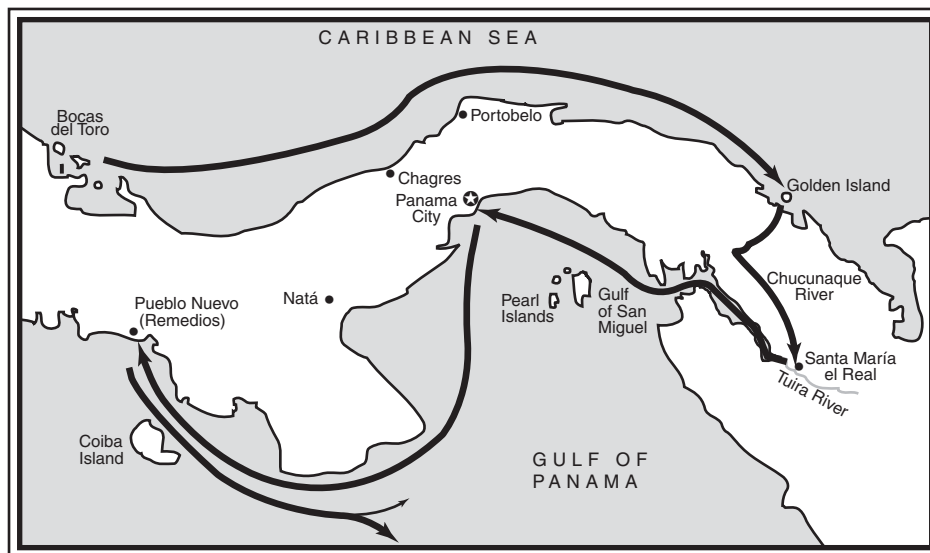
This expedition bursts into the Laguna de Términos by April 17, seizing more than 38 craft along with 163 baymen (among them, George Rivers; see "March 7, 1677" entry in "Third Anglo-Dutch War and Franco-Spanish War") while releasing numerous Spanish hostages and slaves. De la Barreda then learns of 240 buccaneers who have departed in 7 vessels to waylay the annual cocoa harvest in Tabasco, so he sends a detachment in pursuit. His prisoners and prizes are carried back into Campeche, but de

la Barreda does not arrive. Ironically, he becomes separated from his expedition and is captured by English stragglers, conveyed to London, and allegedly detained in the Tower before eventually being released and reaching Madrid in January 1682.

The Jamaicans meanwhile raise strong objections to his Laguna incursions, feeling that they violate the truce prevailing in the Caribbean.

APRIL 15, 1680. *First Pacific Incursions.* At 6:00 a.m. this Monday morning, 332 buccaneers disembark on the northeastern coast of Panama from Golden Island after having hidden their ships in a small cove. Coxon, Allison, Sharpe, Edmund Cooke, Peter Harris (the Elder), and Richard Sawkins have combined forces and secured native guides to march across the Isthmus and raid the Spaniards in a more vulnerable theater.

Ten days later, they come upon the Spanish mining camp of Santa María el Real at the confluence of the Chucunaque and Tuira rivers. Sawkins and two or three buccaneers rush its palisades at dawn, working their way inside and admitting the main force. A massacre ensues, and 70 of its 200 Spanish residents are killed outright; the survivors are later murdered by local Indians. The buccaneers meanwhile press on into the Pacific, coasting westward in river boats, until one night they capture an anchored Spanish bark, of which Sharpe assumes command with 135 men. The next night, Harris comes upon a second Spanish bark and seizes it, and now the privateers have a small flotilla, with which they bear down upon the newly relocated Panama City.



First wave of buccaneer incursions into the Pacific.

The Spaniards feverishly try completing the unfinished stone defenses with earthen ramparts, while sending out a scratch naval force to offer battle. The raiders overwhelm that force in a three-hour fight, during which Harris receives a mortal wound.

LATE APRIL 1680. In South Carolina the short-lived “Westo War” commences when English traders and slave catchers ally themselves with the Savannah Indians—a migrating group of Shawnee—to defeat the bellicose “Westo” tribe farther inland (most likely Ricahericans, expelled from Virginia in 1656). Three years later, not 50 of the latter remain.

MAY 5, 1680. After the buccaneers’ victory off Panama, Coxon is voted out as admiral and retraces his steps across the Isthmus to Golden Island with 70 loyal hands. Sawkins becomes chief commander aboard the captured *Santísima Trinidad*, while Cooke commands an 80-ton bark and Sharpe a slightly smaller one. Next day, a large ship is intercepted arriving from Lima, which becomes Sharpe’s new command. The flotilla then roams west past Coiba Island, where Sawkins goes aboard Cooke’s bark with 60 men two days later to attempt a landing at Remedios (then called Pueblo Nuevo). During this disembarkation, he is killed, and Cooke brings off the survivors.

Upon leaving this river mouth on May 11 (May 1, 1680 [O.S.]), the pirates seize a Spanish bark, which Cooke transfers into and renames *Mayflower*. Rejoining the main body, he finds Sawkins’s death has created an upheaval; 60 of Sawkins’s followers have abandoned the enterprise altogether to sail away in Cooke’s former bark for the Caribbean. Sharpe is now promoted commander aboard the *Trinidad*, while Cooke is turned out of *Mayflower* by his crew.

EARLY JUNE 1680. Sharpe’s 186 buccaneers lay in a southeasterly course from Coiba Island, reaching Gorgona Island more than a month later to replenish their supplies.

JUNE 26, 1680. This night, the French *flibustier* chieftain Grammont mounts an exceptionally daring assault against La Guaira. Slipping ashore with only 47 followers, he infiltrates the city, whose citizens awaken to find it occupied and the garrison commander and 150 soldiers seized without a struggle. Grammont and his *flibustiers* quickly fall to looting before any relief force can arrive from nearby Caracas. A small Spanish company under Capt. Juan de

Laya Mújica escapes capture, marching around to Peñón de Maiquetía just outside the port to rally the outlying defenders.

When word of this freebooter attack reaches Caracas that same morning, there is such widespread concern that mule trains immediately begin traveling inland with the royal treasure and other valuables. Meanwhile, every able-bodied militiaman falls in and sets off toward La Guaira under Gov. Francisco de Alberrós. Before they can arrive, Captain de Laya launches his own local counterattack, encouraged by the small number of *flibustiers* visible in daylight. Grammont is forced to make a fighting retreat back to his beached boats, during which nine buccaneers are killed and several others wounded—including the commander himself who is slashed across the neck with a machete.

Although repelled, this raid produces plentiful booty and hostages for the *flibustiers*, as well as shaking Spanish morale. Grammont’s stock soars among the Brethren of the Coast, although being somewhat diminished when he subsequently loses most of his captives and profits in a shipwreck off Petit Goâve during a hurricane. (The individual rovers who gathered every year from ports along the north coast of Hispaniola and throughout the West Indies, choosing leaders and Spanish targets by popular acclaim, sometimes referred to themselves as the *Frères de la Côte* or “Brethren of the Coast.”)

AUGUST 7, 1680. *Colônia do Sacramento.* After massing 480 Argentine troops and 3,000 native auxiliaries around the newly installed Portuguese outpost of Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay; see “January 20, 1680” entry), *maestre de campo* Antonio de Vera Mújica launches a surprise attack at 2:00 a.m. The attackers succeed in overrunning this outnumbered garrison after four hours of fighting, during which 116 defenders die and the rest are captured, compared to 34 dead and 96 wounded among the Hispano-Indian ranks.

Some time after these captives have been transported into Buenos Aires, a belated Portuguese relief force of 150 soldiers appears offshore on September 20 aboard the ship of Capt. João Gomes de Sousa. By this time, Colônia do Sacramento has already been razed, and the imprisoned Governor Lobo eventually dies of disease on January 7, 1683.

AUGUST 9, 1680. *Pueblo Revolt.* In Santa Fe (New Mexico), Gov. Antonio de Otermín receives word from three separate village priests that a native



Drawing by Bernardo Antonio Meza celebrating the Spanish victory over the first Portuguese settlement at Colonia del Sacramento in 1681. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

uprising has been ordained by the Taos medicine man Popé for Tuesday, August 13. This date, however, proves to be a deliberately planted falsehood, because Popé's attacks actually begin at dawn of Sunday, August 11, when a panic-stricken soldier rides into Santa Fe with word that Indians at nearby Tesuque have donned their war paint, killed their priest and a trader, then marched to join the San Juan natives.

De Otermín musters his 50-man garrison, sends out reconnaissance patrols, and distributes arms to every one of Santa Fe's 1,000 able-bodied residents. Over the next three days, a steady stream of reports comes in of Spanish ranchers found dead in their fields and major settlements exterminated. Finally, news arrives on Wednesday, August 14, of 500 warriors advancing upon Santa Fe, small groups being seen the next day moving through its cornfields. Soon, they infiltrate the abandoned dwellings along the city's outskirts, hurling insults from the rooftops.

The governor attempts to parley, but this is rebuffed, so he leads a dawn sally on August 16, which drives the Indians back after a furious, day-long fight. The besiegers are then joined by Popé himself, who brings in a large contingent from San Juan, Taos, and Picuries at nightfall. The rebel chieftain allows his army's strength to build up over the next two days, launching an all-out assault with 2,500 natives at sunrise of August 19. By midday, they have driven the Spaniards back into the governor's palace, away from their water supply. Next day, the defenders fight desperately to regain this ground, watching helplessly as Santa Fe burns to the ground that night.

At dawn of August 21, de Otermín leads a counterattack that pushes Popé's army out of the smoldering ruins, leaving behind 300 dead Indians and 47 prisoners. The Spanish then avail themselves of this respite to quickly evacuate Santa Fe (after hanging their captives), hoping to find sanctuary farther south. They are not safe until they gain El Paso (Texas), their losses reaching 400 people—including 21 of 33 Franciscan friars.

NOVEMBER 3, 1680. Sharpe's buccaneers attempt a landing at Ilo (Peru), then Arica on the next day, being foiled on both occasions by high seas. Finally, on November 6, he gets 48 men ashore by canoe at Ilo, who easily brush aside the 60 militia riders and infantrymen sent to challenge them, thus obtaining fresh water and provisions. From the occupied town, Sharpe next probes inland and discovers a small sugar mill, which the locals beg him to spare in exchange for 80 cattle. Sharpe agrees, yet five days later learns that the Spaniards have used this interval to gather 300 riders from the outlying district to drive him and his forces out. He is obliged to retire to his ships the next day, first setting fire to the sugar works.

DECEMBER 13, 1680. Some 35 of Sharpe's freebooters land at Coquimbo (Chile), only to be confronted by 150 Spaniards. The buccaneer commander rushes reinforcements ashore to disperse the Spanish, afterward overrunning the inland town of La Serena, 10 miles farther to the north. Following four days of wanton pillage, the town's residents offer to raise 95,000 pesos for La Serena's buildings to be left intact once the raiders withdraw toward the coast. Sharpe agrees, yet finds that this truce was used by the locals to marshal greater strength. He and his men have to fight hard simply to regain the

sea, furthermore discovering that an attempt has been made to destroy their anchored ships during their absence when an Indian swam out one night with a combustible raft.

Sharpe next proceeds to the Juan Fernández Islands, intending to restock the *Trinidad* so as to round the Strait of Magellan and regain the West Indies. His buccaneers, however, wish to continue roving in the Pacific, so early in January 1681 they vote him out of office, replacing Sharpe with John Watling.

DECEMBER 30, 1680. Four Dutch frigates—with the 32-gun *Kurprinz* or “Prince Elector” as flagship—and a 2-gun fireship arrive at Port Royal (Jamaica) escorting three small Spanish prizes. Commo. Cornelis Reers bears a commission from Friedrich Wilhelm, Elector of Brandenburg, authorizing his 500-man squadron to conduct reprisals in the West Indies for Madrid’s unpaid war debts. After remaining at anchor until early February 1681, Reers sets sail on another sweep, then returns to Europe by May.

FEBRUARY 8, 1681. This night, Watling leads 90 buccaneers ashore to make another attempt against Arica (Chile). The raiders draw near at 8:00 Sunday morning, February 9; Watling’s hope is to subdue the town with one column, while Sharpe directs another—armed with grenades—in storming its fortress. The Spaniards are caught sleeping, so Arica is easily penetrated, although its fort continues to resist. Despite the buccaneers’ original success, however, the town and its outlying district simply prove to be too big, 600–700 militiamen rallying under *maestre de campo* Gaspar de Oviedo. After recuperating from their initial shock, the Spaniards press the invaders back.

After four hours of intense fighting, Watling is killed; only 47 buccaneers stagger back aboard ship, having inflicted 24 dead and 60 injured among the Spanish. The buccaneer wounded, all of whom have been left behind in a ransacked church, are slaughtered by the victors (except for two surgeons), while Watling’s head is stuck upon a pole and paraded through the streets of Arica.

The decimated buccaneers restore Sharpe as their commander, although after touching at Huasco and Ilo for fresh supplies in March (where they steal 120 sheep and 80 goats), another faction of 50 buccaneers parts company to recross the Isthmus of Panama under John Cooke. Sharpe’s remaining 70

hands aboard the *Trinidad* at last see their luck change, capturing two valuable prizes in July and August.

JUNE 28, 1681. A band of buccaneers penetrates the Matina Valley (Costa Rica), sacking numerous plantations and capturing civilians, until they are expelled by Governor Sáenz Vázquez of Cartago.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1681. Fort Royal is officially declared the capital of Martinique because of its recently completed stone battlements. Less than nine years later, it will also become the regional capital of France’s Lesser Antilles.

NOVEMBER 1681. Sharpe attempts to sail out of the Pacific via the Strait of Magellan but, failing to find its entrance in heavy weather, continues as far south as 58° latitude before veering east, thus becoming the first Englishman to round Cape Horn from this direction. Skillfully navigating up the Atlantic out of sight of land, he makes landfall at Barbados on February 7, 1682, proceeding next to Saint Thomas in the Danish Virgin Islands to dispose of the *Trinidad*.

LATE DECEMBER 1681. A 46-man Spanish coast-guard *piragua* boards a foreign interloper off the Laguna de Términos (Mexico), only to be repelled.

FEBRUARY 10, 1682. The Spanish ship *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, bound from St. Augustine (Florida) to Veracruz for the annual subsidy, runs aground at Las Playuelas in the Florida Keys. Found by five French corsair vessels, including those of the buccaneer chieftains Grammont and de Graaf, the vessel is captured and torched.

EARLY MAY 1682. In Virginia, the “Plant Cutter riots” erupt, requiring Dep. Gov. Sir Henry Chicheley to call out the militia. Frustrated by depressed tobacco prices—which the local assembly cannot address because of the prolonged absence in England of Gov. Thomas, Lord Culpeper—farmers in the counties of Gloucester, Middlesex, and New Kent begin destroying some of their own and other crops so as to drive up prices. Chicheley swiftly arrests a number of ringleaders, eventually executing two.

JULY 1682. The 240-ton frigate *Princesa* of Spain’s West Indian squadron or *Armada de Barlovento* stands

Laurens de Graaf

Little is known about the early life and career of Laurens Cornelis Boudewijn de Graaf. Various records confirm that he was born in the Dutch seaport of Dordrecht, often abbreviated as “Dor’t” or “Dort,” possibly in 1653. By the age of 21, he had moved to Santa Cruz de Tenerife. In 1674, he married Francisca Petronila de Guzmán. According to Raynald Laprise, de Graaf also began making voyages to the West Indies aboard the 30-gun, 300-man local merchantman *San Juan Bautista*, *San Antonio de Padua* y *San Cayetano* of Juan Rico de Moya.

But when the *San Juan Bautista* reached Havana on August 13, 1676, Rico de Moya and his first mate were arrested for carrying contraband, and the ship was impounded. De Graaf, as a skilled coxswain and gunner, was pressed aboard another ship. Soon afterward, he fell into buccaneer hands and joined their ranks. By the spring of 1682, Acting Gov. Sir Henry Morgan of Jamaica was describing de Graaf as “a great and mischievous pirate.” In fact, Morgan even warned Capt. Peter Heywood, when he departed on patrol with the frigate HMS *Norwich*, “to look out for one Laurence . . . who commands a ship of 28 guns and has 200 men on board.” As an added precaution, Morgan reinforced the Royal Navy warship with 40 extra soldiers from the Port Royal garrison.

But de Graaf’s target was the armada frigate *Princesa*, which he surprised off Puerto Rico in July 1682. While disposing of his booty, he also took out a privateering license from Gov. Jacques Nepveu, Sieur de Pouançay of Saint Domingue. This official wrote to Paris that de Graaf had been roving for the past five or six years, “never having wanted to take out a commission from anyone” nor “put into the port of any nation.” His rise as a pirate, the governor added, had occurred as follows: “From a small bark, he took a small ship; from this a bigger one, until at last there came into his power one of 24 to 28 guns.” This was the *Tigre*, wrested from the armada off the Spanish Main in the autumn of 1679.

A brilliant seaman and charismatic leader of the Brethren of the Coast, de Graaf remained active for the next two decades. At the height of his powers, he was described as tall, blonde, and handsome, with a spiked Spanish-style moustache “which suited him very well.” It was also noted:

He always carries violins and trumpets aboard with which to entertain himself and amuse others, who derive pleasure from this. He is further distinguished amongst filibusters by his courtesy and good taste. Overall he has won such fame that when it is known he has arrived at some place, many come from all around to see with their own eyes whether “Lorenzo” is made like other men.

into the Mona Passage out of the northwest, bound from Havana under Capt. Manuel Delgado to deliver 120,000 pesos in Peruvian silver as *situados* or “allocated payrolls” for the Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo garrisons. Its decks cluttered in anticipation of making landfall at Aguada, the *Princesa* is surprised by the *Tigre* of the buccaneer chieftain Laurens de Graaf, 50 of its 250-man Spanish crew being killed or wounded in the ensuing battle. The 140 rovers (mostly French *boucaniers*) repair to Samaná Bay with their prize, releasing the Spanish prisoners to sail toward Cuba aboard a pink, while retaining the *Princesa* as de Graaf’s new flagship.

AUGUST 1682. The French buccaneer Capt. Jean Foccard raids Tampico (Mexico), seizing 30 Spanish captives and slaughtering a large number of cattle before departing.

NOVEMBER 1682. Outraged by the loss of their payrolls (see “July 1682” entry), the Spaniards of Santo Domingo retaliate by expropriating a consignment of slaves brought peaceably into their harbor by Nikolaas van Hoorn, another Dutch adventurer with French ties. Furious, van Hoorn escapes three months later, with only 20 crewmen left aboard his ship *Sint Nicolaas*.

FEBRUARY 1683. The Dutch slaver van Hoorn obtains a letter of reprisal from Jacques Nepveu, Sieur de Pouançay and governor of French Saint Domingue (Haiti), to exact vengeance for the expropriation of his slaves by the Spaniards. To recruit freebooters for this venture, van Hoorn is put in touch with the veteran *flibustier* Grammont, who comes aboard the *Sint Nicolaas* with 300 men. The rovers then depart Petit Goâve, steering toward Central America to find de Graaf and his Dutch confederate Michiel Andrieszoon, who are reputedly lying there with two ships, a bark, a sloop, and 500 men.

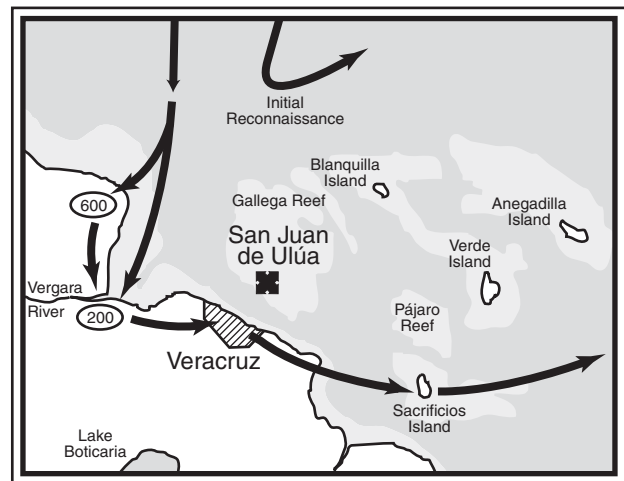
In the Bay of Honduras, two large Spanish merchantmen—the *Nuestra Señora de Consolación* and the *Nuestra Señora de Regla*—are seized at anchor, while a huge pirate gathering is then celebrated at Roatán on April 7 to discuss a joint assault against Veracruz. De Graaf and his followers agree, the privateer fleet shifting to nearby Guanaja Island for further reinforcements, then scurrying north around Yucatán before word of their design can reach Spanish ears. De Graaf leads the way in the captured *Regla*, accompanied by Dutch-born Jan Willems in

another Spanish prize, while the remaining three corsair ships and eight sloops trail astern out of sight.

MARCH 1683. The French *flibustier* Captain Bréhal, seconded by the English mercenaries John Markham of New York, Thomas Paine, and Conway Wooley—plus Dutch-born Jan Corneliszoon, also of New York—set sail from the Bahamas to raid St. Augustine. They land flying French colors, only to find its garrison forewarned; they therefore withdraw after releasing some Spanish captives that they have brought and after looting the countryside.

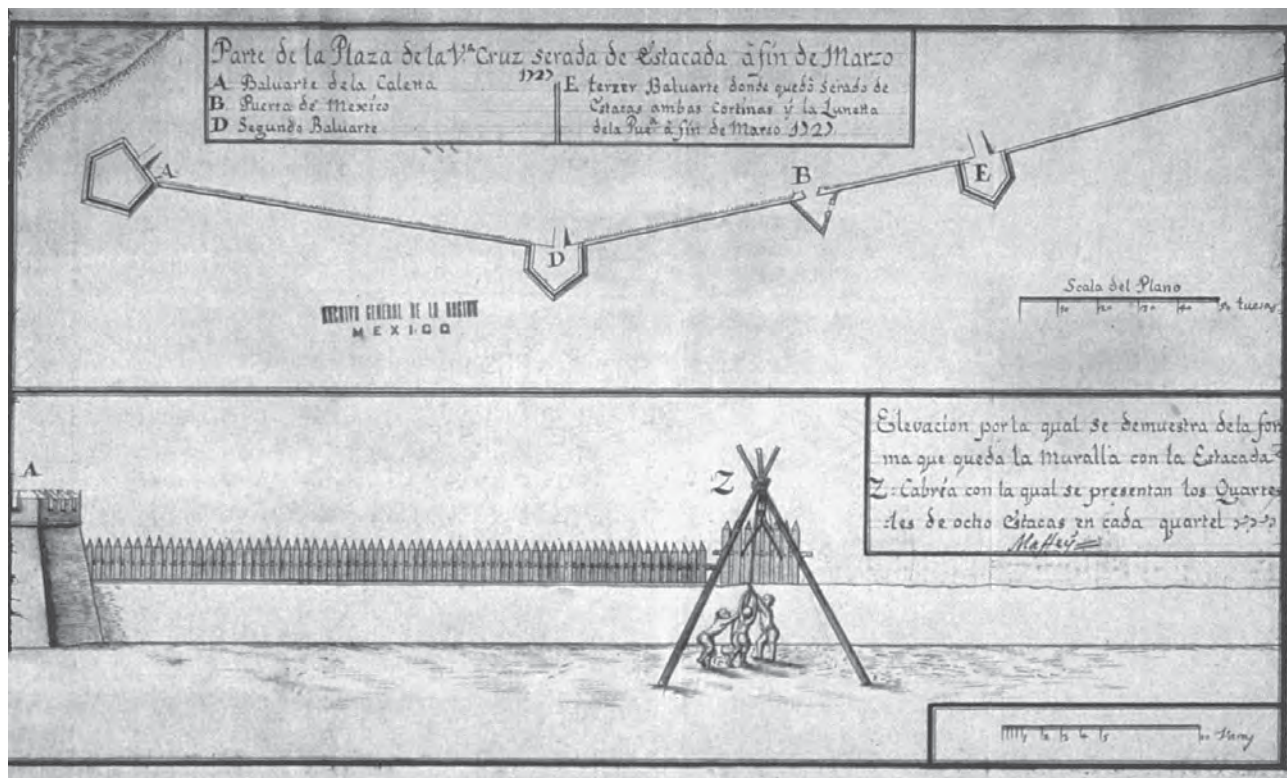
MAY 1683. The Cuban corsair captains Gaspar de Acosta and Tomás Uraburru lead 200 men from Havana toward the Bahamas, attacking its capital of Charles Town (modern New Providence) with a single *piragua* and the galliot *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*.

MAY 17, 1683. *Sack of Veracruz.* This afternoon, de Graaf and Willems approach this Mexican port aboard two Spanish prizes, breaking off after closing within 10 miles and determining that the annual plate fleet has not yet arrived. Veracruz's lookouts



Sack of Veracruz.

assume that these two sails are Spanish merchantmen fearful of chancing its shoals after dark, so they raise no alarm. That night, de Graaf pilots his two vessels close inshore and lands 200 volunteers. While he leads them on a reconnaissance of the sleeping city, his colleagues Grammont and van Hoorn bring another 600 buccaneers ashore farther away and



Detail of the palisades around Veracruz, showing the method of installation. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

stealthily march to join him. Veracruz has 6,000 inhabitants, of whom 300 are regular troops and another 400 civilian militiamen; there are an additional 300 soldiers on its outlying island—the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa. But Veracruz's landward palisades are low and neglected, with sand dunes drifted up against them, so the pirates are able to steal over them and into the city.

At dawn of May 18, the pirates attack, firing indiscriminately so as to stampede the unprepared Spanish defenders. Within a half hour, Veracruz is theirs, several thousand half-dressed captives being herded into its principal church. The city is ransacked over the next four days, and numerous prisoners are tortured to reveal their treasures. De Graaf and Grammont subsequently drive the bulk of their captives down the coast and transfer two miles offshore to Sacrificios Island, beyond easy rescue. Here the raiders begin loading their booty while waiting for payment of a final ransom out of Mexico's interior.

Shortly after it is received, the *fibustiers* herd 1,500 blacks and mulattos aboard as slaves, then weigh anchor. They encounter the annual plate fleet just as they are standing out from the coast, but its admiral, Diego Fernández de Zaldívar, defers combat, allowing the raiders to escape unmolested. The buccaneers pause at Coatzacoalcos to take on water before shouldering their way around Yucatán to Isla Mujeres, where they divide their spoils by late June and disperse.

AUGUST 4, 1683. Adm. Andrés de Ochoa y Zárate, commander of Spain's West Indian squadron or *Armada de Barlovento*, touches at Little Cayman with his 650-ton flagship *Santo Cristo de Burgos*; the 550-ton vice-flag *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*; the 450-ton *San José*, the *Santa Rosa María* y *San Pedro de Alcántara*; and the 350-ton *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*. There, they seize the tiny French privateer *Prophète Daniel* of Antoine Bernard and the *Dauphin* of Pierre d'Orange, thus learning of the massive assault upon Veracruz. The Spanish prize *Nuestra Señora de Regla* is also recuperated, despite having been set ablaze by its captors with 90 slaves on board (who extinguish its flames). Ochoa arrives at Veracruz by August 22 to find it in ruins, and a few of his pirate captives are executed on November 22.

AUGUST 8, 1683. At 3:00 p.m., Royal Navy captain Charles Carlile passes before Saint Thomas (then Danish; now Charlotte Amalie in the present U.S. Virgin Islands) with HMS *Francis*, spying a

large ship lying inside masquerading as an English man-of-war. Carlile's pilot confirms this to be Jean Hamlin's *Trompeuse*, a 32-gun pirate frigate. The *Francis* therefore stands into port, but both the pirate ship and the batteries open fire, obliging the Royal Navy frigate to retreat. Carlile sends a letter ashore requesting cooperation from the Danish governor Adolf Esmit, but none is forthcoming.

The English captain therefore takes the *Francis's* pinnace and another boat into the harbor after nightfall of August 9, his 14 men exchanging shots with the *Trompeuse's* anchor watch (most of Hamlin's pirates having already quit his service), who flee ashore, leaving the Royal Navy boarders to set fire to the frigate before withdrawing. The *Trompeuse* blows up, also kindling Bartholomew Sharpe's *Santísima Trinidad*—anchored nearby after being abandoned the previous year upon his return from the South Seas (see "November 1681" entry)—which burns to the waterline.

With both wrecks left smoldering, the *Francis* tacks about a league eastward next morning before sighting a grounded 300-ton Flemish vessel full of pirate stores. Carlile's men cut down its masts and set it ablaze, then return to blockade Saint Thomas. When the weather changes a few days later, Carlile is forced to retire into Nevis.

LATE NOVEMBER 1683. The buccaneer chieftain de Graaf and his cohorts Michiel Andrieszoon, Jan Willems, François Le Sage, and several other commanders arrive near Cartagena to prey upon its coastal traffic. When Gov. Juan de Pando Estrada learns that these pirates are before his harbor, he commandeers the private slavers *San Francisco* of 40 guns, *Paz* of 34, and a 28-gun galliot to chase them away. This trio exits on December 23, manned by 800 soldiers and sailors under the 26-year-old naval captain Andrés de Pez y Malzárraga.

The seven smaller pirate craft do not flee but instead swarm all around the Spanish vessels. In the confusion, the *San Francisco* runs aground, the *Paz* surrenders after four hours, and Willems takes the galliot. Ninety Spaniards are killed as opposed to 20 pirates. De Graaf refloats the *San Francisco* and claims it as his new flagship, renaming it *Fortune* (later *Nep-tune*), Andrieszoon receives the *Paz*, calling it *Mutine*, while Willems is given de Graaf's old *Princesa*. On December 25, the triumphant buccaneers deposit their prisoners ashore, along with a message thanking Governor de Pando for the Christmas presents. De Graaf subsequently blockades the port

Andrés de Pez

Andrés de Pez y Malzárraga was born in Cadiz and baptized in its cathedral on July 10, 1657. His father was a naval officer of Basque origin. At the age of 16, Andrés was enrolled in the Royal Spanish Marines. In a naval battle off Palermo on June 2, 1676, he saw his brother and father both slain by French cannon fire, starting a lifelong enmity.

Five years later, de Pez was assigned to a trio of warships bound across the Atlantic to reinforce the *Armada de Barlovento* in the West Indies. He showed promise as a cartographer and navigator so, by the summer of 1683, was promoted to captain of its 8-gun auxiliary *Jesús, María y José* (alias *Sevillano*). When Adm. Andrés de Ochoa sent the frigate *Santo Cristo de San Román* from Havana to strengthen Panama's northern defenses, de Pez's *Sevillano* sailed in company.

De Pez endured a humiliating defeat at the hands of Laurens de Graaf outside of Cartagena that same Christmas. He nonetheless retained command of the *Sevillano*, only to be bested again by the Dutch corsair off Alacrán Reef in September 1685. De Pez was, at least, one of the few armada officers absolved of that debacle. The *Sevillano* sank at anchor during a norther at Veracruz next year. As a result, de Pez was given the *Santo Cristo de San Román* in June 1687 to go in search of de La Salle's new French colony on the Gulf coast.

Repeated tries failed to find the outpost. Still, de Pez suggested that a Spanish colony be established at Pensacola to preempt any future incursions. He traveled to Spain in 1689 with this proposal and returned three years later aboard the plate fleet. The next summer, he conducted a survey of Pensacola Bay and made a second trip to Spain to secure permission for large-scale occupation. He was back by September 1695, unable to mount an effort because of the ongoing war against France. However, de Pez did bear a new commission as *capitán general* or commanding admiral of the *Armada de Barlovento*.

He suffered an embarrassing setback on his first sortie in the winter of 1696–1697, losing his vice-flagship *Maracaibo*. After a lengthy Caribbean patrol in 1698–1699, he returned into Veracruz to be jailed and deported to Spain to stand trial for cowardice and neglect of duty in the loss of the *Maracaibo*. Cleared at his trial in 1701, he returned to command the armada. He was also entrusted with the defense of Veracruz and made several transatlantic crossings with the king's bullion, which won him great distinction. He ended the war by serving at the siege of Barcelona from 1712 to 1714.

After hostilities ceased, de Pez was appointed to Spain's Supreme War Council in August 1715. A year and a half later, he became *gobernador* of the Council of Indies and continued to press for measures to contain the French colony of Louisiana. He was made secretary of state and navy in 1721 and died two years later in Madrid, where a street still bears his name.

for another three weeks before standing away northwest toward Roatán and Saint Domingue (Haiti).

JANUARY 19, 1684 (O.S.). *Destruction of New Providence.* The Cuban corsair Juan de Larco stealthily approaches New Providence (Bahamas) with a pair of *barcos luengo* bearing 200 men. He has earlier captured a woodcutting sloop off Andros Island and is compelling its captain, William Bell, to pilot the Spaniards, entering via the eastern channel. At daybreak, de Larco disembarks 150 men a half mile outside Charles Town (modern Nassau), sending the remainder to board six vessels in its harbor.

Former governor Robert Clarke is wounded and captured while leading an English counterattack, while his successor, Robert Lilburne, flees the Wheel of Fortune Inn directly into the jungle along with most other residents. The 10-gun New England frigate *Good Intent* of Capt. William Warren and another vessel flee across the bar, leaving the Spaniards to pillage the remaining four, in the process killing

three sailors. The attackers then ransack the town, loading their plunder aboard their largest prize, while torching the remainder before sailing away that same evening.

De Larco hastens to northern Eleuthera, visiting a like treatment upon its largest English settlement before returning to Charles Town a short while later to complete his work. This time, most of its buildings are burned, and the Bahamas are left largely denuded. Some 200 surviving colonists subsequently seek refuge on Jamaica, while another 50 from northern Eleuthera temporarily resettle in Casco (Maine), leaving the Bahamas devoid of Englishmen until 1686.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1684. *Pacific Incursions (Second Wave).* The English renegade John Cooke's 36-gun, 70-man *Bachelor's Delight* rounds Cape Horn, entering the South Pacific a month later to inaugurate a new round of buccaneer depredations in these waters. On March 19, he pursues a sail near Valdivia

(Chile), which proves to be yet another interloper: the ship *Nicholas* of London, commanded by John Eaton. Although supposedly intended for a trading mission, Eaton's expedition has quickly resorted to plundering, having already sown a swathe of destruction down the Brazilian coast plus raiding the River Plate and capturing a Portuguese prize (which was lost in a storm). At the entrance to the strait, Eaton also encountered the 16-gun *Cygnets* of Charles Swan, likewise out of London and bent upon having commerce with South America. Both ships rounded the Horn in company but became separated by bad weather.

The piratical Cooke and dishonest Eaton decide to combine forces, repairing to the Juan Fernández Islands for fresh supplies before heading north on April 8 in hopes of surprising the Peruvian coastal traffic. Yet when they seize a vessel on May 3 bearing timber from Guayaquil to Lima, they learn that their presence is already known: the *Cygnets* having earlier entered Valdivia to trade, where Swan warned the Spaniards about other more hostile Englishmen off the coast. Valdivia's authorities have nonetheless closed their port to Swan, killing two of his men and capturing several others.

Withdrawing to the Lobos de Afuera Islands on May 9 to careen and revise their plans, Cooke and Eaton can only muster 108 men between them. They overhaul three sails that they sight the next day, which prove to be Spanish supply ships bearing flour and provisions for Panama. The buccaneers divert the supply ships to the remote Galápagos Islands on May 31, unloading them as a reserve supply.

FEBRUARY 24, 1684. During the absence at Belém (Brazil) of Gov. Francisco de Sá de Meneses of Maranhão, simmering dissatisfaction in his district erupts into open revolt at São Luís, led by the brothers Manuel and Tomás Beckman, as well as Jorge Sampaio. Wealthy plantation owners, these dissidents are unhappy with Lisbon's recent restrictions upon the use of native slave labor, as well as the trade monopoly granted to the Companhia Geral do Estado in 1682. The *Capitão-Mor* or Capt. Gen. Baltazar Fernandes is therefore detained, company warehouses are ransacked, and the Jesuit Order—defenders of native rights—are expelled. Tomás Beckman sails to Lisbon to lay their complaints before the Crown but is arrested upon his arrival. A small military counterexpedition comes out from Portugal under the new governor designate, Gomes Freire de Andrade, who disembarks unopposed at São

Luís. Manuel Beckman and Jorge Sampaio are caught shortly thereafter and executed on November 2.

SPRING 1684. In Europe, Spain declares war against France, both in retaliation for Louis XIV's continual pressure in the Spanish Netherlands as well as for the buccaneering descent upon Veracruz. Madrid's power is by now so eroded, however, that it is powerless to implement any significant offensives, while Louis has no interest in fighting the Spaniards at this time. Therefore, the conflict is ended—along with other European tensions—by the signing in August of the 20-year truce of Ratisbonne or Regensburg.

MAY 30, 1684. Bearing a privateering commission from the French governor of Saint Croix, the rover Jean Bernanos of Saint Domingue seizes the Spanish fort of San Francisco, which guards the approaches to Santo Tomé de Guayana on the Orinoco River (Venezuela), with his 6-gun, 60-man flagship; four other vessels; plus a party of Carib auxiliaries. Born 36 years earlier in Metz, Bernanos served as a cavalry officer in France before emigrating to Saint Domingue. He will hold Fort San Francisco until August, then will depart to prowl the islands of Margarita and Trinidad before eventually regaining Saint Domingue.

JUNE 12, 1684. The English buccaneers Cooke and Eaton proceed northward for New Spain, hoping news of their Pacific depredations has not yet penetrated that far; but as they approach the Gulf of Nicoya in Costa Rica to forage for beef, Cooke dies, being succeeded in command of the *Bachelor's Delight* by his first mate Edward Davis, who reverses course.

Meanwhile, Swan also reaches this gulf, where on August 3 he meets a small party of West Indian freebooters under Peter Harris (nephew to Coxon's former confederate; see "April 15, 1680" entry), who has sortied from Jamaica on a straightforward raid, crossing the Isthmus of Panama via his uncle's old route and sacking Santa María el Real before gaining the Pacific Ocean. There he has defeated a Spanish flotilla off Panama's Pearl Islands. Swan's disgruntled crew, tired of his attempts to establish trade with South American contacts, insists upon joining Harris's buccaneers to rove on the account. The luckless merchant captain is constrained to accede, insisting that the *Cygnets*' owners receive a full share in any prize money. Both commanders thereupon steer southward.

AUTUMN 1684. Some 100 Scottish Covenanters under Henry Erskine, Lord Cardross, arrive at Port Royal (South Carolina) aboard the *Carolina Merchant* to escape persecution in Britain. This particular region has been depopulated of Spanish natives due to cross-border raids by Indians, instigated by the English located farther north at Charles Town. The Scots institute a similar policy—thus antagonizing the Spaniards at St. Augustine—while also quarrelling with their English neighbors over trade matters.

EARLY OCTOBER 1684. Swan and Harris reach Isla de la Plata (Ecuador), encountering Davis's *Bachelor's Delight* and Eaton's *Nicholas*. Together, they muster nearly 200 men and sail for the South American mainland to mount an attack.

NOVEMBER 3, 1684. This morning, Davis, Eaton, Harris, and Swan assault Paita (Peru), and although their landing force overruns the town with little difficulty, the raiders find scant booty among its buildings before putting them to the torch. The Lobos de Afuera Islands are visited next, after which a second abortive raid ensues against Guayaquil in early December, being foiled when their captive Indian guide escapes as they are marching overland to surprise that city. A few small Spanish vessels are also intercepted, but Davis and company feel their strength insufficient for any greater enterprise, so they veer north toward Panama in hopes of dispatching messages back across its Isthmus and persuading other buccaneers to join them.

JANUARY 8, 1685. Davis's buccaneers intercept the 90-ton *Santa Rosa* before repairing to Panama's Pearl Islands to careen and await reinforcements. On February 14, 200 French *flibustiers* and 80 English buccaneers reach them in canoes under captains François Grognet (alias "Chasse-marée") and Lescuyer. Davis offers the *Santa Rosa* to the *flibustiers*, while the English buccaneers are incorporated into his own *Bachelor's Delight* and Swan's *Cygnat*. Grognet, in turn, presents the English commanders with blank privateering commissions from the French governor of Saint Domingue (Haiti) and informs them that more freebooters are on their way across the Isthmus. A party is sent to meet them in the Gulf of San Miguel.

On March 3, this search party meets up with Capt. Francis Townley and 180 more men (mostly English) sailing two captured Spanish barks. A few days later, another bark bearing about a dozen

Englishmen enters the Gulf of Panama from the west, having become separated from yet another interloper—Capt. William Knight—off the coast of New Spain.

APRIL 11, 1685. The French *flibustier* captains Jean Rose, Pierre le Picard, and Mathurin Desmarais join the buccaneer rendezvous off Isla del Rey (Pearl Islands) with 264 men, having left their ships at Golden Island. The six vessels and almost 1,000 men of this freebooter fleet then settle down to blockade Panama, hoping to intercept the anticipated treasure fleet out of Peru.

JUNE 3, 1685. Having departed Callao on May 7, the Peruvian silver fleet of Lt. Gen. Tomás Palavacino arrives in Panama City, having slipped past its blockers. His force consists of the 825-ton flagship *San José*, its armament augmented from 24 to 40 cannon for this expedition, and a crew of 405 under the veteran Santiago Pontejos; the 825-ton vice-flag *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* under Capt. Antonio de Vea, with 36 guns and 374 men; the 26-gun auxiliary *San Lorenzo* under Manuel Pantoja; and a 6-gun tender. This armada is furthermore accompanied by the private merchantmen *Nuestra Señora del Pópulo* and *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, both mounting 20 guns, and a 6-gun fireship. The fleet bears 1,431 men, plus stores and arms for Panama's garrison, along with a *situado* of 533,434 pesos and private goods. After delivering their cargo, the men-of-war sally to engage the rovers.

JUNE 7, 1685. *Isla del Rey.* Toward noon, the Peruvian squadron emerges from a rain shower to find their enemy lying off Pacheca Island. The buccaneers are unprepared, particularly Grognet who has to delay weighing anchor because many of his men are ashore at two small chapels. The raiders have 11 vessels, yet only Davis's and Swan's mount artillery, the rest being unarmed Spanish prizes smaller than the 6 Peruvian men-of-war and 1 tender. An indecisive, long-range engagement ensues, with the rovers reluctant to close, while the bigger armada vessels fear being outmaneuvered and boarded by their nimble opponents. Both formations wheel around each other all afternoon, firing until dark.

Overnight, Palavacino extinguishes and rekindles the lights on his ships, deceiving the freebooters into believing that he has shifted position. But it is the Spanish ships that are in good order next morning, while the privateers are scattered, so their pursuit

resumes. The day ends with a Spanish victory, the raiders being driven off west toward Coiba Island, their Panamanian blockade ended. The buccaneers then fall out amongst themselves along national lines, each group blaming the other for this defeat.

EARLY JULY 1685. The Anglo-French buccaneer companies of Davis, Swan, and Grognet attack Remedios (Panama), after which both contingents continue northwestward as separate groups.

JULY 6, 1685. *Sack of Campeche.* This afternoon, de Graaf's and Grammont's 6 large and 4 small privateer ships, 6 sloops, and 17 *piraguas* appear a half-dozen miles off this Mexican port. Some 700 buccaneers begin rowing in toward shore, but four Spanish militia companies (200 men) exit and position themselves opposite their intended disembarkation point, prompting the invaders to put up their helms. All night they remain bobbing upon the swell, until next morning the boats begin to draw off toward their ships, which are standing in to meet them.

This move proves to be but a feint, though, for before the defenders can react, the buccaneer boats change course and come storming ashore at the very outskirts of Campeche itself. Some 100 rovers form up behind Rettechard as the vanguard, 200 join de Graaf and march directly toward the city center, another 200 advance under Jean Foccard along a street parallel to de Graaf's, and the final 200 follow Grammont in an encircling maneuver. The Spaniards fall back, while out in the harbor Capt. Cristóbal Martínez de Acevedo prepares to scuttle his coast-guard frigate, the *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, as per his instructions. Originally intending to bore holes in its bottom, he now—given the speed of the invaders' advance—directs his boatswain to run a trail of powder into its magazine, lighting the fuse from his frigate's boat. The *Soledad* explodes with such a shattering blast that it collapses the defenders' morale, sending them scurrying back into their citadel while the freebooters enter Campeche uncontested.

Over the next few days, isolated strongpoints around the city are subdued, until only the citadel remains in Spanish hands. The rovers begin bombarding this fortress at dawn of July 12, only to be interrupted at 10:00 a.m. when two Spanish relief columns appear on the beach, having hastened down the peninsula from Mérida de Yucatán. In the past, such militia simply had to appear for smaller bands of raiders to scuttle back out to sea; this time,

however, the freebooters stand and fight from behind Campeche's ramparts, and the first ranks of Spaniards go down to well-aimed volleys. All day the two sides battle, until Grammont circles behind the Yucatán militia and catches them between two fires. The Spanish relief force draws off in disarray, and after nightfall, Campeche's disheartened garrison mutinies. By 11 p.m., the citadel is deserted, and a couple of English prisoners admit its besiegers.

Grammont subsequently organizes troops of mounted buccaneers to reconnoiter and ravage the surrounding countryside as far as 25 miles inland, until 250 rovers are defeated at Hampolol by 300 Spaniards under 44-year-old *maestre de campo* Juan Antonio Chacón, effectively putting an end to such forays. Nevertheless, the invaders remain in possession of Campeche for the next two months, although most of its wealth has been withdrawn prior to the assault and little plunder is obtained. Captives are threatened with death if ransoms are not forthcoming, but the Yucatán's governor, Juan Bruno Téllez de Guzmán—headquartered at Hecelchak—prohibits any payments. Finally, on August 25, Grammont's *flibustiers* celebrate Louis XIV's feast day and, the next morning, begin preparations to break camp. A message is sent inland demanding 80,000 pesos and 400 cattle to leave Campeche's buildings intact; Téllez de Guzmán's rejection so infuriates Grammont that he orders the houses torched the next dawn, then sends another missive inland threatening the captives.

Again he receives the same response, so on August 28 he parades his prisoners in the main square and begins executions. De Graaf intervenes after a half-dozen deaths, and after a lengthy discussion, the brutality stops and the pirates retire, pausing briefly at Sisal before rounding the Yucatán to head to Isla Mujeres and divide their loot. The *flibustier* fleet eventually disperses, de Graaf sailing for Petit Goâve (Haiti) with his heavily-laden *Neptune*, Pierre Bot's *Nuestra Señora de Regla*, and three other vessels. Grammont's *Hardi*, a captured Spanish galliot under Nicolas Brigaut, and a sloop make for Roatán to careen.

EARLY AUGUST 1685. In the Pacific, Grognet refuses to join his English colleagues Davis and Swan in raiding León (Nicaragua), so the latter proceed independently, netting little booty. Meanwhile, the French commander takes 120 men in five boats for a repeat attempt against Remedios (Panama), but he is repulsed. He rejoins his remaining 200 men aboard the *Santa Rosa* by September 3.

AUGUST 1, 1685. The 48-year-old brigadier general Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, reaches Quebec City as the newly appointed governor general for French Canada. He is to be followed at month's end by 500 troops, who are to reverse the aggressions of Iroquois war bands and the encroachments by English traders. However, most of the soldiers are sick or dying and require a lengthy convalescence.

AUGUST 2, 1685. Having been advised at Cartagena of Campeche's occupation, Admiral Ochoa sorties with his flagship *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, the vice-flagship *Concepción*, the 335-ton *Nuestra Señora del Honhón*, and the 8-gun sloop *Jesús, María y José* (alias *Sevillano*) to punish the raiders. The Spaniards check the Cayman Islands before touching at Trujillo (Honduras) on August 17. They then inspect Roatán shortly thereafter, finding it uninhabited. Ochoa returns into Trujillo for provisions before resuming his northerly progression on September 8.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1685. *Alacrán Reef.* At dawn, Ochoa's Spanish warships chase five sail near Isla Mujeres (Mexico). Two lag behind and are captured, proving to be Pierre Bot's 22-gun prize *Nuestra Señora de Regla* and a sloop, both bearing spoils from Campeche. In their company is de Graaf's *Neptune*, whom the Spaniards desperately wish to overtake. Having lost sight of this prey while securing Bot's prize and scuttling the sloop, the Spaniards spot more sails to the northwest at 2:00 the following afternoon. Ochoa sends the *Honhón* and the *Sevillano* to investigate, who recognize the largest of these vessels as de Graaf's flagship. The *Honhón* therefore shadows the pirate chieftain, while the *Sevillano* returns to inform the admiral.

The *Honhón* loses contact at nightfall and the next morning makes for Veracruz. The *Sevillano*, however, finds Ochoa's flagship and vice-flagship, leading them toward de Graaf. At 4:00 p.m. on September 13, they spot him within the Gulf of Mexico east of Alacrán Reef, and both Spanish men-of-war gradually close upon the heavily laden corsair. Enjoying both the weather gauge and a two-to-one superiority, Ochoa commences his fight at dawn of September 14, despite being so infirm as to be lying under an awning upon his quarterdeck. De Graaf fights his ship brilliantly, outmaneuvering and outshooting the Spaniards until dark. Ochoa's flagship then hails Vice Adm. Antonio de Astina aboard the *Concepción* to advise him that Ochoa has been given last rites and that command of the armada is now his. Next morning, de Graaf's *Neptune* is seen bear-

ing away to windward, and the battered armada gives up the chase. The *Santo Cristo*'s weakened superstructure falls overboard, and Ochoa dies two days later. Astina limps back into Veracruz with his four vessels on the night of September 28–29 and is court-martialed for this failure.

NOVEMBER 1, 1685. Grognet and his *boucaniers* enter Realejo (Nicaragua), finding it and its surrounding countryside devastated by an earlier English assault; they thus obtain little booty. The French

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

In the early 1680s in France, the "Sun King" Louis XIV moved to exert absolute power. Already victorious in war, with a rich treasury, servile nobility, as well as a flourishing economy and arts, the king took on organized religions. An assembly of Catholic clergymen was called in on November 1681 to curtail the prerogatives of the Pope. Henceforth, French bishops could not leave, Papal legates could not arrive, royal ministers could not be excommunicated, ecclesiastical laws could not be made, and so on, without the king's consent.

Because Louis held that, to truly unite his nation, religious unanimity was required, he also moved that same year against the country's Huguenots or "Protestants." In a brutal measure, rough *dragons* or "royal dragoons" were quartered in Protestant homes and encouraged to mistreat residents until they converted to Catholicism. Hundreds of thousands began to flee into Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, and German principalities.

In March 1685, the Sun King issued an edict expelling all Jews from France's colonies. Then he announced the Edict of Fontainebleau in October, which revoked the religious tolerance enshrined in the 1598 Edict of Nantes. Protestant rites were to be completely banned, their ministers were ordered to leave, and Huguenot newborns were to be baptized as Catholics "under penalty of a fine of five hundred *livres*, to be increased as circumstances may demand." Most Protestants who had not already fled made a grudging conversion. By January 17, 1686, Louis could boast that, of his 800,000 to 900,000 Huguenot subjects, only 1,000 to 1,500 remained.

Yet a large percentage of France's most skilled craftsmen were driven away as a result of his actions. Silkweavers, glaziers, silversmiths, clockmakers, cabinetmakers, and many others were lost. In the West Indies, experienced planters and refiners left, and the French Royal Navy lost some of its most able officers. Even those who remained as Catholic converts often served under a cloud of suspicion, with slim chances of promotion.

then hesitate to march inland and sack Esparta (Costa Rica), instead pressing on into the Gulf of Chiriquí toward the end of the year.

NOVEMBER 21, 1685. Having learned from captive buccaneers that the French explorer Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, has reached the Gulf with a small seaborne expedition to found a colony, the Spanish authorities in Mexico City—worried about this potential threat to their main plate-fleet route—decide to send out a reconnaissance mission. Therefore, the armada pilots Juan Enrique Barroto of the *Soledad* and Antonio Romero of the *Concepción* set sail this day from Veracruz for Havana aboard Gaspar de Acosta's *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, arriving by December 3.

They hire Capt. Juan Rodríguez Manzano's 42-man frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción y San José* and exit on January 3, 1686, to reconnoiter the Gulf coast and locate the intruders. They will return into Veracruz by March 13, however, without having sighted any settlement.

JANUARY 9, 1686. Grognet's *flibustiers* capture Chiriquita (Panama), abandoning it a week later.

MARCH 1686. *Valladolid Raid.* From the Gulf of Honduras, de Graaf leads seven freebooter ships into Ascensión Bay (modern Emiliano Zapata Bay, Yucatán), disembarking 500 buccaneers who march inland against Tihosuco, which is abandoned by its terrified Spanish citizens before it can be ransacked and burned. De Graaf then penetrates deeper toward Valladolid, which, by the time his rovers arrive within a half-dozen miles, only has 36 men left to defend it; yet, inexplicably, de Graaf gives the order to return to the coast without attempting an assault. By April, he and his followers reemerge into Ascensión Bay and retire toward Roatán soon afterward.

MARCH 5, 1686. Grognet's men approach Remedios (Panama) at night to forage for food, being ambushed by a small Spanish frigate, *barco luengo*, and *piragua* and suffering more than 30 casualties. They then roam westward once more, anchor off Esparta by March 19, and sight Townley's flotilla four days later.

MARCH 20, 1686. Capt. Pierre, Chevalier de Troyes, departs Montreal with 30 soldiers and 70 French Canadian militiamen, traveling in three groups aboard 35 canoes up the Ottawa River. The

newly arrived governor general Brisay de Denonville has issued orders to seize the English furring outposts in Hudson's Bay, which are diverting trade from France's *Compagnie du Nord*—this despite the peace prevailing between England and France and the ongoing negotiations in London to resolve Canadian border issues.

APRIL 7, 1686. *Sack of Granada.* Despite some residual ill will, Townley's and Grognet's groups combine for an attempt against Granada (Nicaragua), landing 345 men at Escalante, who fight their way into the capital three days later. Little plunder is found, for the Spaniards have been forewarned and have transferred their valuables to Zapatera Island; thus the pirates withdraw empty-handed five days later. They weather numerous ambushes before passing through Masaya on April 16 and regaining their ships, after which they travel to Realejo.

Having enjoyed such limited success thus far, half of Grognet's followers vote on June 9 to join Townley in his eastward progression toward Panama. The remaining 148 *flibustiers* sail westward with Grognet, operating for a time in the Gulf of Fonseca, until a majority of the men again vote to quit his command. These 85 *flibustiers* sail the *Santa Rosa* northwest toward New Spain and California in hopes of waylaying the Manila galleon, while Grognet retraces his course down Central America with 60 followers aboard three *piraguas*.

APRIL 30, 1686. Grammont's 180-man *Hardi*, Brigaut's captured Spanish galliot, and a buccaneer sloop appear off Florida, bent upon attacking St. Augustine. To gather intelligence, Brigaut's galliot advances alone toward Matanzas, flying false Spanish colors, while Grammont's flagship and sloop remain concealed farther south awaiting the scout's return. When Brigaut is wrecked in heavy weather and fails to reappear, Grammont sails toward Matanzas three days later, only to be driven north by the same storm and lost with all hands.

JUNE 20, 1686. After an arduous 85-day boat trip through 800 miles of Canadian wilderness, Captain de Troyes's expedition arrives opposite Fort Monisipi (modern Moose Factory, Ontario), an English trading outpost on Hayes Island in James Bay. Its 17 men, leaderless because John Bridgar has left the day before on a trip, are caught utterly by surprise and surrender, this structure being renamed Fort Saint Louis. The inhabitants of Charles Fort (mod-

ern Fort Rupert) also capitulate without a fight on July 3, and it is renamed Fort Saint Jacques.

JULY 4, 1686. Two Royal Navy frigates from Jamaica—Charles Talbot's *Falcon* and Thomas Spragge's *Drake*—catch the English renegade Joseph Bannister careening his 30-gun *Golden Fleece* near Samaná Bay along with a small prize. The corsair has two batteries mounted ashore and fights the English frigates as they work in as close as the water will allow, beating the *Golden Fleece* to pieces. The *Drake* suffers 13 casualties, the *Falcon*, 10, before running out of ammunition. The English captains return into Port Royal a few days later and are censured for not destroying both of Bannister's craft. They therefore rearm and go back to Samaná Bay, discovering that in the interim the renegade has torched the *Golden Fleece* and sailed away in his prize.

JULY 6, 1686. In Europe, the League of Augsburg is formed by Austria, Sweden, Spain, Bavaria, Saxony, and the Palatinate for protection against the aggressive Louis XIV of France.

JULY 22, 1686. In the Pacific, Townley's buccaneers make a sudden descent upon the outskirts of Panama City, seizing merchandise reputedly worth 1.5 million pesos, which is subsequently lost in a Spanish counterambush. The raiders nonetheless make off with 15,000 pesos in silver and 300 captives, which Townley uses to extort a truce. After two captives' heads are sent to the president of the audiencia of Panama, the latter reluctantly agrees to supply the pirates with cattle, sheep, and flour on a daily basis. Meanwhile, Townley threatens to send another 50 heads ashore if five buccaneers in Spanish hands are not released, and an uneasy peace ensues.

JULY 25, 1686. Using the captured English ship *Craven*, Pierre de Troyes's 25-year-old second lieutenant Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville attacks Albany Fort—the last remaining English outpost in Bottom of the Bay (James Bay, Ontario)—whose Gov. Henry Sergeant capitulates after a three-day siege and bombardment. The French thereupon rename this place Fort Sainte Anne, before de Troyes installs d'Iberville as new governor of the three captured English forts with 40 men, then withdraws toward Montreal with the remainder of his force in August. By early October, de Troyes is reporting to Governor General Jacques René de Brisay, Marquis de Denonville, at Quebec City.

Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville

Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville et d'Ardillières, was born in Montreal and baptized on July 20, 1661. He was the third of 11 sons and 2 daughters of a settler originally from Dieppe in Normandy. His father, Charles Le Moyne, had arrived 20 years earlier as an indentured servant. He had become a major fur trader and rich landowner, who was soon to be ennobled.

Young Pierre proved to be an avid boatman and was destined for the sea. The first notice of his activities occurred in 1683, when Governor Le Febvre de La Barre sent him to France with dispatches. Three years later, he took part in the Chevalier de Troyes's expedition against the English trading outposts in James Bay. d'Iberville's successful role was rewarded with an appointment as acting "governor" of the captured forts. Lack of supplies obliged him to return into Quebec by the summer of 1687, where he found that he had been accused in a paternity suit.

The 26-year-old adventurer nonetheless traveled to France and persuaded the Crown to assist his new foothold on James Bay. d'Iberville returned in the summer of 1688, commanding the frigate *Soleil d'Afrique* with a cargo of trade goods to entice native trappers away from the remaining English outpost at Port Nelson. He defeated an English counterexpedition by ruthlessly starving his more numerous foes over the winter of 1688–1689. When d'Iberville finally regained Quebec on October 28, 1689, he arrived heavily laden with prisoners, booty, and a fortune in furs.

He participated that same winter, under his older brother Jacques, in the raid against Corlaer (modern Schenectady, New York). Rewarded with a land grant on the Baie de Chaleurs, d'Iberville quickly disposed of it. He preferred to spend the next few years trying to organize a seaborne expedition into James Bay, although he was often diverted. He finally succeeded in 1694.

AUGUST 1686. A galley and two *piraguas* bearing 100 Spaniards out of St. Augustine, plus native allies and mulattoes, descend upon the new Scottish establishment at Port Royal (South Carolina). Its settlers have been reduced to 25 able-bodied men because of disease and want so are easily overrun. Their capital of Stuart's Town is destroyed.

The Spaniards thereupon range northward to the Edisto, plundering plantations (including those of English governor Joseph Morton and his secretary Paul Grimbail). The raiders are eventually prevented from assaulting Charles Town by a hurricane, which destroys

two of their vessels and drowns Capt. Tomás de León, obliging the remainder to retire toward St. Augustine. The English wish to retaliate by commissioning two French privateers but are forbidden by their newly arrived governor, James Colleton.

AUGUST 22, 1686. The Spaniards attempt a surprise attack against Townley's buccaneers by slipping three ships and 240 men out of Perico Island (Panama) to fall upon the raiders while at rest. This assault is fiercely beaten off, two of the Spanish ships being captured and only 65 Spaniards escaping either injury or death.

A furious Townley, himself wounded during this exchange, sends 20 more heads ashore to protest this violation of the truce. The Spanish promptly deliver an additional 10,000 pesos to the buccaneers on September 4, along with a conciliatory note from the archbishop of Panama, promising that all English prisoners will henceforth be considered Catholics and so enjoy protection from the Church. Yet Townley does not have long to savor his victory, dying of his wounds four days later. His body is then cast overboard (in accordance with his wishes) near Otoque Island, and he is succeeded in command of this freebooter band by George Hout (or Hutt).

NOVEMBER 16, 1686. An agreement is struck between James II of England and Louis XIV of France promising to restrict the activities of buccaneers in the New World. Three days later, they also sign the so-called neutrality pact to settle their conflicting claims over Hudson's Bay (Canada).

LATE NOVEMBER 1686. A squadron of Biscayan privateers—known collectively as the *Vizcaya* or *Guipúzcoa* squadron—arrives in the West Indies under Commo. Francisco de Aguirre, their recruitment having been approved by Madrid to supplement the ineffectual patrols of the *Armada de Barlovento*. Capt. José Leoz y Echalar commands the 34-gun, 180-man, 250-ton flagship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario y las Animas*, which is accompanied by the 24-gun, 142-man, 200-ton vice-flagship *San Nicolás de Bari* of Martínez de Landeche; the 66-man, 140-ton *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción* of Sebastián Pisón; the 36-man, 60-ton *San Antonio* of Silvestre Soler; and the 53-man, 30-ton, 32-oar galley *Santiago* of Fermín de Salaberría.

Unfortunately, the activities of this formation will prove equally disappointing, only a few foreign merchantmen and no pirates ever being detained during their four years of service.

DECEMBER 25, 1686. A second Spanish exploratory mission in search of de La Salle's Gulf coast colony departs Veracruz, 130 men aboard two specially constructed *piraguas*: the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario* under Capt. Martín de Rivas and the *Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza* under Pedro de Iriarte. They will fail to find any signs of the Frenchmen before reentering port on July 2.

JANUARY 23, 1687. Grognet rediscovers Townley's contingent (now commanded by Hout) in the Gulf of Nicoya, and after ravaging the area for a month, they weigh together for a surprise attack against Guayaquil.

FEBRUARY 7, 1687. Capt. Thomas Spragge enters Port Royal (Jamaica) with the English renegade Joseph Bannister and his accomplices dangling from HMS *Drake's* yardarms, having captured them on the Mosquito Coast.

MARCH 9, 1687. Governor de Cussy of Saint Domingue (Haiti) issues a decree commanding all French *flibustiers* to cease their depredations against Spanish targets in the New World.

APRIL 16, 1687. Sack of Guayaquil. The combined buccaneer force of Grognet and Hout appears opposite Puná Island and, two hours before dawn on Sunday, April 20, disembarks a landing force that marches overland in three columns: Grognet leads one company through a marsh directly toward the center of Guayaquil, Hout advances against a small bastion guarding its approaches, and Grognet's subordinate Picard directs his men against another bastion. The Spanish authorities have been forewarned about strange sails offshore, yet when no attack immediately ensued, they assumed this to be a false alarm.

Early on this rainy Sunday morning, therefore, the buccaneers are able to surprise Guayaquil and carry it after a vicious house-to-house contest in which 34–60 residents are killed—plus many others captured—during eight hours of fighting, compared to only nine pirate dead and a dozen wounded. Among the latter, though, is Grognet, who is carried back aboard his flagship when the triumphant raiders evacuate four days later. He dies of his wounds off Puná on May 2 while awaiting the payment of ransoms for his four principal hostages (including two aldermen). Picard assumes overall command of the *flibustier* contingent, and both buccaneer contingents distribute total plunder constituting

Phips's Treasure Hunt

William Phips was born on February 2, 1651 (O.S.), in the backwoods Maine hamlet of Woolwich. He was the youngest of 14 children of an immigrant gunsmith from Bristol in England. His father had co-owned the local trading post, bartering weapons for furs among the Wabanaki natives. When his father died, 14-year-old William became apprenticed to a carpenter for four years.

Upon completing his indenture, Phips went to Boston and took service with a ship's carpenter. According to Cotton Mather, he was "tall beyond the common set of men, and thick as well as tall, and strong as well as thick." He also had a friend in Capt. Roger Spencer's ship, so he began sailing to the Bahamas and West Indies. In 1673, he married the captain's sister Mary Spencer Hull, widow of the prosperous merchant John Hull. This union gave Phips the means to command his own ship.

During his travels, Phips learned of many Spanish wrecks in the Caribbean, some with treasure still aboard. He soon acquired a reputation for "continually finding sunken ships" and grew skillful at salvage. He visited a famous site in the Bahamas, whose wreck was being worked by other seafarers. Phips also heard rumors of another lost galleon that lay undisturbed on the north shoals of Hispaniola, but he could not raise money in Boston for an expedition. He therefore sailed to England early in 1683 to petition Charles II.

While in London, Phips contacted Sir John Narborough, commissioner of the Royal Navy, who had served in the West Indies and shared his enthusiasm for such ventures. Narborough helped Phips secure the loan of the 18-gun Royal Navy vessel *Golden Rose of Algier*, which he was to man with 100 men and sail to the Bahamas. By working a known wreck in the Bahamas, he raised enough funds for an expedition to Hispaniola. Phips returned to Boston in late October for his diving equipment and thus did not reach the Hispaniola site until March 1684, finding it largely picked clean. Yet while visiting Puerto Plata on the north coast of Santo Domingo that same year, Phips also met an elderly Spanish survivor of the 1641 wreck of the *Nuestra Señora de la Pura y Limpia Concepción*. He offered to guide Phips out to its site on the Ambrosian Bank.

Although Phips regained London without profit in August 1685, this lead allowed him to attract private funding. He reappeared at Samaná Bay by late November 1686 with the 23-gun, 200-ton ship *James and Mary* and 40-ton sloop *Henry*. They anchored over the wreck on January 12, 1687 (O.S.), and eight days later began bringing up huge clumps of bullion. By the time Phips left in mid-May, he had more than 34 tons of silver aboard worth £200,000. This enormous sum sparked a treasure-hunting frenzy in the West Indies.

Phips was rewarded with a knighthood and the title of provost marshal of New England. Three years later, he led a sea-borne assault against French Canada. In 1691, he allowed the Salem witchcraft trials to proceed, until his own wife was accused and a halt was called after two years.

"134,000 pesos, much precious jewelry, a large amount of wrought silver, and a great deal of merchandise and goods."

A few days later, the buccaneers are joined by Davis, bringing in word that a squadron of Peruvian privateers is on its way to drive them off. The Peruvians appear by May 27, 1687, consisting of the purchased vessels *San José* and *San Nicolás* of 20 guns apiece, commanded by the Biscayans Dionisio López de Artunduaga and Nicolás de Igarza, plus a small *patache*. The pirate formation includes almost 20 small- to medium-sized craft, mostly prizes, which the Peruvian privateers rather gingerly engage at long range over the next five days, eventually scattering the freebooters and recuperating some lost vessels. During these actions, the *San Nicolás* runs hard aground on a sandbank off Atacames, so limps back toward Callao taking on water. It is quickly replaced by the *San Francisco de Paula* and another *patache*, who join López de Artunduaga off

Ecuador and resume his distant pursuit of the re-treating buccaneers, at last compelling them to relinquish their largest prize (the *San Jacinto*) before making a final division of spoils off Cape San Francisco and dispersing northward 10 days later.

MAY 1687. In Veracruz, the crews of Spain's West Indian squadron (*Armada de Barlovento*) riot because of back pay, idleness, and the arrival of competing Biscayan privateers. Some 200 armada sailors and marines desert en masse, the rest being put down with three fatalities.

JUNE 13, 1687. The energetic governor general Brisay de Denonville of New France departs Montreal up the Saint Lawrence River toward Fort Frontenac with the first of four companies that, when the last leaves four days later, will comprise a major expedition against the hostile Seneca Indians. The force contains a total of 832 soldiers, more than 900

French Canadian militiamen, and 400 native allies. The purpose of this offensive is to prevent the Iroquois and English from uniting to take control of the lucrative fur trade. An additional 800 French regulars who have disembarked at Quebec City a few days earlier cannot be incorporated in time.

After seizing more than 200 neutral Iroquois men, women, and children as they advance (most of whom are later released), Brisay de Denonville's force intercepts two parties of English traders out of Albany, who are bound toward Michillimackinac. The Englishmen are incarcerated for deportation, while their turncoat French Canadian guides are summarily shot. The huge French force then ravages empty Seneca villages and farms along the south shore of Lake Ontario throughout July.

A blockhouse is then reerected on the site of de La Salle's old Fort Niagara, and a 100-man garrison is installed on July 31 under Captain Chevalier de Troyes. Brisay de Denonville will return into Montreal by August 13, but the occupiers of Fort Niagara will endure a difficult winter. Beset by Iroquois raiders and scurvy, the troops attempt a mutiny, and de Troyes dies of disease by May 8, 1688. With only 11 survivors left, the fort will have to be abandoned and demolished by September 15. The governor general negotiates a peace with the Iroquois.

JUNE 30, 1687. In a third attempt to locate de La Salle's Gulf coast colony, the *Armada de Barlovento* frigate *Santo Cristo de San Román* exits Veracruz under Captain de Pez, accompanied by a *patache* under Capt. Francisco López de Gámara. Each is manned

by 40 seamen and 30 infantrymen. After pausing at Tampico on July 3–5 to take on two large launches for work close inshore, they resume their voyage. Over the next two months, they will comb the shoreline as far east as Pensacola without finding anything, then reenter Veracruz on September 4.

AUGUST 30, 1687. Picard's five French buccaneer vessels materialize off Tehuantepec (Mexico), setting 180 men ashore to capture it. After a brief occupation, the *flibustiers* depart, looking into Acapulco Bay a few weeks later.

NOVEMBER 3, 1687. A raid by 100–200 Iroquois warriors is repelled by the French garrison at Fort Chambly (Quebec).

JANUARY 2, 1688. After skirmishing with some Peruvian privateers in the Gulf of Fonseca, the French rover Picard scuttles his ships and leads 260 *flibustiers* inland to regain the Caribbean. They brush aside weak Spanish American resistance, proceeding into the central highlands and constructing rafts at the Coco River's headwaters to glide downstream, emerging at Cape Gracias a Dios by March 9.

MARCH 8, 1688. Captain de Pez quits Veracruz aboard the armada frigate *Santo Cristo de San Román* to make a fourth attempt to find de La Salle's Gulf coast colony. He is accompanied by the veteran pilot Barroto and a captive English buccaneer, who claims to have visited the elusive outpost with the *flibustier* Jean Rose.

The frigate crosses into the area of present-day Mobile Bay, but no trace is found. The captive finally confesses that he has lied in hopes of being released or of finding an opportunity to escape. De Pez sails back into Veracruz on April 24 with the man in irons.

The remains of de La Salle's colony will eventually be found in the vicinity of Matagorda Bay (Texas), all but two of its French settlers having succumbed.

JULY 28, 1688. Some 60 Dutch soldiers mutiny at Fort Zeelandia (Suriname), killing their hated, 41-year-old governor, Cornelis Aerssen van Sommelsdijk, with more than 50 shots. Their numbers soon swell to 140–150 disgruntled men. The mutineers elect their own leaders, disarm the local militia, and seize two ships in the roadstead in anticipation of sailing away, only to have their unity collapse and eventually be compelled to surrender.

Rum and the Royal Navy

Prior to being deployed in the West Indies, English warships traditionally carried cider, beer, and brandy for their men's consumption while operating in home waters, but these first two spirits decayed in the tropics. Local sugar-derived stimulants, therefore, were sporadically substituted. The policy of purchasing Barbadian rum was apparently made official after Adm. Sir John Narborough—the commissioner of the navy responsible for the Victualling Department in London—visited Bridgetown in November 1687 aboard his 48-gun HMS *Foresight*. He bought "600 odd gallons of rum to be served to our ship's company in lieu of brandy," thus recommending this practice throughout the service.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR (1688–1697)

In Europe, the megalomaniacal Louis XIV of France invades contested areas of the Palatinate in the Rhineland on September 27, 1688, escalating tensions on the continent. The Protestant Dutch rulers William, Prince of Orange, and his wife, Mary Stuart, nonetheless proceed with their plan to peacefully invade England, landing on November 15 to overthrow its unpopular pro-Catholic James II in a bloodless coup known as the “Glorious Revolution.” That same November 26, Louis declares war against Holland and, the following April, against Spain as well.

On May 12, 1689, England and the Netherlands join other members of the League of Augsburg to form the so-called Grand Alliance against France. Fighting breaks out between Louis and William as well within six weeks, a conflict that will take a total of nine years to run its course (therefore known variously to history as King William's War, the War of the League of Augsburg, the War of the Grand Alliance, or the Nine Years' War).

SUMMER 1688. The English adventurer Thomas Hewetson attempts to beat his way through the Strait of Magellan with his 50-gun flagship *Lion* and two other vessels to found a settlement on the Pacific coast of South America. He is eventually forced to retreat and, months later, limps into Tobago.

AUGUST 1688. A buccaneer sloop and *piragua* anchor off Barra de Dos Bocas (Tabasco, Mexico). Twenty men are sent up the Seco River to raid Chontalpa and are defeated upon their retirement.

SEPTEMBER 1688. The private English frigates *Churchill* of 18 guns and *Yonge*, bearing a total of 85 men under Adm. William Bond and Capt. John Marsh, arrive to reconquer the fur-trading outposts in Hudson's Bay (see “July 25, 1686” entry in “Irregular Warfare”). They blockade Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville's 16-man frigate *Soleil d'Afrique* inside the Albany River, then all become icebound. Over this ensuing winter, the French starve their opponents into submission, 25 Englishmen dying from scurvy and exposure, another 3 due to combat.

JANUARY 28, 1689. As a show of support for their native allies, a French expedition departs Trois Rivières (Quebec) to attack British settlements along the border with New England.

FEBRUARY 1, 1689. A “Convention” meets at Westminster in London to resolve the matter of England's vacant throne. Fifteen days later, it is decided to offer the Crown jointly to Willem and Mary of Orange. The princess arrives in England by

February 22, and next day (Ash Wednesday) they are acclaimed as “King William III and Queen Mary II” in the banqueting room at Whitehall Palace. They will actually be crowned in a ceremony held on April 21.

MARCH 7, 1689. Louis's declaration of war against Holland is promulgated on Martinique, being enthusiastically endorsed by *flibustiers* and colonists alike.

MARCH 28, 1689. Three French ships, a brigantine, a bark, and three lesser vessels quit Martinique under Governor General de Blénac and *Intendant* Dumaitz de Goimpy, pausing at Guadeloupe to add another ship, then another three barks and three brigantines at Saint Kitts. De Blénac's strength eventually rises to 17 sail and 1,200 men, which he uses to steer toward Sint Eustatius and fall upon that Dutch colony by surprise.

APRIL 3, 1689. *Destruction of Sint Eustatius.* Governor General de Blénac appears off this island, catching its tiny Dutch garrison completely unprepared. A couple of ships manage to flee out to sea with valuables, but otherwise the outnumbered defenders under Gov. Lucas Schorer can only watch the French approach. De Blénac, Col. François de Collart, and Pierre du Buc bring one contingent ashore at Interlopers Cove (facing Saint Kitts), while François le Vassor circles around to windward, landing an even larger detachment at Pointe Blanche. The Dutch contest from the clifftops de Blénac's disembarkation, wounding both the colonel and du Buc before being outflanked and chased back into

Glorious Revolution

Immediately after Charles II died in February 1685, his successor and younger brother, James II, was viewed with suspicion by his English subjects. A staunch Catholic, it was feared that he would attempt to reimpose his faith upon the Protestant kingdom. He lost the support of the dominant Anglican Tories in Parliament that first year. His removal of Protestants from key positions of power and his recruitment of a large peacetime army also seemed to be preludes to a seizure of absolute power.

As a result, a conspiracy was hatched to remove James in favor of his daughter Mary and her husband, the Dutch Stadhouder Willem of Orange (who would later Anglicize his name to William). Both were Protestant, and both were grandchildren of King Charles I of England. They stood second and third in line to the throne. Moreover, Willem had the reputation of being the main Protestant champion in Europe against French Catholic absolutism.

Events accelerated as of late 1687, after it was learned that James was expecting another child. This made the prospect of a Catholic dynasty on the English throne much more likely. When James signed a naval agreement with Louis XIV of France in April 1688, Willem began actively raising political and financial support to invade. He struck secret deals with the Holy Roman Emperor in Vienna, the Duke of Hanover, the Elector of Saxony, even Pope Innocent XI. All were united by their hostility to France. The Dutch Navy was mobilized, thousands of troops were mustered, and 400 transports were hired. But great care also went into a propaganda effort to convince the English people that Willem would be coming in peace to “save the Protestant religion.”

When Louis XIV warned the States-General in September 1688 against acting in England, his threat backfired. James was embarrassed, and the Dutch were convinced that a secret Franco-English alliance must exist. Their 21,000 troops boarded their transports by October 8, to be escorted by 53 warships under Lt. Adm. “Kees the Devil” Evertsen. Contrary winds kept them in Hellevoetsuis until November 11, at which time the so-called Protestant Wind carried them across to England. This enormous 60,000-man fleet, four times the size of the Spanish Armada and carrying 5,000 horses, sailed through the English Channel uncontested because Adm. George Legge, Lord Dartmouth, could not exit from the Thames against the prevailing winds.

Willem landed amid popular acclaim at Torbay on November 15, 1688. His banner read: “The Liberties of England and the Protestant Religion I Will Maintain.” His Dutch army behaved well, and he did not thrust inland. Instead, he let anti-Catholic riots and desertions sap James’s resolve. The king joined his 19,000-man army at Salisbury two weeks later, only to soon retreat. Willem began a triumphal advance on London, until James fled for France on December 21.

Captured the next day, James was nonetheless cheered by some people when brought back through the streets of London. Willem therefore arranged for a second escape so as not to complicate his own assumption of office. The Dutch called their venture the *Glorieuze Overtocht* or “Glorious Crossing.” English supporters dubbed Willem’s almost-bloodless ascension as the “Glorious Revolution.”

Fort Orange that same evening, leaving 20 dead and wounded upon the field.

Early next morning, le Vassor’s small army arrives overland and joins de Blénac’s detachment, after which siege guns are landed at Goimpy’s behest, to be used against the Dutch citadel. The French call upon Schorer to surrender, and he agrees. In the articles of capitulation, de Blénac orders Sint Eustatius evacuated, sending its colonists toward Nevis, while all shore establishments on Sint Eustatius are destroyed, booty gathered, and a tiny 40-man French garrison installed under Joseph d’Honon de Gallifet. (Schorer, however, proceeds only as far as Sabá to await relief.)

APRIL 14, 1689. *Failure at Suriname.* A junior French naval captain—the 42-year-old Huguenot

ex-slaver, Jean-Baptiste Ducasse—arrives at Cayenne with the 44-gun, 400-ton royal warship *Hasardeux* (flag); the 26-gun, 350-ton *flûte Bretonne* under de Ville and the 30-gun, 500-ton *Loire* under Damou; plus the 36-gun, 350-ton *Émérillon* of De Gennes, with instructions to mount an assault against neighboring Suriname. Having been ordered to assist and feeling this strength to be insufficient, Gov. François de la Barre adds the commandeered merchantman *Diligence*, along with the 40-gun, 180-man privateer *Dauphin* out of Dunkirk, plus most of Cayenne’s garrison under Guillouët d’Orvilliers and a host of volunteers—virtually denuding French Guiana of defenders.

This squadron sets sail by May 2 and intercepts the bark *Amsterdam* four days later off the mouth of the Suriname River; it then approaches the capital,

Paramaribo, by May 9. However, the alerted Dutch defend Fort Zeelandia vigorously with 69 regular soldiers, 84 Jewish volunteers, and 78 Dutch militiamen under their newly installed governor, Johan van Scharphuysen, compelling the attackers to withdraw out to sea, leaving behind 34 prisoners.

Thus repulsed, Ducasse continues toward Martinique with his main force, while 200 of Cayenne's volunteer contingent attempt to return home aboard the *Dauphin*, only to be wrecked near Berbice and surrendering to the Dutch. Van Scharphuysen exchanges these few survivors, who do not regain Cayenne until November 3.

MAY 17, 1689. In Europe, William III of England officially declares war against France.

MAY 22, 1689. *Leisler's Revolt.* The inhabitants of New York City, already uneasy at their recent annexation into the dominion of New England, learn that Governor General Andros has been deposed at Boston and has sent a cryptic message to Lt. Gov. Francis Nicholson at New York. Fearing anti-Calvinist retaliation, a tumultuous assembly addressed by the wealthy, 48-year-old, German-born merchant Jacob Leisler urges recognition of the reign of William and Mary.

On May 31, Nicholson angrily threatens to “fire the town” to check this spreading sedition, to which Leisler's militia company unilaterally responds by seizing Fort James. Leisler joins them two days later and, on June 3, learns that the Protestant monarchs have in fact been crowned, hence he vows to hold the fort and New York until a new governor arrives appointed by William and Mary. In the meantime, Leisler convenes a provincial assembly that temporarily confers command of the fort to him on June 28 and the title of provincial commander in chief as of August 16. He gradually assumes more of the trappings of governor, even convening an intercolonial congress in May 1690 to plan concerted action against the French and Indians.

JULY 27, 1689. *Capture of Saint Kitts.* Having learned of the outbreak of Anglo-French hostilities thanks to a swift transatlantic crossing by the dispatch vessel *Perle* under Captain Chevalier d'Arbouville, Governor General de Blénac sails from Martinique with the recently arrived warships *Hasardeux*, *Émerillon*, *Loire*, *Dauphine*, *Cheval Marin*, plus 14 merchantmen and 23 sloops, appearing off Basseterre (capital of the French half of Saint Kitts) to lead its

residents in a preemptive strike against their English neighbors. His army dashes ashore and quickly overruns the southern part of the island, driving its English governor, Col. Thomas Hill, and 400–500 defenders inside Fort Charles at Old Road Town. This structure, although built of stone atop a high cliff, is old and not very formidable, having few guns mounted, no moat, and gently sloping walls. Nevertheless, de Blénac institutes a formal siege, digging an approach trench while his 10-gun land-battery and warships patiently bombard the gate, expending more than 1,000 heavy rounds to little effect.

After two weeks of fruitless firing, the naval officer Ducasse—in command of 120 *flibustiers*—convinces de Blénac that another battery should be installed atop an adjacent hill, which overlooks the fort's interior. The governor general finally accedes, and during the night of August 14–15, Ducasse's men drag six heavy pieces to its summit. Next morning, they open fire, and the besieged surrender once they find that their counterfire cannot reach the peak. All English colonists are then ordered evacuated to Nevis, while their Irish Catholic vassals are given their freedom and Charles de Peychpeyrou Comminge de Guitaud is installed as governor of Saint Kitts. Ten days later, de Blénac sails toward Martinique, leaving Goimpy to wind up affairs.

AUGUST 5, 1689. The town of Lachine (near Montreal, Canada) is surprised and overrun by 1,500 Iroquois warriors—allies of the English—who kill two dozen residents and carry another 90 off into captivity.

AUGUST 15, 1689. Sir Timothy Thornhill reaches Antigua with a regiment of 700–800 militiamen raised on Barbados.

NOVEMBER 13, 1689. The town of La Chénage (near Montreal, Canada) is attacked by an Iroquois war party, and several settlers are killed.

EARLY DECEMBER 1689. Laurens de Graaf sorties from Saint Domingue (Haiti) with a *flibustier* flotilla to descend upon Jamaica. Eight to 10 English sloops are taken off its north shore, and disembarkations are made to plunder plantations. Port Royal's trade is consequently embargoed by worried Crown officials, and Capt. Thomas Spragge's HMS *Drake* is sent out with some auxiliaries to drive the intruders away. The embargo is not lifted until late May 1690.

DECEMBER 26, 1689. *Thornhill's Counteroffensive.*

On orders from Sir Christopher Codrington—new governor general for the English Leeward Islands—Major General Thornhill sets sail from Nevis with 500 troops aboard a brigantine and nine sloops, to attack the French on Saint Martin and Saint Barthélemy, thus securing the meat supply for beleaguered Nevis. The first island proves too difficult to assault, but Saint Barthélemy is easily overrun on December 30, some 600–700 prisoners surrendering on January 4, 1690, to be deported.

EARLY 1690. Capt. Martín de Rivas departs Veracruz with 190 men aboard two Spanish galliots (being reinforced off Coatzacoalcas by another 110 aboard a pair of *piraguas* from Tabasco and Campeche) to attack the foreign logwood cutters in the Laguna de Términos. His attack begins promisingly, two sloops being captured six miles from its entrance; but other baymen resist vigorously from behind tree barricades when the Spaniards come ashore that afternoon, eventually compelling them to withdraw the next day, and de Rivas is mortally wounded.

JANUARY 1690. On Saint Barthélemy, Thornhill—encouraged by his easy success in conquering and holding this island for three weeks—decides to make a second attempt against Saint Martin. Arriving off that island, he detaches some of his men under Capt. Walter Hamilton to disembark on its windward side and distract the 300 defenders, while bringing his main body ashore to leeward and marching across to take the enemy from the rear.

About two miles inland, Thornhill encounters a two-gun French breastwork, where the defenders make a stand. It takes a couple of days for the English to dislodge them, which they finally do by bringing artillery across the island from their ships to demolish this position. The French thereupon retreat into a tiny six-gun fort, only to be quickly driven out and dispersed into the jungle. Two or three more days of fighting ensue, with French resolve about to collapse when Ducasse appears offshore with a relief force of three ships, a brigantine, and a sloop bearing a total of 700 men.

Thornhill now finds the roles reversed, his own forces scrambling to fend off this French disembarkation. Ducasse scatters the anchored English vessels, captures one, then next midday lands several hundred men and guns. The reinvigorated French defenders recapture their little fort and crowd Thornhill's small army into a defensive position.

Three days later, a further trio of French ships appears from Saint Kitts with 500 men, seriously complicating Thornhill's predicament.

JANUARY 9, 1690. The English rover Hewetson (see "Summer 1688" entry) arrives off Marie-Galante with three ships, two sloops, and more than 400 men, armed with a privateering commission from Governor General Codrington. Among Hewetson's captains is Scottish-born William Kidd, commanding the 20-gun *Blessed William* of 80–90 men. The English plunder this tiny French outpost over the next five days before returning into Nevis.

LATE JANUARY 1690. Stung by criticisms of his conduct of West Indian affairs by Goimpy, Ducasse, Guitaud, and Gémosat, Governor General de Blénac resigns his office and returns to France aboard the *Pont d'Or*, seeking vindication. He is temporarily replaced by François d'Alesso, Marquis d'Eragny, who is officially confirmed from Paris on May 1.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1690. *Hewetson's Rescue.* Having returned to Nevis from ransacking Marie-Galante, Hewetson's privateers are hurried out again by Governor General Codrington to rescue Thornhill's expedition on Saint Martin. Hewetson recaptures an English sloop en route, gaining valuable intelligence as to French dispositions.

Arriving off Saint Martin at daybreak of January 30 (O.S.), Hewetson's 50-gun *Lion*, Kidd's 20-gun *Blessed William*, and one other English ship are immediately challenged by Ducasse's five men-of-war, who slip their cables and stand out to engage by noon. Both squadrons pass each other at least twice in line-of-battle formation over the next four hours, exchanging broadsides before Hewetson closes and attempts to board. Ducasse sheers off, allowing his opponents to contact Thornhill ashore next morning, urging the English general to gather his troops for reembarkation. Before this can be accomplished, however, Ducasse returns, outmaneuvering the English squadron and anchoring opposite their chosen embarkation point.

Next morning, Hewetson's force bears down to fight again, but Ducasse retires northwest toward Anguilla, leaving Thornhill's men and artillery to be freely evacuated and restored to Nevis by February 2 (O.S.). Despite this successful operation, the English freebooters are unhappy at being used in a set-piece battle at high risk and no profit. When Kidd goes ashore that same February 12, his crew

makes off with the *Blessed William*. Hewetson soon after quits the Crown service as well, transferring to Barbados.

FEBRUARY 18, 1690. Shortly after midnight, 114 French Canadian militiamen and 96 Indian allies under Nicolas d'Ailleboust, Sieur de Manthet, and Jacques Le Moyne, Sieur de Sainte Hélène, slip into the English settlement of Corlaer (modern Schenectady, New York), attacking two hours before dawn. Some 60 inhabitants are slaughtered, another 25 are captured, while 50 are spared. The victors withdraw this same day, taking 50 horses loaded with plunder, but are overtaken almost within sight of Montreal by Mohawk warriors, losing 18 stragglers.

FEBRUARY 20, 1690. The private English salvor John Strong enters the Strait of Magellan with his 270-ton ship *Welfare* of 40 guns and 90 men, supposedly to trade with South America but actually to

work the wreck of the 900-ton *Jesús María de la Limpia Concepción* (flagship of Peru's *Armada del Mar del Sur*, which went down off Puná Island on the night of October 26, 1654, with millions aboard). Despite Britain's alliance with Spain, Strong's first contacts prove hostile. The *Welfare* reaches Puná by August 20, where Strong learns the location of its wreck, anchoring over the spot by September 7. He is unable to find any trace of its remains, however, so he stands away for the Juan Fernández Islands, where on October 21 he rescues 4 English buccaneers who were marooned three years previously.

The *Welfare* thereupon continues down Chile, suffering 11 killed when one of Strong's landing parties is slaughtered in the surf by Spanish lancers. The English eventually return through the Strait and head north toward the Caribbean.

MARCH 1690. The deposed James II lands in Ireland at the head of a French army, hoping to reclaim his throne from William and Mary. This action gives heart to his adherents in the New World—a distinct minority—while at the same time spreading unease among England's American colonies. Eventually, Londonderry withstands a prolonged siege by James's army, who is then defeated by William on July 11 at the Battle of the Boyne and is forced back to France.

MARCH 28, 1690. Two months after departing Trois Rivières (Quebec) under Joseph-François Hertel de La Fresnière, a party of 25 French Canadian militiamen, 20 Sokoki, and 5 Algonquin warriors mounts a three-pronged dawn attack against Fort Rollinsford and its adjacent English settlement of Salmon Falls (near modern-day Portsmouth, New Hampshire). At a cost of 2 killed and 1 captured, the raiders slay 30 residents and capture 54 within the next two hours before razing all its buildings and departing with much booty.

While retiring toward Canada, Hertel finds himself pursued by more than 100 English militiamen, so he ambushes them at a narrow bridge over the Wooster River, slaying another score.

MAY 3, 1690. *Acadian Campaign.* New England's 40-year-old provost marshal, Sir William Phips, acting on his own responsibility, impresses the private ships *Six Friends* of 42 guns and 120 men of Gregory Sugars, the 16-gun *Swan* of Thomas Gilbert, the 8-gun *Mary* of Cyprian Southack, plus 5 lesser vessels, for a raid against French Acadia (Nova Scotia). Approximately 500 draftees are taken aboard at Nan-



French Canadian soldier dressed for winter campaigning. (Canadian Department of National Defense)

tasket, raising total strength to 700 men, and the expedition puts to sea five days later.

On May 10, it anchors off Mount Desert and the next day attempts to bear down upon the French within Penobscot Fort, only to have the wind die away. It is not until the following day that the New Englanders can get ashore, and upon attacking this fort at dawn on May 14, they find it deserted. Further reinforcements then join Phips's expedition from Salem and Ipswich, together plundering the settlement of Passamequoddy on May 16, then capturing Port Royal (modern Annapolis Royal) three days later without resistance. Phips returns into Boston by May 30 (O.S.).

MAY 21, 1690. Commo. Lawrence Wright reaches Barbados, having escorted 56 storm-tossed merchantmen from Plymouth with his 62-gun, 830-ton flagship *Mary*; the 54-gun, 522-ton *Foresight*; the 48-gun *Assistance*, *Bristol*, and *Jersey*; the 46-gun

Antelope, *Hampshire*, and *Tiger*; the 28-gun frigate *Guernsey* and *Swan*; the 10-gun fireships *Saint Paul* and *Richard & John*; plus the ketch *Quaker*. Col. James Kendall, the new governor of Barbados, is also traveling aboard the *Mary* as a passenger.

The transatlantic crossing has been difficult, and Wright's crews are very sickly, so he cannot join Governor General Codrington at Antigua until June 10. The commodore's orders state that Codrington is to have precedence "in all things relating to the land service," while naval matters are to be mutually agreed on. An expedition is therefore marshaled at Nevis over the next couple of weeks from all the surrounding English islands, eventually comprising 700 men of the Duke of Bolton's regiment, 500 from Thornhill's, 400 from Antigua, 300 from Montserrat, 600 from Nevis, 400 Royal Marines, plus 100 of Codrington's "Captain General's Guard." It is decided to use this force to recover Saint Kitts, therefore 10 men-of-war, 2 Royal Navy fireships,

Lawrence Wright

Little is known about Wright's early life beyond the fact that he was of humble birth. He was first appointed in 1665 by George Monck, the 1st Duke of Albemarle, as lieutenant of the hired merchantman *Baltimore*. Next year, Wright served aboard the duke's flagship, the *Royal Charles*, against the Dutch in the Four Days' Fight and St. James' Day Battle. He also served as a lieutenant aboard four other warships over the next two years.

In 1670, Wright was assigned to HMS *Newcastle* in Vice Adm. Sir Edward Sprague's Mediterranean squadron. On his return to England two years later, Wright was briefly named as first lieutenant of the royal yacht *Mary*, before being promoted to captain of HMS *Nonsuch* late in 1672. His lack of influence made it difficult to keep this 42-gun warship properly provisioned and at sea. When hostilities ceased and the *Nonsuch* returned from Spain to be paid off in October 1674, Wright was also charged with wrongdoing. The king was present at a meeting of the Admiralty Commission on November 14 (O.S.), where Wright and eight other captains were found guilty of transporting merchandise from Spain aboard their warships. Charles ordered all their wages stopped until this value was repaid.

Wright complied, and on January 28, 1676 (O.S.), was given command of HMS *Phoenix*. He left Woolwich in April, pausing at Portsmouth to pick up gunpowder and passengers for Jamaica. But although the *Phoenix* was to have been stationed at Port Royal, the Governor Lord Vaughan found it "leaky and of little use," so Wright sailed it home by August 1677. After three brief assignments, he was ordered on May 27, 1679 (O.S.), to relieve Capt. David Lloyd of HMS *Reserve*. Wright did so a week later, and that same year he escorted a merchant convoy and fishing fleet to Newfoundland.

On June 19, 1682 (O.S.), he was again given command of the royal yacht *Mary*, which he retained until Charles's death two and a half years later. James II confirmed Wright in this position on April 27, 1685 (O.S.), but he gave it up to assume command of HMS *Foresight* on March 6, 1687 (O.S.), which was to carry Christopher Monck, 2nd Duke of Albemarle, out to Jamaica as its new governor. Wright also shifted into HMS *Assistance* that same July 27 (O.S.), so as to remain at Port Royal. And when Albemarle died in office in October 1688, Wright sailed his remains and widow home.

He arrived at the end of May 1689 to find William III on the throne and war declared against France. Wright briefly commanded HMS *Exeter* and *Dunkirk*, before being named commodore aboard HMS *Mary* that October, with orders to prepare for a West Indian campaign. He was also made a member of the councils of Barbados and the Leeward Islands. But his first major command ended in bitter disputes, therefore Wright faced several charges on his return. Although acquitted at his court-martial in May 1693, he was never again employed at sea. He served as commissioner at Kinsale, the smallest of the Royal Navy dockyards, until it was closed in May 1713. Six months later, he died in London.

and 20 island brigantines and sloops get under way by the evening of June 29.

SUMMER 1690. The Spaniards send a second expedition from Veracruz against the logging establishments in the Laguna de Términos, surprising the baymen, burning 80 vessels, and destroying their camps.

EARLY JUNE 1690. In the Caymans, Laurens de Graaf captures a coast-guard sloop out of Jamaica, learning that the English are contemplating a joint operation with the Spaniards of Santo Domingo against French Saint Domingue (Haiti). De Graaf immediately carries a warning to Governor de Cussy, arriving before July.

JUNE 29, 1690. On Saint Domingue, Governor de Cussy leads 400 militia cavalrymen, 450 buccaneers, and 150 blacks through the Plains of Artibonite toward the Spanish frontier town of Santiago de los Caballeros. After a lengthy march through the jungle, the French are ambushed on July 5 within a mile and a half of this objective, their rearguard suffering more than 40 killed before the Spaniards can be driven off. Santiago is nonetheless occupied the next day but found to be empty, so de Cussy burns it to the ground and retires by July 7. Reaching Artibonite on the 14th, he disbands his army the next day.

JUNE 30, 1690. *Reconquest of Saint Kitts.* At 1:00 a.m., a large expedition appears before Frigate Bay, south of this island's French capital of Basseterre. Governor de Guitaud has been forewarned of the English plan, so deploys 1,000 troops in trenches opposite this beach to dispute Codrington's disembarkation. The English governor general consequently orders his troops at sunrise to remain aboard while a naval bombardment is essayed, which proves unable to dislodge the defense—Capt. Richard Kegwin of the 50-gun HMS *Assistance* dies during this action. Therefore, Codrington alters tactics toward evening, stealthily setting 600 men ashore overnight south of Frigate Bay at Petite Saline under Thornhill and Gov. Nathaniel Blakiston of Montserrat. The governor general assists this flanking maneuver by sending his frigates in a diversionary attack north against Basseterre, drawing off 300 French defenders.

On the morning of July 1, Thornhill's men march down a hill upon the French rear, while Codrington simultaneously lands another 600 men in Frigate Bay. Caught between two fires, de Guitaud's follow-

ers break and flee, allowing the entire English army ashore at a cost of only 10 killed and 30 wounded. Codrington immediately strikes out along the beach toward Basseterre at the head of the Duke of Bolton's regiment, while Thornhill parallels his advance inland. About a mile from Frigate Bay, 1,100 French defenders make a stand, but after a half-hour's desperate fight they are defeated, streaming off into the interior. Codrington occupies deserted Basseterre, then lands artillery from his ships.

Next day, the English advance and reoccupy their former capital of Old Road Town and, on the morning of July 3, encircle the last remaining French stronghold: the 20-gun Fort Charles at Cleverley Point, just north of Brimstone Hill, near Mount Misery. De Guitaud has sought refuge inside this rectangular stone fort with 150 soldiers, 250 planters, and 80 other individuals. Codrington's gunners manhandle two large siege pieces atop Brimstone Hill and open fire by July 10, seconded by the fleet offshore. Approach trenches are dug, and at least two dozen more artillery pieces are installed over the next fortnight before the French eventually sue for terms on July 22. Their surrender is finalized four days later, and the French are obliged to evacuate their half of Saint Kitts for Saint Domingue (Haiti).

JULY 22, 1690. The veteran French rover Pierre le Picard leads a flotilla against Rhode Island in retaliation for Phips and Jacob Leisler's strikes against Canada. These raiders disembark at Block Island, where they plunder its inhabitants. News of this attack reaches the mainland, and a reconnaissance sloop sets out from Newport next day. The following night, Picard attempts to penetrate Newport itself, drawing off when his forces are detected.

Three days later (July 27), Rhode Island's governor, John Easton, commandeers the 10-gun sloop *Loyal Stede* in the Newport roadstead, placing it and 60 men under the retired privateer Thomas Paine, who sorties on July 30 accompanied by a smaller consort under Capt. John Godfrey, as well as with numerous soldiers on board. Picard has meanwhile moved off to attempt New London, so Paine and Godfrey gain Block Island without sighting the French. Next afternoon, though, the two New England sloops see Picard's large bark and a large and smaller sloop bearing down upon them. Paine retreats into a defensive position in Block Island's shallows so as to be able to concentrate his gunners upon a single side. The French, mistaking the two vessels for coastal traders, hurry a *piragua* before

them. Paine's gunner opens fire too soon, missing the leading boat and thus warning Picard that his opponents are armed. The French *piragua* retreats, and Picard's ships bear down together, initiating a brisk firefight at 5:00 p.m. that lasts until nightfall, in which the French suffer 14 killed, including Picard's second-in-command. Paine has 1 dead and 6 wounded, and Picard makes off next morning with both New England sloops in hot pursuit, compelling the raiders to scuttle their merchant prize.

JULY 29, 1690. After Saint Kitts's fall, Governor General Codrington detaches Thornhill to attack the isolated French garrison on Sint Eustatius. This force arrives and calls upon its 60 French defenders to surrender. They refuse, so Thornhill disembarks 350 men next morning and, while advancing upon Fort Orange, perceives Dutch flags in a nearby wood. The former governor, Lucas Schorer (*see* "April 3, 1689" entry), has earlier arrived from Sabá with 100 men on a foraging expedition, but he now withdraws rather than join his English allies in the forthcoming siege.

Five days later, the French garrison surrenders without losses on either side, the inhabitants being transported to Saint Domingue (Haiti). The English retain Sint Eustatius until 1693, when they are obliged by William III to restore it to Dutch rule.

AUGUST 19, 1690. *Quebec Campaign.* In Massachusetts, Sir William Phips sails northeast from Hull with 32 vessels and 2,000 men, determined to assault Quebec City on his own and thereby secure New England's borders from French raids (despite the fact that the campaigning season is far advanced and the expected arms and ammunition have not yet arrived from England). Another large force of militia and Indians is to advance up the Hudson River, threatening Montreal.

Eleven days later, Phips's 32 vessels and 2,000 men sight Cape Breton, and on August 31 (O.S.), Eldridge's *America Merchant* captures a French fishing boat near Île Percé, where Phips disembarks and burns some houses. A few more prizes are taken as this fleet slowly gropes its way up the Saint Lawrence Seaway, Clutterbuck and Ingerston taking soundings in the lead as the New Englanders lack knowledgeable pilots. Tadoussac is not reached until September 23 (O.S.), and the expedition does not crawl within sight of its objective until October 15.

They find that Quebec's garrison of fewer than 200 men and 12 guns under 70-year-old Gov. Louis

Flight of the Wild Geese

When the Protestant Willem of Orange landed in southern England to depose James II in November 1688, most towns in Ireland were taken over by Irish Catholic troops. Only the Protestant garrison at Derry resisted and became besieged. After James fled London, he was supported in his efforts to regain the throne by Louis XIV of France. The exiled monarch therefore landed at Kinsale on March 12, 1689 (O.S.), to initiate his campaign with the help of 6,000 French troops. James promised to send Louis an equal number of Irish recruits.

The ensuing struggle was remembered in Ireland as the "War of the Two Kings" or the Jacobite War. James marched to Dublin, then led his army to join the 1,200 besiegers outside Derry by April 18 (O.S.). English warships appeared offshore by June 11 (O.S.), while a strong Protestant militia out of nearby Enniskillen harried the Catholic forces. A major Protestant victory at Newtonbutler on July 28 (O.S.) caused the Catholic forces to retreat and lift their siege of Derry. A Williamite army under the marshal Frederick Schomberg then landed in Ballyholme Bay on August 13 (O.S.) and advanced inland. Winter brought a halt to fighting.

Impatient, William reached Belfast in June 1690 with 300 vessels, disgorging troops to create an army 36,000 strong. He bested James on July 1 (O.S.) at the Battle of the Boyne River, thus the Catholic monarch once more fled to France. His embittered supporters retreated back through Dublin, while many deserted. The rebellion might have ended there if William had not dictated such harsh terms. Jacobite foot soldiers were pardoned, but Catholic officers and gentry were to be stripped of all their rights. They fought on from behind the Shannon River in western Ireland and repulsed an assault on Limerick. William left late that year, giving command to his Dutch general, Godert de Ginkell.

In 1691, 20,000 Williamite troops advanced and won a crushing victory in July at Aughrim. Galway fell without a struggle, and Limerick was besieged. Its despairing Irish defenders under Patrick Sarfield, Earl of Lucan, removed the French garrison commander on September 23 (O.S.) and requested terms from Ginkell. He proved generous. Jacobites could stay in Ireland by swearing loyalty to William or go into exile in France along with their families.

About 14,000 troops choose to emigrate, leaving along with 10,000 civilians. Their departure became known as the "Flight of the Wild Geese." Many of these troops served with distinction in the armies of France, and later in Spain. Their descendants attained high positions in the Spanish American empire. Those who remained were betrayed, as the Protestant-dominated Irish Parliament refused to honor Ginkell's generosity.

de Buade, Comte de Frontenac et Palluau, has recently been reinforced by troops from Montreal (no longer threatened because the Americans' Hudson River expedition has advanced no closer than Lake George before turning back due to desertions and indiscipline). His own ships now suffering from smallpox and increasing cold, Phips anchors three miles below Quebec City on October 16 and sends an officer to demand its surrender, which Frontenac refuses. Next morning, Phips advances upriver with four ships to create a diversion by bombarding its battlements, while 1,300 New Englanders are disembarked at Beauport under Maj. John Walley. A one-sided duel ensues between Phips's wooden ships and Frontenac's stone ramparts, until the former is obliged to cut his cables and drift out of range. Walley fares no better, his poorly supplied troops suffering bitterly from the elements and being unable to puncture the French defenses. By October 22, their plight has become so desperate that Walley reembarks.

Phips hopes for a second chance but is left with no other choice than to retreat when heavy gales begin blowing up a few days later. After pausing off northern Île d'Orléans to repair his most-damaged ships—and fortuitously obtain supplies when the French bark *Nôtre Dame de la Conception* is intercepted arriving from La Rochelle with pork, flour, and salt—the New Englanders are remorselessly swept back out to sea. Three other French merchantmen are chased a few days later but disappear in a blinding snowstorm. During their return passage toward Massachusetts, Captain Rainsford's *Mary* is wrecked on Anticosti Island with 60 men, while Phips limps into Boston at the end of November with six ships missing (all but three eventually reappearing).

AUGUST 23, 1690. Commodore Wright returns to Barbados with his fleet in anticipation of the hurricane season.

LATE AUGUST 1690. D'Iberville appears off York Fort (Hudson's Bay) with three small French ships bearing 30 guns and 80 men, only to be driven off by a 36-gun English frigate. He then attacks the New Severn outpost, 250 miles southeast, which is blown up by its commander, Thomas Walsh, before he flees without offering resistance.

OCTOBER 1690. Wright's fleet rejoins Governor General Codrington at Saint Kitts to assault Guade-

loupe, but he instead is ordered home to England. Wright therefore clears for Barbados again, arriving by January 9, 1691, to prepare for his transatlantic crossing.

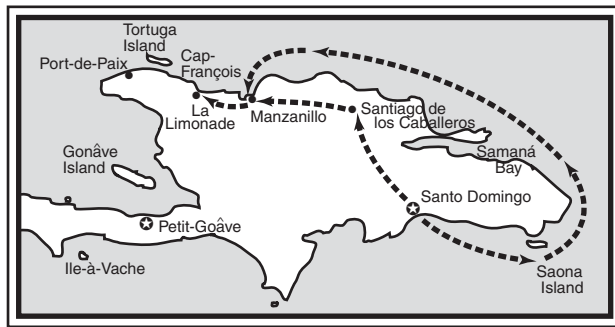
NOVEMBER 9, 1690. Spain's West Indian squadron—the 300-ton flagship *San José* (alias *Marabuto*) of Adm. Jacinto Lope Gijón; the 250-ton vice-flag *San Francisco Xavier* of Francisco López de Gámara; the 300-ton *San Nicolás* of Bartolomé de Villar y Aguirre; plus the auxiliary *Santo Cristo de San Román*—reaches Santo Domingo with the 16-gun, 140-ton French prize *Saint Joseph* (soon renamed *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción y San José*), which is placed under the admiral's son, Sebastián Gijón.

The squadron finds Santo Domingo's inhabitants alarmed by the recent French incursion against Santiago de los Caballeros (see "June 29, 1690" entry). Some 2,600 militiamen having already mustered at the capital, they now troop aboard the Spanish warships, swelling their complement of 827 sailors and marines. This expedition then departs on December 21, circling east around the island, while another 700 Spanish cavalymen advance overland under Gov. Francisco de Segura Sandoval y Castilla to reoccupy Santiago and meet this first contingent on the north coast.

Both units rendezvous near Manzanillo Bay by January 14, 1691, pressing farther west toward the French frontline town of Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien).

JANUARY 21, 1691. *La Limonade.* When news of this Spanish invasion reaches Governor de Cussy, he rushes forth to give battle with only local forces, not waiting for reinforcements from the rest of Saint Domingue. Completely underestimating the Spaniards' abilities and resolve, the defenders make a stand at *Savane de la Limonade* ("Lemonade Plain") outside Cap François, relying on their superior musketry—despite being outnumbered 3,000 to 1,000.

The invaders crush the buccaneers in an hour-and-a-half confrontation on the morning of January 21, springing 300 hidden lancers out of the tall grass at the battle's height—while the French companies are reloading—to achieve a close-quarters melee in which they kill the French governor and more than 400 followers, against 47 Spanish dead and 130 wounded. The attackers then rampage through Cap François and its district on the next day, eventually making off with 130 slaves and the



Spanish offensive in 1691 against the French establishments of northwestern Hispaniola.

300-ton Saint-Malo vessels *Saint Thomas* and *Triomphant* of 22 and 24 guns, respectively (renamed *Nuestra Señora de Atocha* and *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*), while destroying much more.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1691. The Marquis d'Eragny, new governor general for the French West Indies (see "Late January 1690" entry) reaches Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique) with 14 men-of-war and other reinforcements.

LATE FEBRUARY 1691. Commodore Wright, having received fresh counterorders against returning to England from Barbados, rejoins Governor General Codrington at Antigua. The two leaders then quarrel over the latter's proposed invasion of Guadeloupe, as the commodore's crews remain weak and sickly, his four best ships having already been detached and replaced by six hired merchantmen.

Nevertheless, a large expedition gathers at Codrington's insistence, to be escorted by Wright's *Mary* (flag), *Tiger*, *Assistance*, *Bristol*, *Antelope*, *Hampshire*, and *Jersey*; the frigates *Guernsey* and *Swan*; the fire-ship *Saint Paul*; the ketch *Quaker*; plus the hired merchantmen *Success*, *Princess Ann*, *Wolf*, *Experiment*, and *Dumbarton*. Three Brandenburg privateers with 400 men also join this enterprise, bringing its total numbers to 3,000 men. The fleet gets under way by March 31, intending to occupy Marie-Galante as a preliminary step toward assaulting Guadeloupe.

MARCH 1691. In New York City, Maj. Richard Ingoldsby's troops, having arrived from England in January, begin restoring Crown rule from self-appointed Jacob Leisler. The latter refuses to vacate Fort James, provoking an armed confrontation on March 17 (O.S.) in which two soldiers are killed and several others wounded. Two days later, the new royal governor designate, Col. Henry Sloughter,

arrives, to whom Leisler hastily surrenders his fort. Having created numerous enemies during his year-and-a-half reign, Leisler and his son-in-law Jacob Milborne are subsequently tried for treason and executed on May 16 (O.S.)—although their estates are later restored to their families and the attainder reversed.

APRIL 6, 1691. Governor General Codrington and Commodore Wright materialize before Marie-Galante. Next day, the Duke of Bolton's regiment disembarks under Maj. Edward Nott to subdue the 240-man French garrison under Gov. Charles Auger, while Wright's squadron circles northwestward to reconnoiter Guadeloupe, 16 miles away. After a week's skirmishing, Nott rounds up all of Auger's followers, deporting them to Martinique. The entire English expedition thereupon steers for Guadeloupe.

MAY 1, 1691. *Defense of Guadeloupe.* Appearing off the west coast of this island, Codrington's and Wright's fleet bombards the town of Le Baillif in passing (four miles north of its capital, Basse-Terre), before proceeding toward Anse à la Barque to effect their disembarkation. The French governor, Pierre Hencelin, sick in bed, misconstrues this maneuver as a feint so detaches his aide de Bordenave with only 25 riders to shadow this movement. However, Codrington leads his army ashore two to three miles south of the Anse and sends Major Nott ahead with 500–600 men to secure its heights. De Bordenave ambushes this vanguard from above, checking its advance for three hours before finally being outflanked, killed, and his riders scattered.

Next day, Codrington's main body encounters 500 Frenchmen drawn up behind a barricade at Rivière des Vieux-Habitants under Major Le Cler. Distracting the defenders with a 250-man frontal assault, Codrington sends Col. Rowland Williams in an encircling maneuver, which surprises the French in the evening and sends them fleeing toward Le Baillif. At 10:00 a.m. on May 3, the English encounter another barricade at the Duplessis River, carrying it after four hours of heavy fighting. The demoralized French thereupon stream back past Fort La Madeleine, Le Baillif, and Basse-Terre without making another stand.

Nathaniel Blakiston enters the abandoned capital with 400 men by May 4, and Codrington orders it set ablaze, while making his headquarters just outside. He then initiates a protracted siege against the last remaining French stronghold, Fort Saint Charles. By May 23, with his sick lists grown alarmingly

long, the English commander receives word from HMS *Antelope* that a French squadron has appeared off the coast with reinforcements for the defense. They prove to be the royal warships *Hasardeux* of Jean-Baptiste Ducasse, *Mignon* of the Chevalier d'Arbouville, *Émerillon*, and *Cheval Marin*, accompanied by three hired 20-gun merchantmen and four lesser craft, bearing two infantry companies and 600 *flibustiers* from Martinique. Having passed to windward of Dominica, Ducasse frees Marie-Galante from English occupation during his passage, then stealthily begins depositing reinforcements at Gosier in the Grande-Terre section of Guadeloupe by the evening of May 23.

Next morning, Wright removes his sailors from Codrington's siege operation and, after viewing Ducasse's squadron from a distance, suggests that the governor general reembark his army and forsake the conquest of Guadeloupe. Codrington's staff—their morale sapped by disease and torrential rain—concurs, obliging the governor general to comply. On May 25, Codrington's expedition stands away from Guadeloupe in defeat, Wright's squadron now being reduced to the vessels *Mary*, *Assistance*, *Jersey*, *Antelope*, *Hampshire*, *Tiger*, and the fireship *Saint Paul*. After two days beating about the Saintes, Codrington sails for Antigua with his remaining transports, escorted by the *Antelope* and the *Jersey*, while Wright steers for Barbados with the remainder of his squadron. Arriving there sick, the commodore will turn over command to his flag captain Robert Arthur and sail for England by June 28, 1691 (O.S.). Codrington will send charges after him, accusing Wright of "cowardice and falseness" as well as of sympathizing with the French. Others will also severely criticize his actions, attributing the failure at Guadeloupe to him.

(Wright will land at Kinsale in Ireland to recuperate, writing in September to say that he will proceed to London as soon as he is well enough to travel. An arrest warrant on suspicion of high treason is issued on September 22, 1691 (O.S.), and Wright is eventually brought to trial. He is acquitted, however, at his court-martial on May 20, 1693 (O.S.), the court pronouncing the charges "malicious and rising out of private resentment." Yet Wright will never again be employed afloat and will not be named as commissioner of the navy at Kinsale until May 1702.)

Ducasse meanwhile proceeds back into Martinique, then transfers his ships to Saint Croix on August 2, 1691, to avoid a yellow fever outbreak, which kills the French governor general d'Eragny and many others in the Windward Islands. By August 7, Du-

casse sails again for Port-de-Paix (Haiti), where his two warships and single corvette lose 250 men before this disease finally abates. On October 1, a letter reaches him from Paris, appointing him governor of Saint Domingue in succession to de Cussy.

AUGUST 11, 1691. The 34-year-old major Peter Schuyler, with 300 New York militiamen and Iroquois warriors, fails to carry the French outpost at Fort Laprairie (Quebec), although inflicting heavy casualties upon its garrison. While retiring southward, the attackers are then overtaken by 700 pursuers, who kill 83 of the invaders before Schuyler's survivors can win free.

JANUARY 26, 1692 (O.S.). A band of Penobscot and Kennebec Indians—incited by Gov. Joseph Robinau de Villebon of French Acadia—make a surprise winter raid against the English frontier outpost of York (Maine), killing or capturing about half its people before withdrawing.

FEBRUARY 27, 1692 (O.S.). In Nassau (Bahamas), a mob of "desperate rogues, pirates, and others" free the rough-hewn colonel Cadwallader Jones from prison, restoring him to office as governor.

MARCH 2, 1692. A Jamaica-bound merchant convoy appears between Guadeloupe and Désirade, escorted by Commo. Ralph Wrenn, new commander in chief at Barbados (having arrived January 26 in succession to Wright). Wrenn has earlier made one sweep vainly searching for enemy ships. He then detached two of his vessels to cruise independently against the French before quitting Barbados on February 27 with his 48-gun flagship *Norwich*; the 62-gun *Mary* under the acting captain Richard Wyatt; the 48-gun *Diamond* of Clinton (or possibly Christopher) Maund; the 46-gun *Mordaunt* of Henry Boteler and *Antelope* of Henry Wickham; the hired frigate *England* of Captain Stubbs; plus an unnamed merchantman.

In light weather, the English sight the Comte de Blénac—now restored to office as French governor general for the West Indies following the death of d'Eragny—barring their path with his 62-gun flagship *Vermandois* (named in honor of the admiral of France, Comte de Vermandois), as well as Vaudricourt's *Vaillant*, Contré-Blénac's *Léger*, Pontac's *François*, de la Floclière's *Émerillon*, Sainte-Marie's *Faucon*, Vieuxpont's *Droite*, Roussel's *Basque* (or possibly *Brusque*), Valbelle Saint-Symphorien's *Chasseur*, Pradine's *Solide*, Julien's *Bouffone*, Du Buisson's *Jersey*

(English prize), de La Caffinière's *Neptune*, and five lesser craft. Heavily outnumbered, the English edge away to leeward, hoping to protect their convoy.

Next morning, de Blénac bears down and engages at 8:00 a.m. Mistaking the *Mary* for Wrenn's flagship, the French commander assaults it with four men-of-war, while the *Mordaunt* and the frigate *England* also become hard-pressed. Through skillful handling, Wrenn works his convoy free by noon, then stands away southward, regaining Barbados three days later without losing a single vessel. The English commodore, like many other new arrivals, subsequently dies of illness on March 26 (O.S.).

JUNE 30, 1692. Seven corsair vessels appear off Campeche and drop anchor 18 miles northeast to occupy the smaller port of Jaina for 19 days.

JULY 1692. Santa Marta (Colombia) is sacked by a band of French *flibustiers*.

AUGUST 19, 1692. Le Moyne d'Iberville reaches Quebec City, having escorted a French convoy across the Atlantic with his two frigates. His hope of continuing around into James Bay to eradicate its English outposts is dashed when Governor General de Frontenac judges the season too far advanced.

Le Moyne d'Iberville must instead prowl the coast of New England, taking three prizes, before sailing for France that November.

AUGUST 29, 1692 (O.S.). A Hudson's Bay Company captain, 52-year-old James Knight, reaches York Fort (Ontario) with the vessels *Royal Hudson's Bay*, *Dering*, *Pery*, and *Prosperous*, bearing 213 men.

Port Royal Cataclysm

When the British fleet hurried away from Jamaica in late June 1655, it left behind thousands of sickly soldiers. Uneasy because of their precarious grip on the island, the dwindling number of healthy Englishmen decided a couple of weeks later to create a defensible base. A site was chosen at the westernmost tip of the narrow land spit enclosing Caguaya Bay, which the English dubbed "Cagway Point." By ferrying limestone out of the Port Henderson Hills opposite the spit, a 20-gun, rectangular stronghold soon began to take shape. It was named Fort Cromwell that same October.

The stone citadel was complete enough to receive a regiment withdrawn from the mainland by January 1656. These troops had to bivouac amid the spit's low scrubland dunes in tents. Still, it was healthier because of the cool sea breezes and sandy subsoil that prevented puddles. As fears of a Spanish reconquest faded, thousands of settlers began arriving from the Leeward Islands. Huts and shacks gave way to more permanent structures, most clustered around Cagway's anchorage.

By July 1657, the Commonwealth Commissioner William Brayne noted that there was "the fair beginning of a town upon the point of this harbor," where he intended "all our storehouses and trade shall be, which will soon make it a flourishing place." A governor's residence and state storehouse were erected, while private plots were surveyed in 60-foot widths to face the inner harbor. A church was started by early January 1658, and a smith's forge was built the next month. By August, there were at least three rows of houses on the point, and land was becoming scarce by the next year.

When it was learned from London in August 1660 that the Commonwealth had collapsed and Charles II was on the throne, Fort Cromwell was renamed Fort Charles, and Cagway became Port Royal. Privateering helped boost its prosperity, until merchant trade rose. By 1680, the city's population had grown to almost 3,000 people. Many African slaves were imported to clear and operate ever-larger estates inland. Despite being hit by hurricanes in 1683 and 1684, Port Royal continued to blossom. Naval activity and the erection of three more forts added to its growth.

But at 11:40 a.m. on Wednesday, June 7, 1692 (O.S.), an earthquake struck Port Royal with such ferocity that most of its northern section slid into the water. Two rows of houses and 2,000 of 6,500 residents were swallowed up. Another 2,000 people died from the ensuing tidal wave, which even burst open the graveyard. Such a dramatic catastrophe was widely seen as divine punishment. Port Royal's role as a buccaneer haunt even led some moralists to label it "the wickedest place on earth," although it had not been all that licentious compared to other seaports.

Frightened survivors nonetheless shifted over to the mainland, while the council considered sites along the harbor's inner shoreline for a new city. A hog crawl was purchased for £2,000 from its absentee owner, Col. William Beeston. Within six weeks of Port Royal's destruction, this new settlement was named "Kingston" in the council's minutes. Yet little construction immediately began, as many Port Royal residents chose to rebuild on their original land spit. And the loss of all harbor defenses except for Fort Charles and part of Morgan's Line tempted the French of Saint Domingue (Haiti) to mount an assault in June 1694.



A Draught of the Harbours of Port Royal and Kingston, by Richard Jones. Port Royal is at the westernmost tip of the land spit.
(Patrick Browne, *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, 1756)

OCTOBER 16, 1692. In the Windward Islands, the 48-gun HMS *Norwich* of Capt. Richard Pugh explodes at anchor, going down with all hands.

JANUARY 28, 1693. In upper New York State, a force of Caughnawagas led by the Frenchman Nicolas d'Ailleboust de Manthet captures 300 Mohawks during a raid against their villages. They are forced to withdraw after the appearance of a relief column under Schuyler.

MARCH 10, 1693. The 37-year-old Sir Francis Wheler, recently promoted Rear Admiral of the Blue, reaches Barbados from England with his 68-gun flagship HMS *Resolution*; the 52-gun *Dunkirk* of James Ward; the 42-gun *Advice* of Charles Hawkins, *Chester* of Thomas Heath, *Ruby* of Robert Deane, and *Tiger* of Thomas Sherman; the 40-gun *Dragon* of William Vickars; the 36-gun frigate *Falcon* of Nathaniel Browne; the 32-gun frigates *Experi-*

ment of James Greenaway, *Mermaid* of William Harman, and *Pembroke* of George Warren; the hired merchantman *London* of William Orton; the store-ship *Canterbury* of Robert Leonard; the 10-gun ketch *Quaker* of John Anderson; an unnamed bomb vessel; plus three fireships. (HMSS *Diamond* and *Mordaunt* are still on this station, along with the 28-gun frigate *Guernsey* of Edward Oakley and the 24-gun *Henry Prize* under Richard Finch.)

Wheler's fleet is accompanied by 28 troop transports bearing Gen. John Foulke's and Colonel Godwin's regiments, intended to eliminate the last enemy holdings in the Lesser Antilles, to unite with the Spaniards to drive the French out of Saint Domingue (Haiti), then to continue north to New England to aid its colonials in assaulting Canada.

Gov. James Kendall immediately begins raising 900 volunteers on Barbados, as well as sends a sloop to Antigua to advise Governor General Codrington of the expedition's arrival. It is then agreed among

these leaders to attack Martinique, for which purpose the *Chester* and the *Mermaid* are detached from Barbados to escort Codrington's contingent toward a rendezvous.

MARCH 25, 1693. To assert Spain's claim to the entire Gulf of Mexico coastline, Captain de Pez sets sail from Veracruz to identify suitable sites for a stronghold and town. He is accompanied by the cleric and cosmographer Dr. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, a professor at the Royal University of Mexico, who is to conduct the actual survey. They choose uninhabited Pensacola Bay, erecting a large wooden cross at its entrance, before returning into Veracruz by May 13.

Two days afterward, a second 25-man Spanish reconnaissance party under Laureano de Torres y Ayala and Fr. Rodrigo de la Barreda also arrives from Havana at Apalache, traveling overland into Pensacola Bay by July 2 for a second probe.

De Pez meanwhile departs Mexico for Spain aboard the plate fleet in July, arriving by December to obtain authorization for a large-scale occupation of the bay. He will not return until two years later.

APRIL 9, 1693. *Repulse at Martinique.* Wheler and Foulke's expedition departs Barbados, augmented by 10 island sloops bearing 900 volunteers (bringing total strength to 32 ships of various sizes, 9 barks, 3 brigantines, 2 ketches, and a galliot). Two days later, this formation circles north around Martinique and heads down its western shoreline, shadowed on land by French militia cavalymen under Col. François de Collart. Governor Gabaret concentrates his forces at Fort Saint Pierre, yet much to his surprise, the English then sweep past Pointe d'Arlet and Pointe du Diamant and stand into Cul de Sac Marin, where there are no defenses and scarcely 60 militiamen on duty under Capt. Charles Auger.

Next morning, April 12, Foulke disembarks 1,000 troops at nearby Anse de Sainte-Anne, followed by another 1,300 soldiers and 1,500 sailors before sunset. The English intend to get their land forces safely ashore, then approach the island's defenses from the rear. Wheler and Foulke begin this process on the morning of April 13 by sending 30 boats, supported by a galliot and two barks, to overrun the Rivière Pilote settlement. After being briefly checked by 60 reinforcements hurried down from Saint Pierre under Capt. Henri de Saint-Amour, the invaders ravage the surrounding countryside. At noon of April 15, the English again use 5 barks, 3

brigantines, and 28 boats to leapfrog farther west and devastate more plantations.

By April 19, Governor General Codrington arrives from the Leeward Islands with another four English ships, four brigantines, and two barks, bringing 1,300 volunteers in three regiments under Rowland Williams, Nathaniel Blakiston, and Godfrey Lloyd. Foulke's army is already becoming sickly, therefore the English decide to abandon their land strategy and reembark their troops by April 22. After failing to find any safe disembarkation points near Cul de Sac à Vaches, Wheler proceeds farther northward on April 27, throwing his marines ashore just north of Fort Saint Pierre at Canouville two days later. They try to expand this landing zone by advancing southward but are checked by Collart's cavalry and militia that are hastening up under François le Vassor and Giraud du Poyet. Further French reinforcements arrive this same night under Governor General de Blénac, whose 100-man contingents under Saint-Amour, Christophe Renaudot, and Nicolas Le Febvre de Méricourt foil another attempted marine breakout the next morning. Codrington's men then try probing southward, only to be thrown back by Collart and Auger.

Defeated at every turn, the English eventually reembark by the evening of April 30, abandoning Martinique. This operation has cost them 800 killed, wounded, or captured, with many others remaining ill. Codrington hopes to salvage something from this debacle by attacking Guadeloupe, yet Wheler refuses once his fleet staggers into Dominica, citing orders against remaining in the Caribbean later than the end of May. The volunteers disperse, and Wheler escorts Codrington back to Saint Kitts, dismissing the notion of uniting with the Spaniards to attack Saint Domingue and instead proceeding directly toward New England.

JUNE 22, 1693. Wheler arrives in Boston from the West Indies with a sickly fleet, supposedly to cooperate in a venture against Quebec. However, disease is so rife among his crews and no colonial contingent has assembled, so after a series of consultations with Governor Phips and other members of the council, it is decided to forego the invasion scheme.

JULY 2, 1693. Capt. James Knight attacks Fort Sainte Anne (formerly Albany Fort in James Bay, Ontario) with the *Royal Hudson's Bay*, the *Pery*, and the *Prosperous*, taking it with little opposition.

AUGUST 13, 1693. Wheler's squadron exits Boston, continuing northeastward to overrun the tiny French island of Saint Pierre off Newfoundland. However, his strength is by now so enfeebled that the French positions in Placentia Bay cannot be assaulted, so he circles around to Newfoundland's eastern coast to replenish supplies before striking out into the North Atlantic by September 22 (O.S.).

SEPTEMBER 20, 1693. In the West Indies, the 48-gun HMS *Diamond* of Capt. Henry Wickham is captured by the French. (Wickham is subsequently court-martialed and sentenced to life imprisonment, eventually being released on the accession of Princess Anne in March 1702, although never reinstated into the Royal Navy.)

DECEMBER 1, 1693. In the Lesser Antilles, the 46-gun HMS *Mordaunt* of Capt. Francis Maynard is lost with all hands.

JANUARY 16, 1694. The French missionaries Louis Pierre Thury and Sébastien de Billie lead 230 Indians in an attack against Oyster Bay (Maine), killing 100 English settlers.

JANUARY 23, 1694. After decades of nuisance raids against their sugar plantations by bands of *cafuzos* or renegade slaves, 1,000 Portuguese militiamen under Domingos Jorge Velho and Bernardo Vieira de Mello assault the main *quilombo* or settlement of these runaways at Macaco (modern União dos Palmares, Alagoas) in the densely jungled Serra da Barriga range in northeastern Brazil. The defenders, under their 39-year-old leader Zumbi, successfully resist the initial attack from behind their triple palisades, as well as a second assault six days later. However, the Portuguese bring up artillery and breach the palisades at dawn of February 6, massacring several hundred inhabitants. Zumbi, despite two wounds, manages to escape—only to be betrayed eventually and captured on November 20, 1695, with a score of his adherents, and executed.

APRIL 1694. Off Dominica, the 42-gun HMS *Chester* of Capt. William Julius drives an 18-gun French privateer ashore, which takes fire and explodes.

LATE APRIL 1694. The French privateer Charles François Le Vasseur de Beauregard departs Saint Domingue (Haiti) with 400 *flibustiers* aboard six small vessels to probe eastern Jamaica. He takes a

New England ship but the next day is sighted by the 36-gun coast-guard frigate HMS *Falcon* and is chased until he loses his prize.

When Beauregard reenters Petit Goâve shortly thereafter, he finds the 54-gun, 900-ton royal warship *Téméraire*; the 50-gun, 550-ton *Envieux*; and the *Solide*, recently arrived with a merchant convoy from France. Governor Ducasse decides to employ them against the English, dispatching this powerful trio into the *Falcon*'s patrol area to seize the Royal Navy vessel—despite a stout resistance—before marshalling all his forces for a surprise invasion.

EARLY JUNE 1694. Ducasse sorties from Petit Goâve aboard the *Téméraire* under its flag captain Chevalier du Rollon, accompanied by the *Envieux* and the 44-gun, 400-ton royal warship *Hasardeux*. Off Cape Tiburon (southwestern Haiti), he gathers a fleet totaling 22 sail and 3,164 men to steer west against Jamaica.

JUNE 27, 1694. *Assault on Jamaica.* Ducasse's expedition appears off the eastern tip of this island in a fresh morning gale. Eight of his vessels remain off Port Morant, while the 14 others anchor in Cow Bay, 15 miles east of Port Royal. Here, the French learn that the English have been forewarned of their invasion scheme by the escaped privateer captain Stephen Elliott, so Ducasse's plan of storming directly into Port Royal has to be altered because du Rollon refuses to risk the king's ships in such a hazardous undertaking. Consequently, 800 men are landed under Beauregard to march eastward, plundering and destroying everything in their path. Boats are also sent around from Port Morant to ravage the northeastern shores, the English under their 58-year-old governor, Sir William Beeston, being reluctant to sally for fear of dividing their smaller forces with the enemy host still to windward.

On July 1, the elderly *Téméraire* drags its anchors, being carried downwind to Bluefields Bay along with another French vessel. Ducasse is encamped ashore so continues directing land operations until July 27, when he musters the bulk of his fleet in Cow Bay, threatening Port Royal. Beeston sorties to counteract this French deployment, at which Ducasse quickly reembarks his men under cover of darkness and sends all but the three largest ships with his deputy Laurens de Graaf to assault Carlisle Bay (35 miles farther west). This contingent anchors by the afternoon of July 28, landing 1,400–1,500 *flibustiers* that same night. Next morning, they assail its

250-man English garrison under Col. Thomas Sutton; Beauregard commands the van, while de Graaf directs the main body. After driving the defenders back, foraging parties are sent out to scour its countryside, and when Ducasse joins a few days later, booty is transferred aboard his flotilla. The French then weigh anchor on August 3 and, by August 14, are back in Petit Goâve.

AUGUST 14, 1694. Less than a month after escorting a convoy from La Rochelle into Quebec City, Le Moyne d'Iberville departs in command of his loaned royal ship *Poli*, accompanied by the *Salamandre* under his younger brother Joseph, Sieur de Sérigny. After three years of frustrated attempts, they intend to circle around and attack the English fur-trading outpost of York Fort in Hudson's Bay.

AUGUST 31, 1694. Seven French ships are defeated off Ferryland (Newfoundland) by the English ships *William* and *Mary*.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1694. D'Iberville appears off the Hayes River (in Hudson's Bay, Canada) with the *Poli* and the *Salamandre*. They disembark a force to besiege the English fur-trading outpost of York Fort and call upon it to surrender October 13. Gov. Thomas Walsh and his 56 men capitulate next day, despite being well armed.

York Fort is renamed Fort Bourbon, and the victors spend the winter there.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1694. Governor Beeston sends the only three Royal Navy warships at Jamaica—the *Advice* of Capt. William Harman, the 46-gun *Hampshire*, and the 32-gun *Experiment*—plus a fire-ship and two barks, to beat upwind toward Saint Domingue to exact some measure of vengeance for Ducasse's raid. The village of L'Esterre near Léogâne is bombarded between 8:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m. of October 11, during which Harman is wounded; his formation then bears down upon Petit Goâve, only to sheer off when they realize Beauregard is prepared to receive them. A few huts are burned on Ile à Vache (southwestern Haiti) before the Jamaicans disappear back over the horizon, Harman dying on October 16.

APRIL 10, 1695. An expedition begins arriving at Saint Kitts under Commo. Robert Wilmot, comprised of the 60-gun, 350-man warships *Dunkirk* (flag) and *Winchester* of Capt. Thomas Butler, the 48-

Robert Wilmot

Nothing is known about Wilmot's birth and early life. He must have already been a veteran sea officer when he received his first naval commission on July 1, 1689 (O.S.), from the Earl of Torrington. Wilmot rose rapidly through the ranks during King William's War. After serving briefly as second lieutenant aboard Torrington's flagship HMS *Exeter*, then on HMS *Breda*, Wilmot was given command of the fireship *Cygnets* on May 10, 1690 (O.S.). He was present at the Battle of Beachy Head, then was named captain of the fireship *Hopewell* that August. While sailing the elderly, 62-gun HMS *Dreadnought* from Portsmouth to the Nore, it "foundered by her leakiness." Wilmot was acquitted for its loss at his court-martial on December 8, 1690 (O.S.), and appointed next January to the equally aged HMS *Crown* of 48 guns.

In command of the hired ship *Wolf*, he escorted convoys to Newfoundland and Virginia in 1692. The next April, he was appointed to HMS *Elizabeth* of 70 guns, which helped bring Sir George Rooke's Mediterranean squadron into Torbay by June 22, 1693 (O.S.). Two days later, Wilmot fought a duel ashore with Ens. Matthew Roydon of Col. Richard Ingoldsby's 23rd Regiment of Foot, who was serving aboard as part of a marine contingent. The challenge occurred because Roydon had insulted Wilmot many times; Wilmot killed Roydon and was arrested.

He was apparently released on April 25, 1694 (O.S.), to return aboard the *Elizabeth* and take part in the bombardment of Dieppe. Wilmot then left his ship again on July 31 (O.S.) to stand trial at Exeter. He was acquitted and returned aboard the *Elizabeth* by August 18 (O.S.). Two months later, he was named commodore for the expedition to the West Indies. He was given HMS *Dunkirk* as his flagship on November 1 (O.S.) and set sail from Plymouth with his fleet by January 22, 1695 (O.S.).

It was hardly surprising that such a vigorous, able officer argued with his well-born army counterpart, Colonel Lillingston.

gun *Ruby* and *Reserve*, the frigate *Swan*, the fireships *Terrible* and *Firebrand*, 14 transports, a store ship, a hospital ship, and 3 hired merchantmen, all of which bear more than 1,200 soldiers under the veteran, 42-year-old colonel Luke Lillingston. The fleet has been rushed across the Atlantic in response to Ducasse's descent upon Jamaica (see "June 27, 1694" entry).

During his crossing, Wilmot has detached the *Swan* to call upon the president of the audiencia of Santo Domingo, proposing a joint Anglo-Spanish

assault against the French half of the island. Meanwhile, Lillingston's small army disembarks at Saint Kitts to recuperate, 130 of its members already being dead and another 400 ill, leaving 700 effectives. After arguing over strategy, Wilmot and Lillingston reembark and continue their voyage by May 8, making toward Saona to receive the Spaniards' reply.

The *Swan* is awaiting them off that island, along with the 46-gun HMS *Hampshire*, which has earlier conveyed Col. Peter Beckford from Jamaica to visit the Spanish and, on London's suggestion, also proposed a coordinated operation. The Spaniards have accepted, and Wilmot and Lillingston travel to Santo Domingo's capital aboard three men-of-war and a fireship to confer with their newfound allies, while the main English fleet circles north through the Mona Passage into Samaná Bay. An agreement is struck with Gov. Gil Correoso Catalán, whereby he will lead 1,500 Spanish troops across the island to rendezvous with the English expedition at Manzanillo by May 12.

MAY 10, 1695. Having circled around from the capital of Santo Domingo, Wilmot and Lillingston sail westward out of Samaná Bay to unite with their Spanish allies. The *Swan* takes soundings in the lead, and two days later the *Hampshire*, the *Reserve*, and the *Terrible* are sent ahead to blockade Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien), where some French ships are believed to lie. The main English expedition meanwhile anchors off Monte Cristi, and a day or so afterward contacts Correoso's Spaniards at Bayahá.

Wilmot proceeds to Bayahá to disembark Lillingston's troops and also join Spain's West Indian squadron or the *Armada de Barlovento* under Commo. Francisco Cortés—being comprised of the decrepit 450-ton flagship *Santo Cristo de Maracaibo*, the 300-ton frigate *San Nicolás*, and the auxiliary *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* (alias *Tocoluta*).

MAY 24, 1695. *Invasion of Saint Domingue.* The combined Anglo-Spanish force crosses the border, shouldering aside 300 heavily outnumbered French defenders under the district's *flibustier* chieftain and *lieutenant du Roi* or "King's lieutenant," Laurens de Graaf. Two frigates and two fireships meanwhile enter the harbor and occupy deserted Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) on May 29, so when the allied army arrives overland, it finds the buildings already pillaged. They will therefore continue their march along the coast, resentfully wreaking destruction among its plantations.

Wilmot's warships—reinforced by two Jamaican privateers and a galliot—keep pace by weighing anchor on June 10, pausing at Baie de la Cul six miles west of Cap François, then blockading Port-de-Paix three days afterward. Wishing to beset its defenders before they can mount an organized resistance, Wilmot sets 400–500 men ashore at nearby Saint Louis, driving the enemy inside the walls, until the combined army arrives overland on June 25. The French garrison under Maj. Jean Bernanos remains besieged, until they eventually attempt to break out two hours before dawn of July 15. This evacuation is betrayed to the foe, who ambush the heavily laden French column—hampered by 150 terrified women and children—and massacre many members in the darkness, including Bernanos.

Having thus secured Port-de-Paix, the victorious commanders fall out among themselves over the division of spoils, marking an end to this joint enterprise. When Wilmot suggests resuming the offensive farther south against Léogâne and Petit Goâve, Lillingston seconds the Spaniards' refusal. Disappointed and with sickness thinning their ranks, the allies part company on July 27, the English heading for Jamaica to refit while the three Spanish warships touch first at Santo Domingo before proceeding to Cuba.

SEPTEMBER 1695. Le Moyne d'Iberville leaves a 70-man garrison under Gabriel Testard de La Forest to hold Fort Bourbon in Hudson's Bay (Canada), while he sails for La Rochelle with a rich cargo of pelts. He arrives there by October 9.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1695. After recuperating at Port Royal (Jamaica) and delegating four warships to remain behind, Wilmot decides to return to England with the remnants of his sickly squadron: the vessels *Dunkirk*, *Winchester*, *Experiment*, *Terrible*, and *Firebrand*. He encounters dreadful weather and dies at sea off the Cuban coast on the afternoon of September 25.

Nine days later, HMS *Winchester* under the acting captain John Soule runs aground in the night on the Florida Keys and is wrecked. A brigantine in company, bound for New York, rescues 110 survivors, only 10 of whom are healthy. The rest of the squadron struggles into the James River in Virginia by October 16 to recuperate. They will resume their homeward passage one month later and eventually reach home, much depleted.

FEBRUARY 1696. A private expedition under the naval officer Jean-Baptiste Gennes staggers through

the Strait of Magellan to raid the Spaniards in the Pacific. Upon its departure from La Rochelle on June 3, 1695, his squadron consisted of a half-dozen ships bearing 720 men; it is now so reduced by diseases contracted in Africa that the French shortly thereafter quit the South Seas, returning to Europe via Ilha Grande (Brazil) and the West Indies.

LATE MAY TO EARLY JUNE 1696. The 44-year-old French captain and naval inspector general Bernard Renau d'Elissagaray—better known as “Petit-Renau”—reaches the West Indies with his 98-gun flagship *Intrépide*; the 54-gun, 850-ton *Gaillard*; the *Pontchartrain*; plus the frigates *Inconnu* and *Renau*. Henri Louis's (the Marquis de Chavagnac) *Gaillard* captures a rich 36-gun Cartagena merchantman on June 29 after a hard-fought, five-hour battle 50 miles outside Havana, during which it suffers 30 casualties while disabling a third of the Spaniard's 260-man crew.

Aside from this isolated victory, plus a couple of English prizes taken, Petit-Renau's primary mission—being a skilled military engineer trained under Vauban—remains to assess France's military fortifications in the Caribbean before returning home that same summer, without participating in any further offensive operations.

JULY 14, 1696. D'Iberville and naval captain Simon de Bonaventure arrive from France with two frigates, capturing the English frigate *Newport* near Saint John's (Newfoundland).

EARLY AUGUST 1696. D'Iberville relieves French Acadia by lifting the blockade of Fort La Tour at the Saint John River mouth (modern Portland Point, New Brunswick), capturing an English frigate and driving off two others.

AUGUST 4, 1696. Admiral de Pez departs Veracruz with his *Armada de Barlovento*, which consists of his flagship *Santísima Trinidad* of 56 guns and 350 men; Vice Adm. Guillermo Murphy or Morfi's vice-flagship *Maracaibo* of 46 guns and 250 men; the *Rosario* with 42 guns and 240 men; the *Guadalupe* with 26 guns and 130 men; and the *Jesús, María y José* with 22 guns and 100 men. These vessels will escort two combined plate fleets across to Havana, arriving on August 25. Rather than wait to accompany them into the Strait of Florida, as is customary, de Pez prefers to sally with his squadron alone, which has been laid up for a long time.

AUGUST 15, 1696. D'Iberville besieges the English garrison at Fort William Henry (Pemaquid) with 25 Acadian regulars and 240 Abenakis under 44-year-old Jean-Vincent d'Abbadie, Baron de Saint Castin. The English commander, Capt. Pascoe Chubb, surrenders almost as soon as the French set up their batteries and is restored to Boston along with his 92 followers, while Fort William Henry is destroyed.

AUGUST 28, 1696. Capt. William Allen recaptures Fort Bourbon (originally York Fort, in Hudson's Bay, Canada) with three Royal Navy frigates, two lesser vessels, and 400 men.

OCTOBER 3, 1696. The 68-gun, 1,100-ton French warship *Bourbon*; the 36-gun, 300-ton *Aigle* and its sister ship the *Favori*; the 32-gun, 300-ton frigate *Badine*; and the 30-gun, 500-ton *flûte Loire* arrive at Martinique in the West Indies under Comodore Chevalier des Augiers. Guided by the renegade English privateer John Philip Beare, they will slip into the roadstead at La Guaira on October 26, masquerading as Spain's West Indian squadron or *Armada de Barlovento*. They will capture the 40-gun Spanish ship, used to resupply nearby Margarita Island, by cutting it out before the batteries can react.

OCTOBER 29, 1696. Newfoundland Offensive. The 45-year-old governor Jacques François de Mombeton de Brouillan departs Placentia Bay with three ships to destroy the English settlements farther northeast, in grudging cooperation with Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, who sets off overland with another contingent on November 1. Both units rendezvous at Ferryland, 50 miles south of Saint John's, and destroy the coastal fisheries while advancing upon the English capital.

Saint John's surrenders on November 30 after a brief siege and is put to the torch while d'Iberville's subordinate, Capt. Jacques Testard de Montigny, continues obliterating fishing settlements. By the end of that winter, late in March of 1697, only Bonavista and Carbonear remain in British hands, the French having killed 200 Englishmen, captured 700, and destroyed three-dozen villages during this campaign.

NOVEMBER 11, 1696. Spanish admiral de Pez stands out of Havana with the five ships of his *Armada de Barlovento*, reaching Puerto Rico by December 15. Two weeks later, his squadron puts out to sea once more, bound for Santo Domingo, en

route intercepting the French merchantmen *Saint-Louis* and *Americaine*.

JANUARY 6, 1697. This morning off Caucedo Point, Admiral de Pez's five armada warships sight four large sail. When the Spaniards bear down upon them, the strangers hoist the colors of England and Holland, Spain's allies. After sending an officer aboard to make a brief inspection, de Pez continues his cruise.

He has been duped, however; the ships are actually the French royal warships *Bourbon*, *Bon*, *Favori*, and *Badine* under the Chevalier des Augiers. Having gained the weather gauge and the advantage of surprise, they steal down upon de Pez's formation that same night and open fire. The armada scatters in panic, de Pez himself making directly for Cuba while his vice-flagship *Maracaibo* is captured, the *Guadalupe* and the *Jesús María* flee inshore, and the *Rosario* heads for Santa Marta.

An embarrassed admiral returns into Veracruz on April 5, having lost his vice-flagship and failed to deliver his *situados* to the Spanish Main.

EARLY MARCH 1697. The 52-year-old French admiral Bernard Jean-Louis de Saint Jean, Baron de Pointis, appears off Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) with his 84-gun, 1,900-ton flagship *Sceptre*; the 64-gun, 1,000-ton vice-flagship *Saint-Louis* under Gaston Jean-Baptiste de Lévis Mirepoix; the 68-gun, 1,400-ton "rear admiral" *Fort* under the 49-year-old Alain Emmanuel, Chevalier (later Marquis) de Coëtlogon; the 60-gun, 1,000-ton *Vermandois* of du Buisson de Varenne, and *Furieux* of La Motte-Michel; the 58-gun, 900-ton *Apollon* of Gombault and *Saint-Michel* of Marolles; the 40-gun, 500-ton frigate *Mutine* of de Massiac; the 30-gun frigate *Avenant* of Francine; the 28-gun frigate *Marin* of Saint-Wandrille; the 8-gun, 140-ton bomb vessel *Éclatante* of de Mons; the corvette *Providence* of de Lescoët; plus the transports *Dieppoise* and *Ville d'Amsterdam*.

Over and above their regular complements of 2,300 sailors, these ships are carrying 1,750 soldiers and a large siege train for a projected assault against Cartagena. Although late in the war, this venture has been authorized with the aim of securing a major prize before peace can be concluded. France's bankrupt royal government has provided Pointis with warships and men, yet his financing has been raised by private investors who expect to be reimbursed out of his booty. The fleet is to be further augmented by a contingent of local *flibustiers*, but when Pointis's

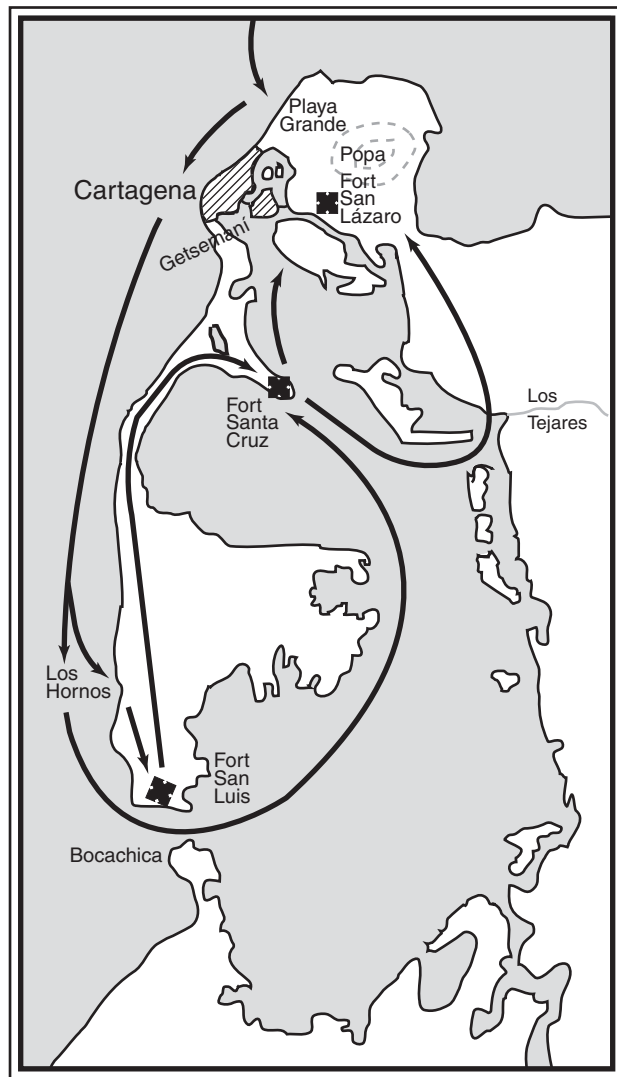
flagship arrives before Petit Goâve on March 16, he is infuriated to learn that only a few hundred await him, the rest having dispersed because of lengthy delays attending his European departure. Relations worsen a day later when a French naval officer arrests an unruly *boucanier* ashore, touching off a riot in which two or three others are killed. Only the personal intervention of Governor Ducasse succeeds in calming this mob.

The freebooters are then further offended to learn of the secondary role they are being offered in this enterprise, the question of their shares being kept especially vague, and Ducasse is excluded from any position of command. Nevertheless, they enlist in goodly numbers once Pointis publishes a proclamation stating that they will participate "man for man" with his royal crews, while Ducasse offers to go as an individual ship captain aboard his 40-gun *Pontchartrain*, commanding only his island contingent. Pointis therefore sails on March 19 to rejoin his fleet (which has meanwhile entered the Golfe de la Gonâve), as Ducasse prepares his followers to meet at the agreed rendezvous off Cape Tiburón.

Some 170 soldiers, 110 colonial volunteers under Joseph d'Honon de Gallifet, 180 free blacks under Jean-Joseph de Paty, and 650 buccaneers are raised, sailing aboard the 20-gun *Gracieuse*; the 18-gun *Cerf Volant*, *Saint Louis*, and *Serpente*; the 16-gun *Dorade*; the *Pembroke* (English prize); the *Marie-Françoise* of Captain La Villeauglamats from Saint-Malo; plus other vessels (among them, apparently, the ex-HMS *Jersey* and Augiers's prize "*Christe*," being the ex-Spanish *Santo Cristo de Maracaibo*; see "January 6, 1697" entry). After weathering a brief storm, this contingent joins the main French fleet off Cape Tiburón by March 28, then on April 8 both sight the Spanish Main.

APRIL 13, 1697. Siege of Cartagena. The French expedition arrives, and an immediate disembarkation by the buccaneers is proposed at Playa Grande, near Hicacos Point northeast of the city, but is cancelled after Ducasse and Pointis personally reconnoiter its shoreline, finding it lined with dangerous reefs. The attackers therefore decide to force the Bocachica harbor entrance farther to the south, and on the afternoon of April 15, Ducasse and Pointis go ashore at Los Hornos with 1,700 troops and 1,100 buccaneers.

While preparing to besiege Bocachica's 33-gun, 150-man (only 15 being regulars under Capt. Sancho Jimeno de Orozco) Fort San Luis, the buccaneers



French assault on Cartagena.

capture a coaster arriving from Portobelo and drive off Spanish reinforcements stealing down from the defenders' main concentration at Cartagena in boats. San Luis surrenders after being stormed on April 16; 6 French soldiers and seven buccaneers die during this assault and another 22 are wounded—including Ducasse. His *flibustiers* continue temporarily under the orders of his second-in-command, Honon de Gallifet.

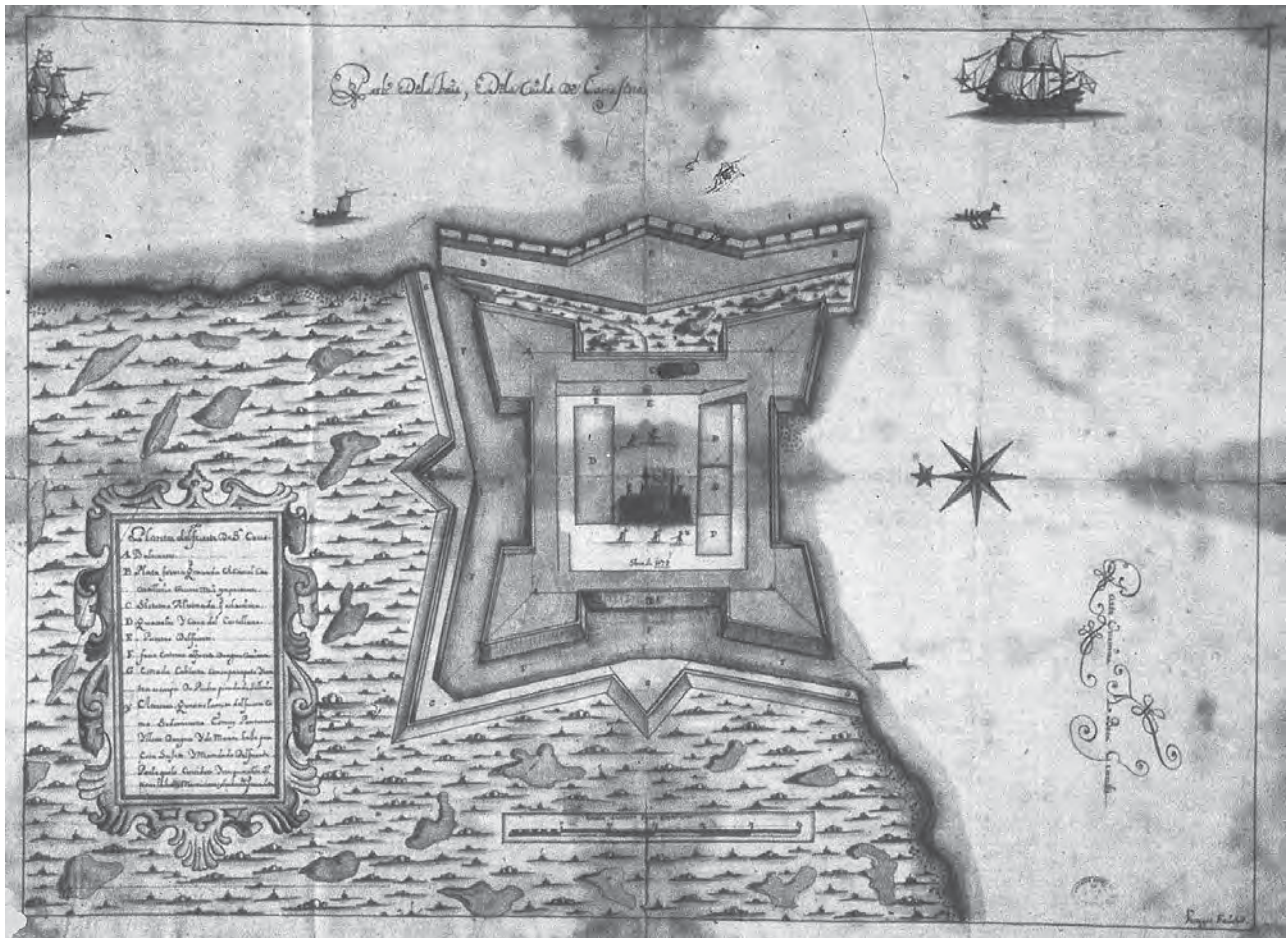
Pointis installs 170 men into Fort San Luis, works his fleet into its bay, then continues his drive north by both land and sea toward Cartagena, finding its next redoubt—Fort Santa Cruz, also nicknamed *Castillo Grande* or “Big Castle”—abandoned by the Spaniards, as Gov. Diego de los Rios y Quesada has only 750 regulars with which to defend his city. At this point, the French admiral orders his buccaneers

to traverse the bay and circle behind Spanish lines, seizing the Nuestra Señora de la Popa high ground, while his own 2,000-man army advances overland. The buccaneers occupy the heights unopposed, and Fort San Felipe is outflanked by a landing at San Lázaro Beach, then stormed by Pointis and his rear admiral de Coëtlogon. The attackers' two contingents thus reunite by April 20 and institute siege proceedings against Cartagena's Getsemaní suburb, defended by aged, gout-ridden Capt. Francisco Santarén with 700 men.

Approach trenches are dug, and artillery is landed from the French fleet. Pointis has been wounded in a leg by a sharpshooter's round, so he supervises this work from a litter. On April 28, the bombardment begins against Getsemaní's walls, and during a lull on April 30, Ducasse (now recuperated from his own injury) visits a Spanish officer at the gate and notices that a breach has been made. At Ducasse's urging, Pointis orders a general assault for 4:00 p.m., and in bloody fighting, French grenadiers and buccaneers fight their way into the suburb and right up to the very edge of Cartagena. The defenders' morale collapses, and by evening of May 2, white flags are hoisted upon the walls. While finalizing terms, Pointis learns that a 1,000-man Spanish relief column is approaching, so he sends Ducasse's buccaneers with several hundred soldiers to oppose them.

Pointis occupies Cartagena on May 4. The relief column never appears, and by the time Ducasse and his men return, they find the city gates closed and learn that they are to be billeted in the impoverished, devastated suburb of Getsemaní. The French commander in chief fears that the unruly buccaneers will violate his carefully arranged capitulation terms, so he keeps them outside the walls, away from where the booty is being tallied. The few surviving Spanish inhabitants are obliged to surrender most of their riches, and the plunder eventually totals 8 million French crowns. The buccaneers expect a quarter and are outraged on May 25 to discover that they are to receive only a paltry 40,000 crowns. Unknown to them, the crews aboard Pointis's royal warships have been serving for only a small percentage, which explains what the admiral meant when he deceitfully offered them shares “man for man.” By now, the plunder is aboard Pointis's men-of-war, ready to depart.

Furious at being duped, the buccaneers argue for several days, then swarm back into Cartagena on May 30—over Ducasse's protests—to round up ev-



Contemporary Spanish diagram of Fort Santa Cruz, just outside Cartagena. (Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla)

ery Spaniard they can find, inflicting tortures until they extort an additional 1,000 crowns per buccaneer. Pointis meanwhile quits the scene on June 1 with his heavily laden fleet, but the buccaneers do not return aboard their ships until June 3, weighing four days later.

JUNE 6, 1697. Five days after quitting Cartagena, Pointis's 10 warships and 2 auxiliaries are sighted at sundown by an Anglo-Dutch battle fleet under the 53-year-old vice admiral John Neville, sent specifically into the West Indies with his flagship *HMS Cambridge* and other vessels to counter this French expedition. After rendezvousing with Commo. George Mees's squadron and 8 Dutch ships under Commodore Hoogenhoeck at Barbados on April 27, Neville's fleet has prowled as far west as Jamaica, searching for the French.

Departing Port Royal on June 4, they at last spot their quarry, and the next morning, June 7, they give chase. The allied fleet totals almost 30 sail,

among them the *Monmouth* of 66 guns; the *Rupert* of 64; the *Pembroke* under Capt. James Studley (later John Litcott) and the *Sunderland* under Capt. Roger Bellwood, both of 60 guns; the *Trident* of 54; the *Newcastle* of 52; the *Colchester*, *Lincoln* of Capt. Nicholas Dyer and *Warwick* of 50 each; the *Bristol* of 48; the hired ships *Princess Anne*, *Gosport*, and *Virgin*; as well as Hoogenhoeck's 72-gun *Hollandia*, 4 fire-ships, and the bomb ketch *Lightning*. Pointis's outnumbered, overburdened vessels—most of their crews dead or diseased following Cartagena—are in no condition to fight, so reverse course and run. *HMS Warwick* of Capt. Anthony Tollet gets near enough to exchange shots with the rearmost French ship and takes a small auxiliary laden with slaves and booty. Pointis eventually forms a line of battle, expecting a full engagement, but only duels with Capt. Stephen Elliott's *Bristol* before succeeding in pulling away.

Over the next two days, the French succeed in outrunning their pursuers, until Pointis estimates

that he is only 60 miles from Cartagena, so he steers due west during the night. By dawn of June 10, he has eluded his enemies, the only losses being a Spanish prize that lags behind and is recaptured by the *Princess Anne* of Capt. William Wakelin and Hoogenhoeck's *Hollandia*. Because the chase has also carried Neville so near to Cartagena, the British admiral pays a visit before roaming northeastward again and, on June 25, sights Ducasse anchored with eight buccaneer vessels off Sambay. The English and Dutch pursue once more, capturing the *Gracieuse* and the 50-gun *Christe* (ex-Spanish *Santo Cristo de Maracaibo*), while driving the *Saint Louis* of Capitaine Charles hard aground, although he and his crew escape ashore—only to be hunted down by the Spaniards, captured, and put to work rebuilding Cartagena's defenses.

Meanwhile, Neville detaches four men-of-war to pursue Ducasse's remaining vessels, which scatter toward Saint Domingue (Haiti). The 40-gun *Cerf Volant* of Capitaine Macary is driven on to Saint Domingue's coast by Royal Navy captain Thomas Dilkes, but the rest of the French raiders arrive safely—complaining bitterly of Pointis's deceitfulness. (A prolonged litigation ensues, eventually resulting in slightly larger shares being paid by Pointis's backers to the defrauded buccaneers.)

JUNE 29, 1697. After chasing Ducasse, Neville visits Spanish Santo Domingo to regroup.

JULY 1697. The 37-year-old commodore John Norris reaches Saint John's (Newfoundland) from England aboard his 70-gun flagship *HMS Content*—captured from the French in January 1695—accompanied by four fourth rates, four frigates, two bomb ketches, and two fireships, plus 2,000 troops under 60-year-old Scottish general Sir John Gibsone. This expedition is intended to recover the English fisheries that have been destroyed by the French the previous autumn.

But on August 2, a report arrives that five French ships of the line are in nearby Conception Bay under the 57-year-old vice admiral André, Marquis de Nesmond, prompting the local English authorities—over Norris's objections—to order his expedition to remain inside Saint John's Bay and strengthen its defenses. The English commodore is therefore unable to fulfill his mission and sails for England by October.

JULY 3, 1697. From Santo Domingo, Neville detaches Commodore Mees with nine vessels to raid the French half of this island. Before daybreak of



Red-coated soldier of Gibsone's regiment. (Canadian Department of National Defense)

July 8, the latter disembarks several hundred men a mile east of Petit Goâve and advances with a pair of smaller craft and numerous boats in support offshore, to take the town by surprise. Their approach proves so effective that Governor Ducasse barely manages to escape, bolting from bed out a window directly into the jungle. The French island capital is overrun and looted, and the raiders cause considerable damage before their men become inebriated and are obliged to repair back aboard ship by the appearance of a French relief column.

Mees sails away to rejoin Neville a few days later, and after touching briefly at Jamaica, the reunited English fleet proceeds toward Havana to escort the Spanish treasure convoy across the Atlantic. Mees dies aboard his flagship *Breda* on July 30, two days before the Cuban capital is reached. Cuba's Spanish governor indicates that there is no need for Royal

Navy protection, so Neville continues to Virginia, where he, too, succumbs aboard the *Cambridge* on August 17 (O.S.). Eventually, Dilkes conducts the surviving vessels home.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1697. D’Iberville reappears off the Hayes River mouth (in Hudson’s Bay, Canada) with his 44-gun frigate *Pélican*, having become separated from three other French consorts. Next day, he is attacked by the 56-gun HMS *Hampshire* of Capt. John Fletcher, the 36-gun private frigate *Dering*, and the 32-gun *Royal Hudson’s Bay*, resisting them for four hours. The Royal Navy ship strikes a shoal and sinks with all hands, while the *Royal Hudson’s Bay* surrenders, only to be driven aground by a sudden storm, along with the *Pélican*. Eighteen of d’Iberville’s men drown while attempting to swim through the icy waters, and Capt. Michael Grimington’s *Dering* escapes.

D’Iberville’s three consorts appear by September 8, and five days later Gov. Henry Baley surrenders York Fort. The French leader installs his brother Joseph, Sieur de Sérigny, as its new governor, then departs later this same month, before winter can set in. D’Iberville will reach France in November.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1697. The 39-year-old major John March repulses a war party of 200 Indians and several Frenchmen on the banks of the Damariscotta River and thus prevents a descent upon eastern Maine.

In Europe, Britain and France sign the Treaty of Rijswijk on September 20, 1697, which brings an end to this war. By its terms, both countries largely agree to restore each other’s possessions in the New World, although Newfoundland and Hudson’s Bay are generally conceded to England and Acadia to France.

DARIEN DISASTER (1698–1699)

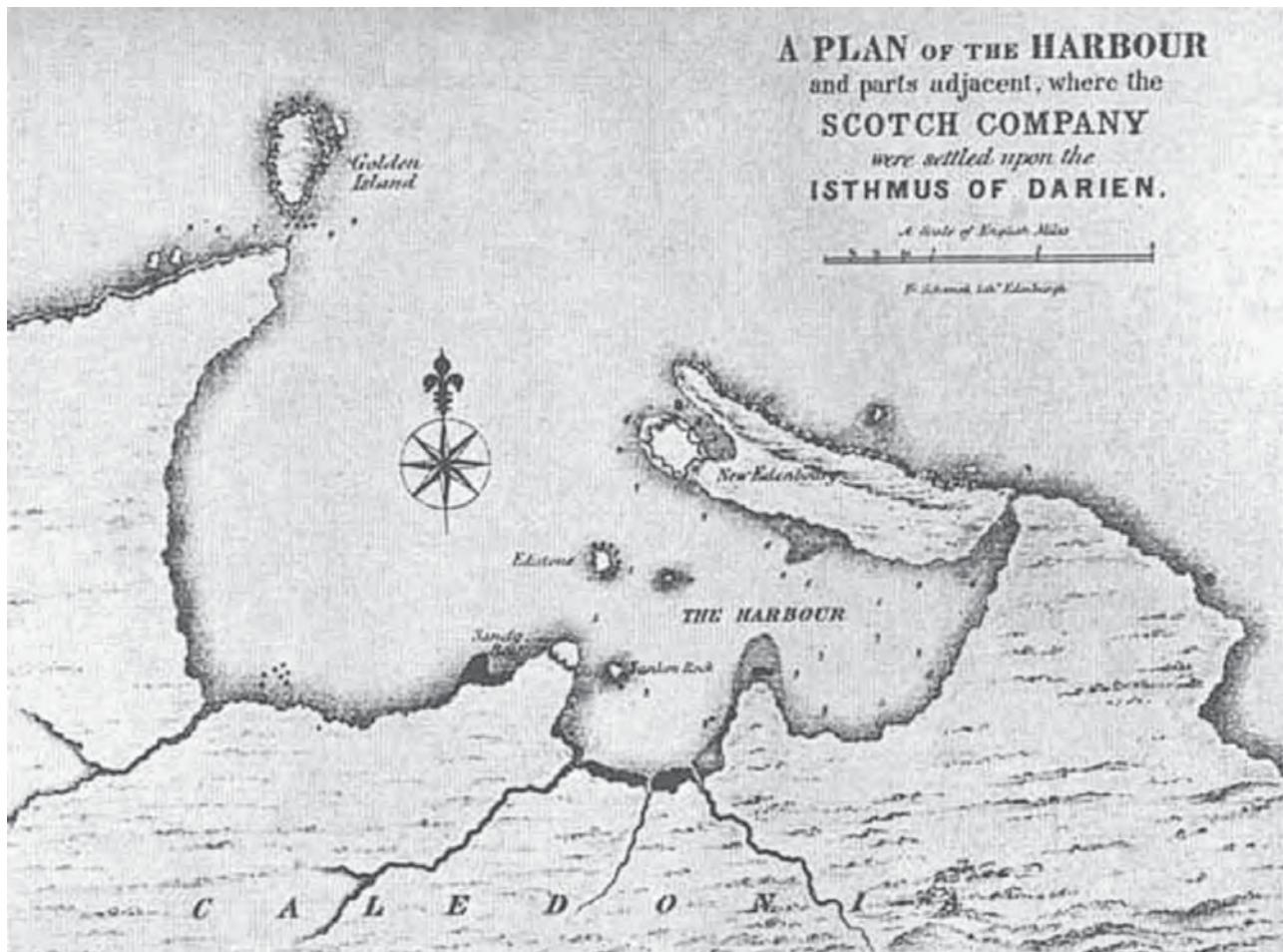
On October 11, 1698, the Scottish ship *Unicorn* and its tender *Dolphin* drop anchor at Saint Thomas in the Danish Virgin Islands, being part of a larger flotilla that is conveying 1,200 people to establish a Scottish commercial settlement at Darien. Robert Pennecuik, Robert and Thomas Drummond, William Paterson, and other leaders of this ill-conceived venture are so unfamiliar with the Spanish Main that they must hire the retired privateersman Robert Allison (*see* “April 15, 1680” entry in “Irregular Warfare”) to pilot them on to their destination. Both ships rejoin the main body off Vieques Island, where Allison goes aboard the flagship *Saint Andrew* to direct its helmsmen, getting under way again by October 18.

NOVEMBER 10, 1698. The Scots sight Golden Island (Panama) at dusk and the next day begin exploring the mainland nearby. After establishing friendly relations with the natives, the flotilla enters a harbor on November 15 to erect their settlement, christening the anchorage as Caledonia Bay, with the town of New Edinburgh to be added later. Disease is already thinning their ranks, and the Scots build their first fort on a sandy promontory too deep within the bay and are compelled to relocate two months later. Living conditions prove extremely difficult, no trade appears, and by mid-December rumors of a Spanish counterexpedition reaches their ears.

JANUARY 16, 1699. Andrés de Pez, commander of Spain’s West Indian squadron (the *Armada de Barlovento*), reaches Portobelo from Cartagena with the

warships *Trinidad*, *Rosario*, *Guadalupe*, and the 6-gun sloop *San José y las Animas* to eradicate the new Scottish settlement near the Gulf of Darien. Convinced his four warships are inadequate for a sea-borne descent upon that outpost, he proposes to the president of the audiencia of Panama—Pedro Luis Enríquez de Sevilla, Conde de Canillas de los Torneros de Enríquez, ennobled more than six years previously while serving as *corregidor* of the wealthy Bolivian mining center of Potosí—that 500 seamen be marched across the Isthmus and reinforced for an attack against the Scottish groups’ rear. This strategy is agreed to by the president, who contributes two companies of regulars toward the venture.

De Pez and his men leave Panama City by March 9 and gather volunteers as they advance; but the jungle trails grow increasingly difficult, particularly



A 19th-century map of the 1698–1699 Scottish settlement at Darien, Panama. (Author's Collection)

when seasonal rains set in, bringing progress to a halt six miles short of their objective. De Pez is obliged to retreat, further hurried along by rumors of an English squadron bearing down upon Portobelo, where only anchor watches remain, careening his vessels.

This English threat never materializes, nonetheless, de Pez loses 90 men through desertion during his campaign plus another 80 because of illness. Despite being ordered by Canillas to remain at anchor off Portobelo, de Pez sails for Cartagena that same summer and arrives in late July. News is then received that the Scots have abandoned Darien because of disease, internal strife, and lack of profitability.

JANUARY 17, 1699. Rear Adm. John Benbow arrives in Carlisle Bay (Barbados) with a small squad-

ron from England to conduct peacetime patrols and diplomatic overtures with the Spaniards at Portobelo and the Danes on Saint Thomas. His crews suffer a heavy mortality rate from disease before returning home.

JUNE 24, 1699. The private ships *Maurepas* of 50 guns and 180 men and *Phéypeaux* of 44 guns and 150 men, both commanded by Jacques Gouin de Beauchesne, reach the tip of South America to penetrate the Strait of Magellan and trade along the Spanish empire's Pacific coast. Over the next year and a half, Beauchesne will conduct business in these forbidden waters, at times resorting to force, thereby establishing a precedent for other French imitators.

High Tide of Empire (1700–1777)



One must admit that we have been very unfortunate;
just when we could hope to see the campaign end with glory,
everything turned against us.

—Brig. Gen. François Gaston, Chevalier de Lévis, after the fall of Quebec (1759)

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR (1702–1713)

In Europe, King Charles II of Spain dies on November 30, 1700, leaving the Habsburg archduke Charles of Austria and the 16-year-old French Bourbon princeling Philip of Anjou, grandson to the expansionistic King Louis XIV of France, as nearest claimants to the throne. The French prince disembarks at Fuenterrabia on January 23, 1701, to be acclaimed by May as King Felipe V. Upon entering Madrid, he proclaims: “The Pyrenees are no more.” But rather than see Spain’s vast overseas territories added to the French empire, other European powers maneuver to contest this succession by championing the archduke’s claim. Clashes occur in the Low Countries.

Anglo-French tensions are further exacerbated when the exiled King James II dies at Saint Germain outside Paris on September 17, 1701. Louis XIV promptly recognizes the Stuart pretender’s son, James Edward, as the new king of England, despite angry protests from London. The English ambassador withdraws, and matters become even more complicated in March 1702 when the 51-year-old King William III of England breaks his collarbone while trying out a new horse, catches a chill, then dies shortly thereafter. As William III’s wife, Mary, has predeceased him, he is succeeded by his 37-year-old sister, Princess Anne. The hostilities that will erupt that ensuing summer, called the War of the Spanish Succession in England and on the Continent, will thus become known in England’s New World colonies as Queen Anne’s War.

JUNE 18, 1701. Spain and Portugal sign the Alfonso Treaty, whereby Colonia del Sacramento (Uruguay) is to be restored to Portuguese control.

OCTOBER 1701. Gov. Elias Haskett of the Bahamas is deposed by a mob for having arrested his popular predecessor, the mulatto privateer Read Elding.

NOVEMBER 14, 1701. In anticipation of European frictions spreading to the West Indies, 48-year-old John Benbow—now Vice Admiral of the Blue—returns to Barbados with 10 Royal Navy warships, then visits Martinique, Dominica, and Nevis, before reaching Port Royal (Jamaica) on December 16 to spend the winter.

JANUARY 2, 1702. In response to Benbow’s deployment, 64-year-old Vice Adm. François Louis de Rousselet, Comte de Château-Renault and Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Louis, and his subordinate the Marquis de Nesmond, Knight of the Order of Malta, arrive at Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique) with a large fleet.

Both Paris and Madrid fear that Benbow’s West Indian foray is intended to capture a Spanish American treasure convoy, thereby inaugurating hostilities with a preemptive coup. They have therefore furnished Château-Renault with a Spanish commis-

sion, in addition to his French one, to defend the silver shipments.

After three weeks at Martinique, the French admiral is instructed to attack Barbados. Feeling such an enterprise to be beyond his fleet’s capabilities—having only 2,200 troops, a third of the English strength on Barbados—Château-Renault instead decides to sail for Havana to escort the Mexican plate fleet across to Spain.

JANUARY 13, 1702. An expedition of 235 Spaniards aboard nine coastal vessels returns into Campeche after having attempted to sweep the English logwood establishments from the Laguna de Términos. They were repelled, and their commander, the coast-guard captain Francisco Fernández, was wounded in a shoulder.

FEBRUARY 22, 1702. Château-Renault gets under way from Martinique, his flag transferred aboard the *Fort*. Upon reaching western Puerto Rico 10 days later, he detaches his weakest ships—the *Merveilleux*, the *Invincible*, the *Monarque*, the *Orgueilleux*, the *Capable*, the *Juste*, the *Vainqueur*, the *Fourbe*, the *Constant*, the *Bizarre*, the *Saint Louis*, and the *Trident*—toward France under de la Harteloire, while leading the remaining 15 ships of the line, 5 frigates, and 10 smaller craft into Léogâne (Haiti) by the next evening.

FRENCH FLEET UNDER FRANÇOIS LOUIS
DE ROUSSELET

Ship	Guns	Men	Commander
<i>Merveilleux</i> (flag)	98	720	(flag captain) de Combes
<i>Monarque</i> (vice-flag)	88	620	(flag captain) Félix de Beauissier
<i>Vainqueur</i> (rear admiral)	84	600	Commo. Marie Hyacinthe, Marquis de Rosmadec
<i>Superbe</i>	68	450	Commodore de la Harteloire
<i>Orgueilleux</i>	88	650	Dreux de Rousselet, Marquis de Château-Renault (the admiral's nephew)
<i>Prompt</i>	76	500	de Beaujeu
<i>Constant</i>	70	450	de Machault
<i>Fort</i>	70	420	Baron de Palli
<i>Invincible</i>	64	450	Comte de Sébeville
<i>Bizarre</i>	68	400	Chevalier de Villars
<i>Ferme</i>	66	450	Chevalier de Digoin
<i>Espérance</i>	64	420	Roland Barrin, Marquis de la Galissonnière de Saint Aubin
<i>Bourbon</i>	64	400	Comte de Blénac
<i>Henri</i>	64	400	du Coudray
<i>Oriflamme</i>	64	380	de Pallas
<i>Assuré</i>	60	380	Philippe d'Aligre
<i>Saint Louis</i>	60	380	du Quesne Mosnier (or possibly Abraham Louis Duquesne Monnier)
<i>Eole</i>	62	380	Comte de Ferrière
<i>Sirene</i>	66	380	de la Roche Vezan
<i>Prudent</i>	60	380	de Grandpré
<i>Capable</i>	58	350	de la Roque Persin
<i>Excellent</i>	60	350	des Herbiers
<i>Trident</i>	60	350	Chevalier de Beaujeu
<i>Hasardeux</i>	50	350	Marquis de Château Morant
<i>Modéré</i>	52	300	de Montbault
<i>Solide</i>	50	330	Gilles, Marquis de Des Nos de Champmeslins
<i>Juste</i>	60	300	de Rochallat
<i>Dauphine</i> (frigate)	40	230	Chevalier du Plessis Liancourt
<i>Triton</i> (frigate)	40	250	Claude Élisée Court de la Bruyère
<i>Volontaire</i> (frigate)	36	220	Chevalier de Lannion
<i>Éveillé</i> (fireship)	—	50	Halis de l'Escalette
<i>Indiscret</i> (fireship)	—	50	Jolibert Guay
<i>Favori</i> (fireship)	—	50	Chevalier de la Pomarède
<i>Fourbe</i> (fireship)	—	40	Chevalier de Gabaret
<i>Zeripsé</i> (fireship)	—	40	des Moulières
<i>Portefaix</i> (transport)	—	45	Ensign Cholence
<i>Bienvenu</i> (transport)	—	45	Lt. Herpin Desmarais

Earlier, his expedition has been augmented at Martinique by the frigates *Naiade* of Captain Belleville and *Nieuport* of Captain d'Aubigny; the corvettes *Choquante* of de Rochambault and *Émeraude* of de Sainte Osmanne; the transport *Mercure* of Comte d'Hautefort; and the dispatch-vessel *Cheval Marin* of du Dresnay.

After corresponding with the Spaniards in Cuba and Mexico for a month, Château-Renault puts out to sea again on March 19, seizes a New York sloop and two English brigantines in the Old Bahama Channel four days afterward, then reaches



Stern view of the 36-gun, 480-ton French royal frigate *Volontaire* by a contemporary naval architect. (National Maritime Museum, London)

Havana by April 9. Leaving his main body there under Nesmond, the French admiral exits on April 25 with the *Bourbon* (flag), four ships of the line, a frigate, and a fireship to traverse the Gulf of Mexico and meet the outward-bound Mexican convoy under its commander in chief, Luis Manuel de Velasco y Tejada, aboard his 70-gun flagship *Jesús, María y José*; Vice Adm. José Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marqués de la Peñuela, aboard the 54-gun *Bufona*; and the latter's younger brother, Rear Adm. Fernando Chacón Medina Salazar aboard a 54-gun hired merchantman. (Less than five years later, José Chacón becomes governor of New Mexico.)

The French contingent reaches Veracruz by May 5 and departs with the 14-ship Spanish formation on June 10–11. Upon reentering Havana on July 7, Château-Renault finds his main force decimated by death, disease, and desertion—Nesmond, Rosmadec,

Pallas, and Château Morant being among the dead. Nevertheless, he sets sail by July 23–24 with 18 ships of the line, 6 frigates, and a half-dozen smaller vessels, escorting 3 Spanish warships and two-dozen merchantmen across the Atlantic toward Cadiz.

SPRING 1702. Spanish troops in Chile mutiny because of their eight years' arrears in pay, only to be subdued on orders from Gov. Francisco Ibáñez de Peralta, a knight of the orders of San Juan and of Malta.

MARCH 1702. Zambo and English raiders from the Mosquito Coast ravage Spanish settlements in Costa Rica's Matina Valley.

APRIL 1, 1702. An expedition of 128 Spaniards departs Villahermosa de Tabasco (Mexico) to attack the logwood settlements in the nearby Laguna de Términos, guided by a renegade Irish bayman named Archibald Macdonell. They return 18 days later with numerous captives, having successfully swept through the interloper camps.

MAY 15, 1702. In Europe, England and Holland officially declare war against the Franco-Spanish union, which reciprocates by July.

LATE MAY 1702. Between Spanish Florida and English Carolina, a Creek war party—armed and abetted by English traders—exterminates the Timucuan mission of Santa Fe de Toloco. St. Augustine's governor, José de Zúñiga y la Cerda, retaliates by dispatching 800 Apalaches into Creek territory later that same summer under Capt. Francisco Romo de Uriza. Anthony Dodsworth and other Carolina traders get wind of this plan at Coweta and quickly marshal 500 Creeks, who ambush the column on the Flint River and inflict heavy casualties.

JULY 3, 1702. Austria declares war against France and Spain.

JULY 14, 1702. *Conquest of Saint Kitts.* Learning of the official outbreak of hostilities, the new governor general for the English Leeward Islands—Christopher Codrington, son of the previous governor general who has passed away on July 30, 1698—descends upon the shared island of Saint Kitts with 1,200 men from Antigua and Nevis, disembarking south of its French capital of Basseterre.

The French colonists have only recently resettled their half of this island, after their expulsion during King William's War (*see* "June 30, 1690" in "King William's War"). Their new governor, Jean-Baptiste,

Vigo Bay

When the Mexican plate fleet and its French escorts emerged out of the Atlantic near Spain, they were warned that a huge Anglo-Dutch force was besieging Cadiz. The British admiral Sir George Rooke and Dutch lieutenant admiral Philips van Almonde had appeared before that port on August 23, 1702, slowly disembarking almost 14,000 troops. But ineptitude, discord, and cruelty toward the inhabitants prevented the allies from carrying the lightly defended city.

Since Cadiz was their destination, Château-Renault and Velasco altered course to enter Vigo Bay on September 23, 1702. Despite the frail and decayed defenses there, the Spanish treasure ships dropped anchor at the deepest point possible inside the bay. They began offloading their silver and merchandise, which eventually was carried inland by 1,200 carts. Their French escorts meanwhile formed a defensive line between the two harbor forts behind a temporary boom of masts. Local militiamen manned shore defenses and dug trenches.

When the Anglo-Dutch fleet left Cadiz six days later in defeat, Château-Renault and Velasco believed that all danger was past. But Capt. Thomas Hardy's 60-gun HMS *Pembroke* paused in the Portuguese port of Lagos on October 17, 1702, to take on water and learned of the fleet hidden in Vigo. When Rooke was told, he realized that it was a golden opportunity to offset his setback at Cadiz. By the afternoon of October 19, word reached Vigo that 150 enemy sail were bearing down upon the defenders.

The powerful Anglo-Dutch fleet pushed into Vigo's outer bay on the morning of October 22, 1702, led by Vice Adm. Thomas Hopsonn's 80-gun HMS *Torbay*. The inner defenses were overwhelmed the next morning when Gen. James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, landed with some 10,000 troops. Rooke's ships then fought their way past the boom and Château-Renault's line, only to find most of the Franco-Spanish vessels already ablaze. The defenders suffered some 2,000 killed and a like number wounded, compared to 800 dead and 500 injured among the attackers. Despite the crushing nature of Rooke's victory, he came away with only 15 prizes and a paltry £14,000 in booty. The millions in Mexican silver had been saved.

Comte de Gennes, can muster barely 160 men in the southern quarter, with another 240 under his subordinate de Courpon in the north around Pointe de Sable. Their English neighbors already have 1,300 volunteers under arms, and they assault the Ravine Guillon north of Basseterre, while Codrington's army closes in from the south and 24 British ships anchor offshore. De Gennes capitulates by July 16, and the French are once more expelled.

JULY 22, 1702. Benbow sorties from Port Royal (Jamaica) with his flagship *Breda* and a portion of his fleet to commence hostilities against the nearby French base of Léogâne (Haiti). Arriving 16 days later, he drives the 46-gun, 600-ton French troop transport *Gironde* aground, where it is burned by its crew. The English raiders destroy another two large merchantmen, as well as capturing another pair, along with a brigantine and a sloop. After cruising offshore for several days, the British learn of a French squadron reputedly bound for Cartagena and Portobelo under the 56-year-old French commodore Jean-Baptiste Ducasse (former governor of Saint Domingue; see "Intercolonial Friction"), so they set sail south to intercept it on August 21.

AUGUST 4, 1702. The privateer Captain Brown quits Jamaica with his 10-gun *Blessing* and 79 men—including the famous Edward Davis (see "June 12, 1684" entry in "Irregular Warfare")—to attack Tolú (Colombia). This town is apparently plundered, but Brown is shot mortally through the head and is succeeded by Captain Christian.

AUGUST 5, 1702. Some 40 Englishmen aboard a pair of launches attempt to disembark from two ships anchored off Arecibo (Puerto Rico), only to be surprised and repulsed by 11 Spanish troops and 20 mounted militiamen under Capt. Antonio de los Reyes Correa emerging from among the sand dunes. The Spanish slaughter 22 of the invaders at a cost of only one dead and three wounded among their own ranks.

AUGUST 8, 1702. Ducasse reaches Puerto Rico from Spain with a half-dozen ships of the line. Like Château-Renault, Ducasse has been promoted and given a Spanish commission in addition to his French one to be able to escort the Mexican viceroy designate, Francisco Fernández de la Cueva Enríquez, Duque de Albuquerque, across the Atlantic, along with eight Spanish transports bearing 2,000 troops.

After pausing at Puerto Rico, Ducasse detaches two men-of-war toward Mexico with the new viceroy, while touching at Santo Domingo to deposit the Spanish troops and collect important passengers. His next port of call is to be Santa Marta (Colombia), followed by Cartagena and Portobelo. He sets sail on August 28 with his 68-gun, 450-man, 1,100-ton flagship *Heureux* under Captain Bennet; the 50-gun, 350-man 1,000-ton *Agréable* of the Chevalier de Rency or Roussy; the 60-gun, 350-ton, 1,000-ton *Phénix* of the Chevalier de Poudens; the 50-gun, 300-man, 900-ton *Apollon* of de Muin; the 30-gun, 550-ton transport *Prince de Frise* of Lieutenant de Saint André; the fireship *Marin* of Cauvet; the merchant frigate *Auguste* of Saint Marc; the English prize galley *Anne*, and two other unknown auxiliaries.

AUGUST 30, 1702. *Benbow's Last Fight.* This morning, Ducasse's 10 sail are sighted off Santa Marta, just east of the Magdalena River mouth (Colombia), by Benbow's 70-gun, 460-man flagship *Breda* under the flag captain Christopher Fogg; the 64-gun, 445-man *Defiance* of Richard Kirkby; the 60-gun, 340-man *Windsor* of John Constable; the 54-gun, 280-man *Greenwich* of Cooper Wade; as well as the 48-gun, 230-man *Falmouth* of Samuel Vincent, the *Pendennis* of Thomas Hudson, and the *Ruby* of George Walton.

The Royal Navy squadron's strength is far superior to that of the French, who try to avoid action. By 4:00 p.m., the lead English ships overtake the French *Apollon* and *Prince de Frise*, opening fire briefly before the *Defiance* and the *Windsor* luff out of line. Over the next few days, the low-born English admiral will discover that Captains Kirkby, Hudson, Constable, and Wade are reluctant to obey his orders, thus hampering his efforts to overwhelm Ducasse's force.

Both formations steer westward this night, Benbow re-forming his line and giving instructions for all ships to close next dawn. Yet again, only the *Breda* and the *Ruby* join the fighting at sunrise; the latter becomes badly cut up and soon has to be towed off. Some broadsides are also exchanged this afternoon, and the English flagship sustains considerable damage aloft before night falls. The other captains still show little resolve on September 1, when the French moreover gain a favorable wind, allowing Ducasse to run with his lighter vessels in the van, the *Phénix* and the *Agréable* protecting his rear. Benbow pursues alone and fights this rearmost pair from 11:00 a.m.–2:30 p.m. Little occurs on September 2, but at

10:00 a.m. of September 3, the *Breda* and the *Falmouth* overhaul Ducasse's squadron—which has meanwhile detached the *Prince de Frise*—and at about noon recapture the English galley *Anne*.

Yet the French commodore persists on his southeasterly heading, now coming within 50 miles of Cartagena. This prompts Benbow to once more overtake and fight a night action with the *Apollon*, but his right leg is smashed by a French chain shot at 3:00 a.m. of September 4. Although carried below, Benbow returns to his quarterdeck to continue directing the action from a cot. Dawn reveals the *Apollon* dismasted and in danger of being boarded, thus obliging Ducasse to turn back to its rescue. The *Defiance*, the *Windsor*, the *Pendennis*, and the *Greenwich* again refuse to fight, sheering off to leeward after a token broadside. Only the *Breda* makes a stand, being severely mauled while the *Apollon* is towed off.

Ducasse enters Cartagena triumphantly on September 5, leaving a badly injured Benbow to limp back to Jamaica and court-martial his officers. Kirkby

and Wade are condemned to death, Constable is cashiered and imprisoned, and Hudson dies on September 25 (O.S.). The admiral's leg is amputated, but he, too, succumbs on November 15. Rear Adm. Sir William Whetstone assumes temporary command over the Jamaica station until Vice Adm. John Graydon can come out from England. As for the French, the *Agréable*'s commander, Louis de la Roche-foucauld Roye, Chevalier de Roussy, is rewarded by being elevated to lieutenant general and Marquis de Roye in December 1703—largely because he is the brother-in-law of France's navy minister.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1702. This morning, the 46-year-old commodore John Leake arrives off Bay Bulls (Newfoundland) escorting an English convoy with his 60-gun flagship HMS *Exeter*, the *Assistance*, the *Montague*, the *Lichfield*, and the *Medway* of 50–60 guns; two galleys of 32 guns; a fireship; and a sloop. Being informed by boat that there are two French ships loading at nearby Trepassey Bay and another

Admiral John Benbow

John Benbow was born on March 10, 1653 (O.S.), at Shrewsbury in England. The son of a tanner, he apparently went to sea aboard a merchantman at a young age. Few details of his early life are known prior to his joining the Royal Navy in the spring of 1678 as an experienced master's mate aboard the 66-gun HMS *Rupert*. He served so well against Algerian rovers in the Mediterranean that he was promoted to master of the 42-gun HMS *Nonsuch* on June 15, 1679 (O.S.).

While serving off North Africa in April 1681, Benbow was court-martialed for disrespect and sentenced to lose three months' pay. He left the Royal Navy after his ship returned to England and resumed his merchant career. While trading in the Mediterranean with his own frigate in 1686, Benbow beat off an attack by Sallee rovers, allegedly leaving 13 of their heads in Cadiz. When King William's War broke out against France in the spring of 1689, he immediately rejoined the navy and was commissioned on June 1 (O.S.) as third lieutenant aboard HMS *Elizabeth*. Despite his humble birth, he was appointed captain of the elderly 54-gun HMS *York* by September 20 (O.S.).

Benbow evidently won the favor of the new First Lord of the Admiralty—the influential Arthur Herbert, Earl of Torrington—because he began a rapid rise through the ranks. On November 12, 1689 (O.S.), Benbow was transferred to the problem-plagued, 100-gun flagship HMS *Britannia*. He was also named master attendant of the important Chatham Dockyard the next March and continued to serve at sea. That same summer of 1690, he was Torrington's master of the fleet aboard HMS *Sovereign* in the defeat off Beachy Head. His evidence helped acquit his patron at the subsequent court-martial.

Despite Torrington's fall from favor, Benbow remained employed at sea. He took part in the hard-fought victories at Barfleur and La Hogue in 1692, blasted Saint Malo with an explosive ship the next year, and then shelled Dunkirk in 1694. Rewarded by being named master attendant at Deptford, Benbow was promoted to rear admiral in 1695 and the next year helped blockade Dunkirk.

After hostilities ceased, Benbow was appointed commander in chief for the West Indies in March 1698. His tenure proved so satisfactory that he was given command of HMS *Downs* upon his return to England. When the War of the Spanish Succession threatened, he was promoted to Vice Admiral of the Blue on June 30, 1701 (O.S.), and sent back to the Caribbean with a fleet.

The reluctance of his subordinates to obey his orders off Santa Marta was attributed to his low birth. Having risen through the ranks, Benbow was remembered fondly by his seamen as "Brother Tar." Robert Louis Stevenson even gave his name to the fictional tavern in his classic novel *Treasure Island*.

pair of enemy warships lying at Plaisance (modern Placentia) Bay, he continues southward that same evening with his squadron.

On the morning of September 8, a small French ship is intercepted arriving from Martinique and four other sail are sighted off Cape Pine, so the commodore detaches the 60-gun *Montague* and 50-gun *Lichfield* in pursuit, which overhaul them by nightfall. Meanwhile, Leake and the rest of his squadron proceed into Trepassey Bay and cut out two anchored French ships at noon, before exiting and regrouping overnight. The next day, Leake detaches the *Medway*, the *Lichfield*, and the galley



Soldier from one of the British independent companies in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. (Canadian Department of National Defense)

Charles to raid Colinet Bay, while he stands toward St. Mary's that same afternoon to set landing parties ashore and burn all its French fishing installations. The English squadron continues prowling Newfoundland's southwestern coast for another week before Leake proceeds toward the Saint Lawrence Seaway and hovers outside the harbor of the French island of St. Pierre on September 12–13. He makes a few small captures there. The dispersed English warships eventually regroup and return into Saint John's by September 30.

OCTOBER 7, 1702. The 60-gun HMS *Assistance* and 32-gun galley *Charles* appear off Saint Pierre Island, south of Newfoundland, disembarking a force that burns its church and two houses. The 45-year-old governor, Sébastien Le Gouès, Sieur de Sourdeval, drives these attackers off with a cannon, yet the next day the English land several hundred men who besiege the French within their tiny keep. Sourdeval surrenders, and his colony is stripped bare. The English dump 52 other French prisoners ashore before sailing away to rejoin Leake at Saint John's.

Once reassembled, Leake's squadron departs for England, arriving on November 10 (O.S.). During his campaign in Newfoundland, his warships have sunk or captured 51 French vessels and leveled several settlements, for which he is promoted to rear admiral upon his return and offered a knighthood, which he initially declines.

OCTOBER 12, 1702. The hired French merchant frigate *Auguste*, detached from Ducasse's squadron, sustains a vigorous encounter with a Jamaican privateer in the West Indies before winning free and continuing toward France with dispatches.

OCTOBER 27, 1702. Approximately 580 English militiamen and 370 Yamasee warriors set sail aboard 14 vessels from Port Royal (Carolina) under Gov. James Moore and Col. Robert Daniel, coming ashore in Guala—the Spanish name for eastern Georgia—a few days later. At midnight on November 3, they surprise the guardhouse at San Pedro de Tupiqui at the northern extremity of Santa María or Amelia Island and kill its two sentries.

The English then rampage unchecked throughout these advance Spanish settlements, overrunning San Juan del Puerto by November 5, for Lt. Gov. Francisco Fuentes de Galarza is unable to mount any effective resistance. Finally, Moore sails with his flotilla to fall upon St. Augustine from out at sea,

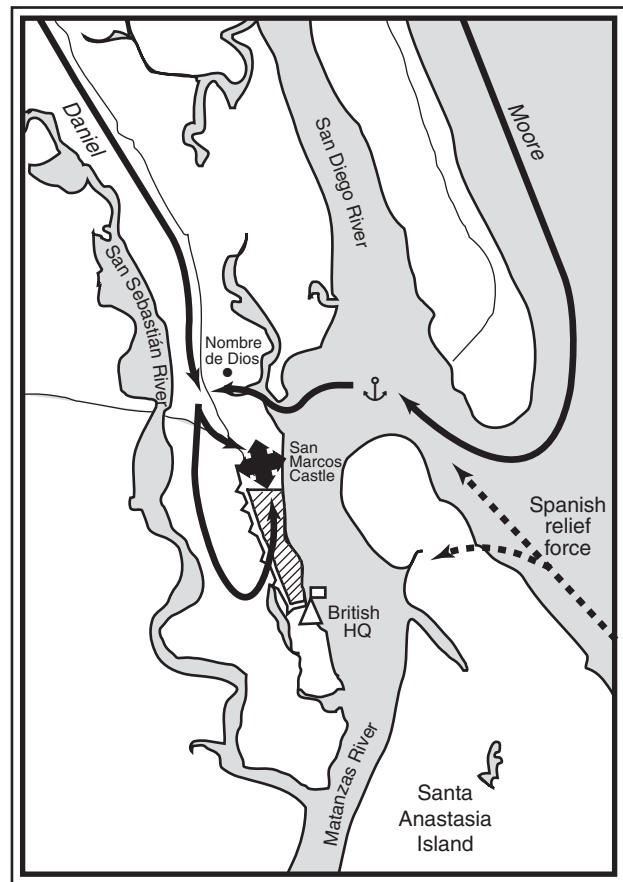
while Daniel takes the military contingent by boat up the Saint Johns River to approach this same place from overland.

NOVEMBER 4, 1702. The Jamaican privateer Charles Gant disembarks 300 men at Casilda on south-central Cuba and marches upon the nearby town of Trinidad, whose Spanish inhabitants flee. The buccaneers ransack its empty buildings and withdraw next day with more than 100 black slaves, plus considerable booty.

NOVEMBER 7, 1702. *Repulse at St. Augustine.* At 8:00 a.m., Spanish lookouts sight three English vessels heading south. Gov. José de Zúñiga has already learned of Moore and Daniel's attack farther to the north, so he braces for an assault. The next morning, 13 English sail are seen bearing down upon St. Augustine's bar, which prompts Capt. Luis Alfonso to remove his 16-man anchor watch from the royal frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Piedad y el Niño Jesús* and scuttle it to prevent capture. The 400 Spanish defenders under the elderly *sargento mayor* or "garrison commander" Enrique Primo de Rivera also stand to their arms, while the smaller frigate *Gloria* slips downriver toward the Matanzas exit that same evening, hoping to carry word to Havana.

On November 9, de Zúñiga learns from two Apalache scouts that another English force is approaching overland under Daniel, so he orders all inhabitants into St. Augustine's main citadel, San Marcos Castle. The English army appears the next day and occupies the deserted town, establishing their headquarters in its Franciscan mission; yet they are unable to carry the citadel, which shelters 1,500 people, plus several hundred cattle and other animals. San Marcos's artillery bombards the English until one of its pieces bursts, killing three Spaniards and wounding five others. Moore and Daniel meanwhile institute a loose siege, prompting de Zúñiga to raze many buildings around his fort to clear his field of fire.

Unable to damage San Marcos's ramparts with his light pieces, Moore detaches Daniel toward Jamaica to secure siege artillery. A lengthy pause ensues, during which the Carolinians dig emplacements and trenches while exchanging desultory bombardments with the fort. By December 19, approach lines are so close that 58 Spanish troops sally at midday and smash numerous gabions before being driven back inside with one dead and several wounded. On the afternoon of December 24, a



Failed Anglo-American assault on St. Augustine, Florida.

British brigantine and sloop arrive and disembark fresh supplies the next day. Morale within the beleaguered citadel begins to sag but is revived two days later when a pair of Spanish ships and two frigates are sighted offshore between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m., led by Estéban de Berroa's flagship *Águila Negra*.

These ships have been dispatched by Havana's governor Pedro Nicolás Benítez de Lugo, and they bear 212 troops under Capt. Lope de Solloso. The smaller English vessels now find themselves blockaded within St. Augustine's harbor. Moore is compelled to order the town's buildings set ablaze, to abandon his flotilla, and to make an overland retreat at dawn on December 30 from Vilano Beach. About 500 Englishmen march north toward the Salamoto River mouth, where they are eventually rescued by their remaining vessels and conveyed back to Charles Town. Losses prove light on both sides; the Spaniards retain three Carolina sloops, a brigantine, eight artillery pieces, plus other matériel.

DECEMBER 1702. The English Council of Trade and Plantations in London complains that "the

Dutch from Curaçao drive a constant trade with the Spaniards, as if there was no war.” The Dutch West India Company (WIC) Directorate will consequently make a few conciliatory gestures while secretly instructing the island’s governor, Nicolaas van Beek, to recall all his privateering commissions for fear that too zealous a blockade of Spanish America might alienate its clients.

JANUARY 12–13, 1703. The 70-gun flagship HMS *Burford* and five other English warships reach Barbados under the 37-year-old commodore Hovenden Walker, escorting 10 transports bearing 4,000 soldiers. This force is to subdue French strongholds in the West Indies, then sail northward to assault Placentia Bay (Newfoundland). Six weeks later—after a quarter of his men have died, deserted, or fallen ill—Walker proceeds toward Antigua to join Governor General Codrington, arriving early in March. The latter has raised 14 companies of militia among the Leeward Islands, thereby replacing Walker’s losses.

MARCH 16, 1703. At 5:00 p.m., Walker and Codrington quit Antigua with 18 armed merchantmen and 17 smaller vessels bearing 4,000 troops, escorted by the 80-gun HMSS *Boyne* (flag), *Chichester*, and *Cumberland*; the 70-gun *Burford*, *Edgar*, and *Yarmouth*; the 60-gun *Sunderland*; the 50-gun *Anglesea*; the 24-gun frigate *Maidstone*; plus the auxiliary *James* and *Sarah*. Two days later, most of the ships have rendezvoused off Marie-Galante. The next dawn, the expedition steers northwestward to attack Guadeloupe.

MARCH 19, 1703. *Failure at Guadeloupe.* This morning, Walker and Codrington’s expedition is sighted, and the 62-year-old French governor Charles de la Motte Auger, Knight of the Order of Malta, and his second-in-command, Hémon Coinard de la Malmaison, alert their 1,400 militiamen. The invaders pause briefly off Les Saintes before rounding the southern tip of Guadeloupe and striking north toward its capital of Basse-Terre. The English heave-to before this place and split into two divisions around noon, with warships threatening Fort La Madeleine at the Baillif River while troop transports proceed six miles farther north. After a couple of days spent probing its defenses, Walker disembarks 400–500 men at 3:00 p.m. on March 21 opposite the Goyaves Islands, only to be driven off by a French counterattack. An English frigate then

accidentally drifts under the guns of Val de Lorge the next day and suffers 37 deaths before it can be rescued.

Prior to sunrise on March 23, Walker and Codrington disembark 4,000 troops at three places—Gros François Cove north of Fort La Madeleine, Val de Lorge, and Vieux Habitants Inlet—overrunning the outnumbered defenders in heavy fighting. The French make an orderly retreat through Basse-Terre and dig in behind the 370-man garrison of Fort Saint Charles on the south shore of the Galions River. Codrington meanwhile occupies the French capital, then spends nine days installing an 11-gun siege battery, which opens fire against Fort Saint Charles by April 2. Next day, 3 French warships and 12 lesser vessels arrive at the port of Sainte Marie north of Capesterre, bearing 820 men from Martinique in 12 companies—2 of marines, 4 of militia, and 6 buccaneers—under Jean Gabaret, recently promoted to lieutenant general for the French West Indies, plus his subordinates Governor de Boisfermé of Marie-Galante, Louis Gaston Caqueray de Valmenière, Jean Clair Dyel du Parquet, François de Collart, and Jean du Buc.

This relief force marches into Fort Saint Charles with banners flying and trumpets blaring, hoping to demoralize its surprised English besiegers. Gabaret



Failed English assault on Guadeloupe.

reorganizes the defenses and launches a flanking attack on April 6, engaging the bulk of Codrington's army throughout much of the morning before retiring in the afternoon. Despite this sally, the French are compelled to abandon Fort Saint Charles two hours before dawn on April 14. They blow its magazine and are pressed farther east.

On the morning of April 27, a large flotilla of English boats circles around the southern tip of Guadeloupe and attempts to capture Trois Rivières but are hampered by heavy seas. Disease and hunger are now sapping the attackers' resolve, and Codrington himself falls ill and sails away toward Nevis to recuperate. By May 5, the remaining English commanders agree to evacuate Guadeloupe, and over the next fortnight, 2,277 troops are reembarked. On the evening of May 15, Basse-Terre is set ablaze, and Walker's fleet departs. Although this invasion leaves behind enormous damage, only 27 Frenchmen have been killed and 50 wounded during the campaign.

EARLY APRIL 1703. English buccaneers disembark at Tonalá (Mexico), occupying nearby Tancochapa. A Spanish brigantine, sloop, and launch with 100 men from Veracruz surprise these raiders while still ashore, capturing 42 Englishmen, 4 black slaves, one sloop, and two *piraguas*.

LATE APRIL 1703. Some 120 English raiders land at the Bar of Chiltepec (Mexico) and plunder the countryside before retiring aboard their ships.

MAY 1703. In Louisiana, its neighboring Alabama Indians inaugurate a series of attacks, encouraged by English traders out of Carolina. The 23-year-old French governor Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville (younger brother to Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville) leads a number of counterraiders out of Fort Saint Louis at Mobile, starting in December.

MAY 17, 1703. Three English privateer sloops and eight *piraguas* anchor off the Tecoluta River (Mexico) and send a column inland to plunder Jalpa. While ransacking this town, the buccaneers are surprised by 80 Spanish cavalrymen under Capt. Tomás Laureano de Alarcón, who have made a three-hour ride from Villahermosa de Tabasco to reinforce Jalpa's 60 defenders.

Together, the Spanish forces besiege the raiders inside its church for 24 hours, until Jerónimo Álvarez del Valle can arrive with Villahermosa's main infantry force, plus two fieldpieces. After twice attempt-

ing to cut their way out, 108 Englishmen surrender, and another 8 are captured when their *piraguas* are taken offshore. Only the three sloops escape.

JUNE 15, 1703. The 37-year-old John Graydon, recently promoted Vice Admiral of the White, arrives at Port Royal (Jamaica) with his 70-gun flagship HMS *Resolution* under Capt. Thomas Lyell, the 60-gun *Montague* of William Cleveland, plus the 50-gun warships *Blackwall* of Thomas Day and *Nonsuch* under Robert Thompson. Seventeen days later, after having incorporated Commo. William Whetstone's vessels into his squadron, Graydon takes on water at Bluefields Bay, then sails northward to attack the French in Newfoundland.

After peering into Havana on July 20, Graydon and Whetstone arrive off Newfoundland on August 13, holding a council aboard the 80-gun HMS *Boyne* in Saint Mary's Bay in conjunction with Saint John's garrison commander, Capt. Michael Richards. Feeling insufficiently strong to attack the French within Placentia Bay, the fleet is furthermore dispersed by fog and does not reassemble until one month later, when the campaigning season is far advanced. The Royal Navy formation therefore agrees to return to England without attempting action, Graydon subsequently being cashiered from the service.

JULY 1703. A force of 600 French buccaneers descends upon the Dutch half of Sint Maarten, forcing many of this island's inhabitants to emigrate.

AUGUST 21, 1703. The 37-year-old French Canadian naval captain Alexandre Leneuf de la Vallière de Beaubassin surprises the English settlement at Wells (Maine) with an Abenaki war party, laying waste to a vast swathe of territory and killing or capturing more than 300 persons. The main English stronghold at Casco (Fort Loyal, Falmouth; near modern Portland) is able to resist thanks to Maj. John March (who is wounded and loses most of his property during this attack) as well as to his veteran subordinate, Capt. Cyprian Southack.

OCTOBER 1703. *Destruction of Nassau.* A Franco-Spanish expedition organized by Gov. Juan de Chaves of Santiago de Cuba, comprised of 150 soldiers and a large number of *boucaniers* aboard two frigates and commanded by Blas Moreno Mondragón and Claude Le Chesnaye, reaches the Bahamas. They surprise the 250 English settlers at the capital of New Providence (modern Nassau) and slaughter

more than 100, plus they seize 22 guns and throw down the half-rotted palmetto-and-lime fortification. They depart two weeks later and return to Santiago a few days afterward with 13 prizes and 80–100 captives—among them, Acting Gov. Ellis Lightwood.

JANUARY 25, 1704. *Ayubale Massacre.* Having failed to conquer St. Augustine, Governor Moore of Carolina marshals 50 whites and 1,500 Creeks at Okmulgee by December 1703 to assail Spanish Apalache. His column reaches the main fortified mission of Ayubale by January 25 and assaults its wooden stockade, only to be repelled by the Franciscan friar Ángel de Miranda and his flock. After a nine-hour siege, the priest emerges under a flag of truce and tells Moore that the defenders have no more ammunition, so they must throw themselves upon the invaders' mercy. Miranda is murdered by the Yamasee, however, and his congregation is cruelly butchered, while the mission burns.

Next day, a Spanish relief column of 30 riders and 400 Indian auxiliaries arrive under Capt. Juan Ruiz Mexía, commander of Fort San Luis 24 miles farther southwest, as well as Fr. Juan de Parga. They, too, are defeated by Moore; 5 of Ruiz Mexía's soldiers are killed and another 8 captured, plus 168 Indians slaughtered, as opposed to 6 or 7 English casualties and 100 Yamasees. Parga dies, and Ruiz Mexía is wounded and captured, after which the Anglo-Creek raiders rampage unchecked throughout most of this region. Some 325 Apalache men are carried off as slaves along with their families, while another 1,300 agree to emigrate to Savannah and many others flee into the wilderness. Spain's hold is broken—Fort San Luis is abandoned by mid-July—in a campaign costing Moore only 4 militiamen and 15 Indian dead. Such an easy victory encourages other incursions, which soon win over this territory for English traders.

FEBRUARY 1704. The former buccaneer William Dampier rounds Cape Horn and reaches the uninhabited Juan Fernández Islands with the privateers *Saint George* of 26 guns and 120 men and the 16-gun, 63-man, 96-ton galley *Cinque Ports*. After departing on February 29 (O.S.) in pursuit of a sail, then patrolling up the Pacific coast with little success, the two vessels will part company in the Bay of Panama. The *Cinque Ports* returns to the Juan Fernández Islands by September under its acting captain, Thomas Stradling (who quarrels with his 26-year-old Scottish sailing master Alexander Selkirk

and maroons him there). The *Cinque Ports* eventually becomes wrecked on the Peruvian coast, where Stradling and seven survivors surrender to the Spaniards.

Dampier meanwhile is deserted by 22 men under his first mate, John Clipperton, then by another 34 in December 1704 under his steward, William Funnel, who strike out across the Pacific for England aboard the Spanish prize *Victoria*. Finally, the old rover is compelled to abandon his rotten *Saint George* at the Lobos de Afuera Islands (Peru) and sail across the Pacific in the brigantine prize *Dragón*.

FEBRUARY 28, 1704. Some 250 French and Abenaki Indian warriors led by Jean-Baptiste Hertel de Rouville raid Deerfield, the northwesternmost outpost of Massachusetts, killing 54 English settlers and capturing 120 who are marched off the next day into Canada.

APRIL 30, 1704. Spain declares war against Portugal.

JUNE 20, 1704. In retaliation for the Deerfield raid (see "February 28, 1704" entry), an Anglo-American force of 500 men led by Maj. Benjamin Church advances up the Maine coast and on July 1 destroys the French Acadian fishing settlement of Minas (near modern Truro, Nova Scotia), followed by the destruction of Beaubassin in Chignecto Bay on July 28. The force then returns to the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

JULY 16, 1704. Coast-guard captain Francisco Fernández departs Campeche with 62 soldiers under Capt. Antonio de Alcalá and 122 volunteers, all crammed aboard 13 small craft to raid the English logwood establishments in the Laguna de Términos. They come ashore a mile and a half from its entrance at Puerto Escondido on the afternoon of July 18, advancing by both land and sea to capture the Laguna's bar next day. Two guard sloops, a ketch, and 25 prisoners are taken by the evening of July 20, although another 30–40 Englishmen escape into the jungle.

Having thereby secured the Laguna entrance, Fernández and Alcalá request reinforcements from Yucatán's interim governor, Álvaro de Rivaguda Enciso y Luyando, who dispatches a frigate with 80 men that arrives by July 24. The Spaniards then use their increased strength to sweep the bay's interior and capture another 110 interlopers, 9 more ships, 3 sloops, 2 brigantines, 2 ketches, and 50 lesser craft, before retiring.

Gibraltar

In the Mediterranean, Admiral Rooke's huge Anglo-Dutch fleet was retiring in the summer of 1704 from a failed attempt to take Barcelona. Near the Strait of Gibraltar, it instead decided to attack the small fortified Spanish town on its north shore. On August 1, this strategic position on a narrow peninsula was hailed to surrender in the name of Archduke Charles. When Gov. Diego de Salinas refused, 1,800 Dutch and British marines landed under Fld. Mar. Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt. They had the support of a host of naval gunners and sailors.

Although Austrian born, the prince had served for years in Catalonia, was fluent in the language, and popular. His siege lines and batteries cut off Gibraltar by August 3, 1704. At 5:00 a.m. the next morning, Royal Navy warships joined the bombardment. After six hours of pounding, Salinas and his 500-man garrison capitulated to the prince. The defenders and a few thousand inhabitants fled out three days later, while George and his English allies took over the battered town in the name of the Habsburg pretender. Rooke then left 2,000 Royal Marines and sailors to work on its defenses, while he sailed his fleet southward across the strait to Tetuán to refresh water and supplies.

On August 22, 1704, the British admiral heard from one of his patrols that a Franco-Spanish fleet of 50 ships of the line and 15 smaller vessels was approaching from Toulon under Adm. Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Comte de Toulouse. Rooke picked up his gunners and half his marines from Gibraltar, then met this enemy fleet with his own 51 ships of the line and 13 auxiliaries two days later off Málaga. Although no ships were sunk, this battle cost 3,048 French casualties and 2,719 among the Anglo-Dutch fleet before Toulouse retreated.

A Spanish army under Gen. Francisco Castillo Fajardo, Marqués de Villadarias and Captain General of Andalucía, then arrived overland on September 5, 1704, to besiege Gibraltar. Prince George and a Royal Marine brigade under Vice Adm. Sir John Leake repelled numerous assaults. After one last major thrust on February 7, 1705, the besiegers withdrew by March 31. The archduke made a brief visit to Gibraltar on August 2, taking away Prince George, and he named the English major general John Shrimpton governor. On February 17, 1706, Queen Anne also declared Gibraltar a free port, to ensure a flow of supplies from the Sultanate of Morocco.

Although Gibraltar was surrendered to the archduke, it was utterly dependent on Britain. The displaced Spanish citizenry created a new town around the San Roque Hermitage and revived the abandoned Algeciras to serve as their anchorage. Gibraltar soon became an exclusively English enclave. When the war was winding down in 1711, London even secretly instructed its governor to remove any foreign troops, so as to bolster the British claim. The British were granted Gibraltar in perpetuity in the treaty signed by Spain's new Bourbon rulers two years later. Its rocky promontory and dominant position at the mouth of the Mediterranean resisted all efforts at reconquest.

AUGUST 3, 1704. In the West Indies, the 48-gun, 670-ton HMS *Coventry* of Capt. Henry Lawrence is captured by the brand-new French 58-gun, 800-ton *Jason* of the squadron of Duguay Guerin. A year later, Lawrence is court-martialed for this loss and dismissed from the Royal Navy.

AUGUST 18, 1704. A Franco-Indian war party out of Placentia attacks the English settlements at Bonavista (Newfoundland) and remains in the vicinity for 11 days, although eventually driven off thanks to the example of the New England trader Capt. Michael Gill, which inspires the townspeople to fight.

OCTOBER 2, 1704. *Sacramento Occupation.* A Spanish expedition leaves Buenos Aires, dispatched by Gov. Alonso Juan de Valdés Inclán to attack the Portuguese outpost at Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay), which for 25 years has been a point of

contention between both nations. Gen. Baltasar García Ros leads 800 Spanish regulars, 600 militiamen, and 300 native auxiliaries, to be joined once he crosses the River Plate estuary by another 4,000 Guaraní tribesmen. After marching north and east through marshy bayous, his host closes in on the Portuguese settlement by October 17 and lays siege to its outnumbered defenders.

On October 30, the 12-gun, 55-man Portuguese ship *Nossa Senhora da Madre de Deus e Santa Thereza* (alias "*Poupa Verde*") slips into Colônia, bringing 40 reinforcements from Rio de Janeiro. García Ros begins constructing his siege batteries by November 4; his first guns open fire six days later. At dawn on November 23, the Spaniards storm Colônia's ramparts, seconded from out at sea by Capt. José de Ibarra Lezcano's 36-gun flagship *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, a 40-man auxiliary under Capt. Juan Bernardo Zelaya, a 26-man launch under José Ilumbe, plus three boats. Although the land assault is repelled, the

Spanish men-of-war cut out the *Santa Thereza* and incorporate it into their squadron.

García Ros is subsequently superseded by Governor de Valdés Inclán, who does not mount another major Spanish effort until February 1, 1705, when he pounds Colônia all day before calling at 4:00 p.m. for its garrison commander, Brig. Gen. Sebastião da Veiga Cabral, to surrender. When this demand is rebuffed, de Valdés Inclán vainly attempts to assault the ramparts again on February 8, although eventually he is obliged to desist.

A seaborne Portuguese relief force appears off Montevideo from Rio de Janeiro on March 5, consisting of Amaro José's 44-gun flagship; a 30-gun, Dutch-built vice-flagship; the 20-gun hired merchantman *Esterlina*; and the 8-gun auxiliary *Santa Joana*. De Ibarra sorties from the Spanish besiegers' anchorage with the *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, the *Santa Teresa*—now renamed, mounting 16 guns, and commanded by Zelaya—plus a fireship, to attempt to dispute this quartet's entry into Colônia. After a four-hour gun duel, the Portuguese squadron gains the harbor, only to find its garrison on its last legs. It is therefore decided to abandon the outpost; Veiga Cabral departs with his exhausted survivors aboard the four Portuguese ships on the night of March 14–15, regaining Rio by April 23. The victorious Spaniards meanwhile raze Colônia for a second time.

JANUARY 8, 1705. In the bitter cold, a 450-man Franco-Indian expedition leaves Placentia (Newfoundland) under the 43-year-old governor Daniel d'Auger de Subercasse, Captain de Beaucourt, Jacques Testard de Montigny, and Jacques l'Hermitte to march overland and attack the English settlement at Saint John's. A brigantine carrying a mortar and ammunition simultaneously sets sail to rendezvous with this small army at Bay Bulls.

The latter place is overrun along with Petty Harbor, and by January 31 the French are within three miles of their objective and decide to attempt a surprise attack the next dawn. Snow and other problems hamper their approach, so only the advance guard arrives within sight of Fort William, which opens a heavy counterfire under its commander, Lt. John Moody, along with the south battery (or South Castle) under Robert Latham. D'Auger is obliged to fall back upon Saint John's waterfront and houses, besieging the English citadels for 33 days but unable to storm them because his brigantine with the ordnance fails to arrive.



British "Board of Ordnance" artilleryman, clad in red and gold, whose unit was stationed in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. (Canadian Department of National Defense)

After vainly trying an assault on March 6, the French withdraw from Saint John's the next day, although d'Auger subsequently detaches Testard de Montigny with 70 men to ravage the English settlements farther north in Conception and Trinity bays. Eventually all English outposts are destroyed as far as Bonavista, except Carbonear. During this three-month campaign, d'Auger's expedition spikes or destroys 40 cannon, burns a ship, ruins several hundred boats and 200 wagons, as well as captures 1,200 Englishmen—releasing all but 80 for lack of provisions.

MARCH 1705. Recently knighted and promoted to rear admiral, William Whetstone returns into the

West Indies with his flag aboard the 70-gun HMS *Suffolk* to assume command at Jamaica. His flagship accidentally explodes at anchor that same autumn, killing almost 100 crew members.

APRIL 19, 1705. Martial law is proclaimed at Havana amid fears of a popular uprising against the growing French influence over Spanish affairs.

AUTUMN 1705. An army of 3,000–4,000 Chickasaw Indians under English leaders out of Carolina cuts a swathe of destruction through Choctaw territory, carrying away many captives. Survivors retreat upon French Mobile, thus English influence is extended inland from the Atlantic Seaboard.

LATE JANUARY 1706. *Chavagnac's Campaign.* The veteran 42-year-old commodore Henri, Comte de Chavagnac, arrives at Martinique with his 64-gun, 1,100-ton flagship *Glorieux*; the 58-gun, 900-ton *Apollon*; the 64-gun, 1,000-ton *Brillant*; the 58-gun, 800-ton *Fidèle*; the 30-gun, 250-ton English prize *Ludlow* (captured three years previously by the 44-gun, 350-ton *Adroit*), and the 26-gun, 200-ton *Nymphe*. While waiting for his superior d'Iberville to come out from France, Chavagnac recruits 400 Martinican volunteers under Jean du Buc, plus 300 buccaneers under François de Collart, for an attempt against English Saint Kitts—to which the governor general, Charles François de Machault, Sieur de Bellemont, contributes another four companies of Martinican militiamen.

Late on the afternoon of February 4, Chavagnac sets sail for Guadeloupe, detaching the *Nymphe* to maintain watch upon Barbados. An additional 300 volunteers under Major Poullain join his expedition at Guadeloupe's capital of Basse-Terre, and by the time the French finally put to sea again on February 16, their 5 warships are accompanied by 2 merchantmen and 24 buccaneer craft, bearing a landing force 1,200 strong.

Contrary winds prevent this force from assaulting Antigua, so when the French veer round and anchor three miles off Nevis's capital of Charlestown, it is already the evening of February 16. The next morning, Chavagnac orders his boats inshore, but the surf is running high and its English defenders under Col. Richard Abbott are prepared to repel the invasion. Counterfire from Mathew's, Old Road, and Cotton Tree forts strike the French ships, killing the *Glorieux's* captain; therefore, the attackers sail away four days later for Saint Kitts.

That same afternoon, February 21, the island is sighted, although the garrison under Gov. Walter Hamilton is already alerted. Chavagnac's flotilla nonetheless anchors opposite Basseterre, except for a half-dozen vessels that drop down to Palmetto Point and open fire upon its fortifications. Past midnight, Chavagnac disembarks his troops in Frigate Bay, and at dawn of February 22, they move toward Basseterre. Poullain and his 300 Guadeloupans simultaneously circle around by sea to disembark at the northern outpost of Pointe de Sable, advancing east toward Cayonne while laying waste its countryside. They are opposed by 200 English colonists, who are quickly driven back upon Col. Stephen Payne's regular garrison at Fort Charles, which checks this northern incursion.

Chavagnac meanwhile presses on toward Basseterre, his subordinates du Buc, Collart, and Jean Clair du Parquet scattering Hamilton's 300 infantrymen and 100 riders. Retreating through his capital, the English governor decides to make a stand at Palmetto Point. On February 23, Poullain bypasses Payne's defenses at Fort Charles to raid as far south as Goodwin's Gut. Chavagnac does the same in his area, pillaging the English plantations for several days, while avoiding heavily armed citadels. On February 26, the French begin their withdrawal, loading 300 black slaves and considerable booty. At the cost of 20 casualties, Chavagnac has devastated Saint Kitts and retires toward Martinique.

EARLY MARCH 1706. In Alabama, a Chickasaw war party makes a nocturnal descent upon a Choctaw village, carrying off more than 150 captives to be sold as slaves in South Carolina. The French governor Bienville is subsequently obliged to support his Choctaw allies in a war against the English-backed Chickasaw.

MARCH 7, 1706. *D'Iberville Overruns Nevis.* Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville reaches Martinique with his 64-gun, 1,200-ton flagship *Juste*; the 56-gun, 950-ton *Prince*; the 36-gun, 300-ton *Aigle*; and the 16-gun, 120-ton frigate *Sphère* (formerly the English galley HMS *Jean*), to find his subordinate Chavagnac recently returned from ravaging Saint Kitts. Together, their squadrons total a dozen men-of-war and two-dozen buccaneer craft, bearing 2,000 soldiers and freebooters.

They depart within a couple of weeks, touching at Guadeloupe to gather even greater strength before proceeding northward on March 31 to assail

Nevis. Steering between Montserrat and Antigua, d'Iberville materializes before the north coast of Nevis on the afternoon of April 2 and catches Governor Abbott completely off guard. As a result of Chavagnac's earlier raid (see "Late January 1706" entry), the English have only 35 regular soldiers still on the island, plus 430 militiamen. Dividing their fleet into two, the French bear down upon the island's northern and western shores simultaneously, thereby splitting the defenders' slender strength. Chavagnac disembarks 3,000 men unopposed at Green Bay, just above the capital of Charlestown, while d'Iberville anchors his contingent at Nevis's southernmost extremity (today French Bay, named in memory of this invasion), bringing his own men ashore before sunrise on April 3. Some 25 anchored merchantmen are seized in the Charlestown roadstead, while the panic-stricken English fall back upon a small hilltop fort behind their capital. Beholding the throng of buccaneers that d'Iberville deploys to assault this frail stronghold, Abbott capitulates on April 4.

The French leader departs 17 days later, carrying away 3,187 black slaves—another 1,400 are to follow later—plus countless other booty. He has also wreaked havoc among the plantations and torched two-thirds of Charlestown. He returns into Martinique by April 26 and shortly thereafter transfers to Saint Domingue (Haiti) in hopes of organizing another such venture, but he dies of disease in Havana on July 8.

JULY 1706. Commo. William Kerr escorts an English convoy into Port Royal (Jamaica) to succeed Admiral Whetstone as commander in chief. After cruising together briefly, the latter sails for England, while Kerr leads an unsuccessful operation against Saint Domingue (Haiti).

Kerr eventually goes home as well the next year, is accused of accepting bribes for protecting contraband trade and sparing enemy properties, and is cashiered.

AUGUST 16, 1706. Six French privateers under Capt. Jacques Lefebvre (a subordinate of the deceased d'Iberville; see "March 7, 1706" entry) depart Havana with 200 Cuban troops and two fieldpieces under Estéban de Berroa to sail northeastward to St. Augustine for a combined venture against Charles Town (modern-day Charleston, South Carolina).

Upon arriving, Florida's governor, Francisco de Córcoles y Martínez, furnishes Lefebvre with an

additional pair of canoes, a demi-galley, 30 regular infantrymen, and a few Indian volunteers, and the whole expedition sets sail by August 31. Shortly thereafter, a Dutch sloop separates the *Brillant*—bearing the French land commander Arbousset and 200 of his best troops—from Lefebvre's squadron, but the rest of this formation nevertheless presses on toward its objective.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1706. *Defense of Charles Town.*

The Franco-Spanish expedition of Lefebvre and Berroa arrives off South Carolina's capital and is sighted from Sullivan's Island by lookouts, who put up five smoke signals to indicate the number of enemy ships. Despite an epidemic of yellow fever raging within the city, militiamen rally from throughout the district. Lefebvre's ships anchor off Sullivan's Island that same evening, then next morning send a surrender demand inshore. Gov. Sir Nathaniel Johnson rejects it, and on the morning of September 9, the invasion commences.

One party lands on James Island and sets fire to a house but is driven back to their demi-galley by a counterattack of Carolina militiamen and Indians. Another 160 Spanish soldiers disembark on a narrow stretch of land between the Wando River and the Atlantic and burn two small launches and a storehouse. They then encamp overnight, only to be surprised while eating chickens by 100 English militiamen under Captain Fenwick, who kill a dozen Spaniards, capture 60, and drown 6 or 7 as the survivors attempt to swim back out to their craft.

On September 11, Johnson orders six small launches and a fireship under Col. William Rhett to bear down upon the five enemy vessels anchored off Sullivan's Island and scatter them farther out to sea, thus finally convincing Lefebvre and Berroa to retire toward St. Augustine. No sooner has this Franco-Spanish expedition sailed over the horizon than the separated *Brillant* appears, disembarking Arbousset and his 200 soldiers east of Charles Town. Unaware that its defense is already fully roused, this contingent is intercepted near Holybush Plantation by a body of Carolina militia and soundly defeated. At the same time, another group of British defenders rows out to the *Brillant* and secures it. Thus in four days of action, Johnson's garrison kills 30 invaders and captures another 320.

JUNE 6, 1707. Some 23 New England sloops and transports appear off Port Royal (today Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia), escorted by the 50-gun, 669-

ton HMS *Deptford* of Captain Stukely. Its military contingent is led by the 49-year-old veteran Indian fighter Col. John March of Casco Bay (Portland, Maine), with lieutenant colonels Francis Wainwright and Winthrop Hilton as his regimental commanders. With a total strength of 1,100 men, March disembarks 750 Massachusetts and Rhode Island militiamen on the south side, below Port Royal's French fort (which is under the command of d'Auger de Subercasse). The latter only has a 260-man garrison, so an English victory seems imminent; but after advancing to the very gates of this outnumbered and surprised French outpost, March hesitates.

Following a few days of desultory long-range exchanges, a party of Abenaki natives arrives under Bernard Anselme d'Abbadie de Saint Castin to bolster Port Royal's defenses. The French and Indians offer up a spirited resistance, so after a series of gloomy consultations, the New Englanders reembark on June 15. March retires into Casco and the bulk of his troops disperse into Boston, where they are accused of cowardice.

JULY 1, 1707. The 41-year-old commodore Charles Wager arrives at Jamaica with nine warships and an English convoy to assume command over that station. Shortly thereafter, he conceives the plan of attacking the Spanish treasure convoy that is to depart Portobelo and cross into Cartagena.

In mid-January 1708, Wager sorties to hunt for these Panamanian galleons, yet after a two-month cruise retires into Port Royal (Jamaica), hoping to lull the Spaniards into believing all danger is past. The English commodore then sets sail again on April 25, and despite a heavy storm, he maintains a stealthy watch upon Cartagena for more than a month.

AUGUST 1707. Several hundred Talapoosa Indians, led by a few Englishmen out of Carolina, surprise the small Spanish settlement of Santa María de Galve inside Pensacola Bay (Florida). Its houses are burned and pillaged right up to the Spanish citadel—a 16-gun, pine-log stronghold named Fort Carlos de Austria—which the attackers also penetrate before its garrison can rally and expel them. Eleven Spaniards are nonetheless killed, 15 captured, and a dozen slaves are carried away when the raiders finally depart the region a couple of months later.

AUGUST 13, 1707. The 21-year-old French privateer captain Pierre Morpain arrives at Port Royal

(Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) from Saint Domingue with the *Intrépide*, bringing in a captured English slaver and a merchant frigate loaded with food. This refreshment is especially welcome to Governor Subercasse and his small garrison, having recently undergone an English siege.

One week later, a second abortive attempt is made to overrun this French outpost by 1,600 New England troops under Colonel March. Once more their attack becomes bogged down, with March falling ill and turning over command to his subordinate Wainwright. Subercasse, Saint Castin, and Morpain put up a stout fight, eventually forcing the New Englanders to withdraw. The failure of this second expedition convinces the Anglo-American authorities of their need to pressure London for support for future ventures by sending regular troops and warships out from England.

LATE NOVEMBER 1707. An English vessel attacks Saint Pierre Island south of Newfoundland, obliging its governor, Sourdeval, and a few settlers to seek shelter in its woods. After one of his landing parties is ambushed, the English commander furthermore threatens to burn everything in sight, but he sails away after setting a few prisoners ashore.

In the Gulf of Mexico, Spanish Pensacola is once more besieged by 1,500 Indians and Carolina frontiersmen. Dissensions soon arise among the attackers, though, and three-quarters disperse without attempting any assault. When French governor Bienville arrives on December 8 to relieve his Spanish allies with a contingent from Mobile, the remaining 13 Englishmen and 350 Indians retire.

JANUARY 18, 1708. Four privateer vessels under a commander nicknamed Barbillas or Bigotes (Spanish for “Little Whiskers” or “Moustache”) sack and burn the town of Lerma, near Campeche (Mexico).

JUNE 8, 1708. *Wager versus the Spanish Galleons.* At daybreak, the English squadron prowling off Baru Island sights two sail standing in toward Cartagena. By noon, the entire 17-ship silver convoy of the 71-year-old admiral José Fernández de Santilán, Conde de Casa Alegre, comes within view of Wager's warships. Although numerous, only Casa Alegre's 64-gun, 600-man, 1,037-ton flagship *San José* and the 64-gun, 500-man vice-flagship *San Joaquín* are actually men-of-war. The remaining Spanish vessels consist of the 44-gun hired merchantman *Santa Cruz*, serving as the third-in-command's



Casa Alegre's Spanish flagship San José exploding while engaged against Wager's HMS Expedition near Cartagena. (National Maritime Museum, London)

flagship (hence referred to as a *gobierno*, in this case bearing 400 men under naval captain Nicolás de la Rosa, Conde de Vega Florida); a 40-gun merchantman under Francisco Fernández Nieto, reinforced by the crew of Capt. José Canis Alzamora's warship *Almudena* (scuttled earlier); plus the 24-gun merchantman *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* and seven lesser craft. Casa Alegre is moreover accompanied by the 36-gun French privateer *Saint Esprit* of Capt. Claude Raoul out of Saint Malo, plus the 24-gun *Saint Geneviève*, two sloops, and a brigantine.

To oppose them, Wager has his 70-gun, 1,103-ton flagship *Expedition* under Capt. Henry Long; the 60-gun, 923-ton *Kingston* of Timothy Bridges; the 50-gun, 636-ton *Portland* of Edward Windsor; and the fireship *Vulture* of Cmdr. Caesar Brooks. The English realize that they can concentrate their efforts against the three Spanish capital ships while ignoring the rest, so Wager orders the *Portland* to attack the Spanish man-of-war in the van, the *Kingston* to seek battle with the *San Joaquín* toward the rear, while his own flagship closes upon Casa Alegre's

flagship in the center. The afternoon proves fine, with a brisk wind out of the north-northeast, so the *Expedition* gradually gains upon the *San José*, while the entire Hispano-French convoy attempts to escape northward around Baru Island into Cartagena. Around sunset at 5:30 p.m., Casa Alegre opens fire upon Wager's flagship, which replies a half hour later. One-and-a-half hours of hard fighting ensue, ending abruptly when Casa Alegre's *San José* explodes, going down with almost all hands. Fewer than a dozen survivors are plucked from the water by English boats, only five living for very long.

Toward 10:00 p.m., the *Expedition* overhauls the Spanish rear admiral and cripples it with a broadside through its stern windows, obliging de la Rosa to strike by 2:00 a.m. of June 9, just as the moon begins to rise. The next dawn, Wager sends the *Kingston* and the *Portland* in pursuit of the Spanish vice-flagship *San Joaquín*, which outstrips them as the afternoon wears on, finally winning free by running through the dangerous Salmedina Channel where the English dare not follow.

When captains Bridges and Windsor rejoin the commodore on June 10, Wager detaches them along with the *Vulture* to probe behind Baru Island, where the 40-gun Spanish merchantman is hiding. Upon seeing the Royal Navy trio draw near, the Spaniards beach their ship and set it ablaze, escaping ashore. Wager thus returns into Port Royal (Jamaica) on July 19, angry at obtaining only a single prize because of his subordinates' lackluster performance. Fifteen days later, both Bridges and Windsor are court-martialed and eventually cashiered.

JULY 20, 1708. Commo. Andrés de Arriola's *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe y San Antonio*, flagship of Spain's West Indian squadron, intercepts a 12-ship English convoy off Cape San Antonio (western Cuba) and carries half the convoy into Veracruz by August 3.

JULY 26, 1708. Captains Jean-Baptiste Hertel de Rouville and Jean-Baptiste de Saint Ours Deschailons depart Montreal with 200 men to mount a Franco-Indian attack one month later, on August 29, against Haverhill (Massachusetts). The raiders slay 15 of the English settlers and destroy the village but are then ambushed by 60 pursuers under Captain Ayer as they retire, suffering 10 killed and 19 wounded before regaining Canada.

OCTOBER 29, 1708. Off Saint Domingue (Haiti), the 24-gun *Dunkirk's Prize* of Capt. George Purvis runs hard aground while in pursuit of a 14-gun French vessel; nonetheless, it seizes the French ship and uses it to return safely into Jamaica.

NOVEMBER 25, 1708. The Dorset captain Woodes Rogers arrives off Brazil, anchoring five days later in Baía da Ilha Grande to replenish supplies for a raid into the South Pacific via the Strait of Magellan. His expedition consists of 183 men aboard his 30-gun, 320-ton frigate *Duke*, and 150 aboard Capt. Stephen Courtney's 26-gun, 260-ton *Duchess* (piloted by the veteran rover Dampier and accompanied by the 48-year-old physician Thomas Dover, who has no medical charge during this cruise but is along as a major shareholder).

JANUARY 1709. *Rogers's Pacific Incursion.* The English privateers *Duke* and *Duchess* round Cape Horn in heavy weather, clawing their way to the Juan Fernández Islands by February 12. Here they find the Scottish master Alexander Selkirk, who has

been left behind four years and four months earlier by Captain Stradling (see "February 1704" entry). (Selkirk's account will inspire Daniel Defoe to write *Robinson Crusoe*.) After recuperating, Rogers's expedition advances north toward Peru.

JANUARY 1, 1709. After an investment lasting several days, the English settlement at Saint John's (Newfoundland) surrenders to a contingent of 170 French soldiers, Canadian militiamen, and Indian warriors under Capt. Joseph de Saint Ovide, dispatched by Placentia's Governor Philippe de Costebelle.

MARCH 11, 1709. The 44-gun HMS *Adventure* of Capt. Robert Clark is taken by the French off Martinique and its commander killed.

APRIL 25, 1709. The 40-year-old captain Stephen Hutchens of the 50-gun HMS *Portland* reaches the smuggling port of Bastimentos in northern Panama with an English trading convoy. He learns that four large enemy vessels are anchored 10 miles southeast at Portobelo. One week later, having reconnoitered that harbor, Hutchens is informed by a scout that two of these ships have sailed, a large French merchantman and a Dutch prize, while the remaining pair is the 50-gun former HMS *Coventry* (captured by the French almost five years previously; see "August 3, 1704" entry) and the 40-gun, 500-ton *Mignon*.

On May 11, Hutchins learns that the latter two have also sailed that previous evening, so he weighs anchor from Bastimentos in pursuit. He sights them two days later at 8:00 a.m., becoming engaged by both the *Coventry* and the *Mignon* that same afternoon at extreme long range. The *Portland* continues chasing until noon of May 16, when the *Coventry's* mainmast falls overboard and the *Mignon* makes off. The *Portland's* victory costs 9 killed and 12 wounded out of a crew of 232; French deaths are estimated at 70 men.

MAY 2, 1709. At daybreak, several boatloads bearing 238 men from Rogers's *Duke* and *Duchess* are spotted off Guayaquil, setting a flag of truce ashore to call upon its 24-year-old *corregidor* Jerónimo Boza y Solís to surrender. After two days of tense negotiations, during which the English seize two newly launched, 300-ton ships and other lesser prizes in the river, they finally storm Guayaquil's beach at 4:00 p.m. on May 4 and carry the city at a cost of three dead and four wounded. The Spaniards continue galling the occupiers with long-range sniping

until the afternoon of May 6, when they agree to pay a ransom of 30,000 pesos for the invaders to withdraw to Puná Island, which they commence to do the next evening.

(During their brief occupation, the English have allegedly stored their plunder in Guayaquil's churches, where they also sleep, despite the stench of recently buried plague victims. Upon regaining their anchorage on May 8, therefore, 180 rovers fall ill within 48 hours. Dr. Dover instructs the surgeons to bleed all in both arms, then give them "dilute sulphuric acid to drink." Only eight die—either from the disease or from its remarkable treatment.)

When the entire ransom cannot be paid, the English sail away on May 18 with their hostages, captains Manuel Jiménez and Manuel de la Puente. Rogers also incorporates the captive 20-gun French *Marquis* and Spanish *San Dimas* into his flotilla, spending two months careening on Gorgona Island and dismantling the latter prize before proceeding north-northwest toward Mexico.

LATE JULY 1709. *Failed Offensive against Canada.*

The veteran 53-year-old militia colonel Francis Nicholson leads an expedition of Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey colonials up the Hudson River, deploying his troops into stockaded forts from Stillwater (north of Albany) to the foot of Lake Champlain and threatening Montreal.

His colleague Samuel Vetch is also to lead a similar force of volunteers around by sea from Boston into the Saint Lawrence, although this latter arrangement is eventually cancelled. Learning of Nicholson's encroachment, Canada's Governor General Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil dispatches a reconnaissance force south under Claude de Ramezay, who skirmishes with the colonials off Scalping Point (opposite Crown Point, New York). Fatigue, short supplies, and disease prove to be greater enemies to Nicholson, so demoralizing his army that within a few weeks they abandon their outposts and stream home. Still determined to persist with this strategy, Nicholson subsequently sails for England to press its ministers for support in future ventures.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1709. In Talamanca (Costa Rica), the natives under their leader Pablo Presbere rise against Spanish rule and are put down a few weeks later.

JANUARY 1, 1710. After almost two months' wait off Cabo San Lucas (Baja California) for the Manila

galleons, Rogers's *Duke*, *Duchess*, and the French prize *Marquis* sight a sail 20 miles out at sea. The *Duke* intercepts it at 10:00 a.m., engaging this 20-gun Spanish ship, which surrenders by noon and is revealed to be the *Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación* (alias the *Desengaño*), under the French commander Jean Presberty. Nine Spaniards lie dead and 10 wounded among the 193 people aboard, compared to only a single serious injury among the English: Rogers himself, whose upper jaw is shot away.

The *Encarnación* has sailed from the Philippines as the consort for the much larger, wealthier *Nuestra Señora de Begonia* but has become separated during the crossing. Rogers therefore stations the *Duchess* and the *Marquis* to keep watch, while anchoring inshore to begin looting his prize. Some 142 of its passengers and crew are released aboard a captive coastal trader to continue toward Acapulco; only its pilot and about 40 Filipino sailors are retained.

Three days later (Christmas Day 1709 [O.S.]), Rogers's lookout signals from high atop a hill that the *Duchess* and the *Marquis* are pursuing another sail, which they delay until Rogers's *Duke* can join after midnight. Dawn of January 5 reveals the 900-ton *Begonia*, manned by 450 men under Capt. Fernando de Angulo, pierced for 60 guns (although only mounting 40). Its immensely stout bulwarks resist the English shot. The Spaniards suffer only eight men killed and a slightly larger number injured, hence Rogers's outnumbered crews hesitate to board. After having their rigging cut up, the English break off the action.

The *Encarnación* is subsequently renamed the *Bachelor*, with Dover appointed as its captain and Selkirk as first mate. It then sails for England along with the rest of Rogers's squadron by way of Guam and the Cape of Good Hope.

JULY 26, 1710. After visiting London, Colonel Nicholson returns into Boston with the 50-gun, 700-ton ships *Dragon* (flag) of Commo. George Martin, *Falmouth* of Walter Riddell, and *Chester* of Thomas Mathews, as well as the bomb vessel *Star* under Cmdr. Thomas Rochfort. A couple of months later, they are joined by the 36-gun frigate *Feverisham* of Capt. Robert Paston and the 32-gun frigate *Lowestoft* of George Gordon, which escorted a merchant convoy into New York. This force furthermore boasts 400 marines over and above their regular complements.

Although the season is far advanced and rumors of peace negotiations back in Europe are wide-

spread, New England nonetheless musters a large expedition to assault the nearby French outpost of Port Royal (Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia). An expected army of English regulars under Maj. Gen. Viscount Shannon fails to appear, yet by September Nicholson is able to fill 31 transports with 3,500 troops, divided into two regiments from Massachusetts, plus one each from Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island.

AUGUST 16, 1710. *Du Clerc at Rio de Janeiro.* A privately financed squadron of six French ships, a frigate, galliot, and 1,500 men appears outside Rio de Janeiro under Jean-François du Clerc, recently promoted *capitaine de frégate* in France's Royal Navy as well as a knight of the Order of Saint Louis. Although flying false English colors—those of Portugal's ally—his vessels are nonetheless fired upon by Fort Santa Cruz as they attempt to stand into Rio's harbor, so they veer farther westward and instead anchor in Ilha Grande Bay.

After a few desultory disembarkations in the region of Guaratinguetá and Sepetiba Bay on August 27, du Clerc returns eastward and, four days later, lands 1,200 men six miles southwest of Rio at Barra da Tijuca, hoping to circle around its Orgãos Range. Fighting their way up the Desterro road past Praya

Vermelha, his small army attempts to storm the capital by September 18, only to be thrown back from Carmo Square by Gov. Francisco de Castro Morais's militia hordes—spearheaded by Bento do Amaral's student company—plus artillery fire from Fort São Sebastião on nearby Cobras Island. Having lost 380 men, the French next try to occupy São Bento Hill (called La Bénédicte by the invaders), only to again be repulsed and forced to seek shelter in a sugar plantation. Cornered, outnumbered, and threatened with being burned alive, du Clerc has no choice but to surrender his army's remnants and face imprisonment.

Three of his warships materialize outside Rio's entrance on September 21 and open fire, desisting when the captive French commander sends them a message advising them of his fate. They thereupon sail away, and du Clerc is eventually murdered on March 11, 1711, by an enraged Brazilian mob, while his senior commanders are manhandled. (Word of this mistreatment helps fuel René Duguay-Trouin's subsequent strike; see "September 12, 1711" entry.)

SEPTEMBER 21, 1710. HMS *Chester* sets sail from Massachusetts to blockade Port Royal (Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia) in advance of 31 New England transports and a half-dozen men-of-war under Nicholson and Martin, which leave Nantasket eight days later.

OCTOBER 1710. To help finance a stronger Portuguese naval presence in Brazil, the recently arrived governor general Pedro de Vasconcelos de Sousa announces a tax increase at the capital of Salvador (Bahia) on all imported goods. Riots erupt instead, and mobs led by the merchant João "Maneta" de Figueiredo da Costa ransack Salvador's warehouses. They are joined by the city's royal garrison, until a religious procession led by Archbishop Sebastião Monteiro de Vide restores calm. Nonetheless, the governor general—temporarily deposed in favor of Judge Lourenço de Almada—retracts his promulgation.

OCTOBER 4, 1710. *Nicholson at Port Royal.* Having arrived outside Port Royal (Nova Scotia) and surprised its 300 French defenders under Governor Subercasse, the expedition of Nicholson and his adjutant general Samuel Vetch lands in two divisions the next day. They close upon Port Royal's works by October 6, installing batteries within 100 yards of the French ramparts, which open fire that same



Du Clerc's failed invasion of Rio de Janeiro.

night. Beyond hope of relief, Subercasse offers to surrender on October 13, and the actual capitulation is finalized two days later. Nicholson then renames the town “Annapolis Royal” in honor of the English queen, leaves Vetch with 500 troops as garrison commander on October 30, and returns into Boston one week later with Martin.

Nicholson eventually sails to London to persuade the British government that yet another, larger military effort should be mounted against French Canada.

EARLY NOVEMBER 1710. In Pernambuco (Brazil), Gov. Sebastião de Castro Caldas—who nine months previously chose to install his offices at the seaport of Recife rather than the traditional highland capital of Olinda—is wounded in an assassination attempt. He then flees to Bahia when a rural rebellion sweeps into Recife and substitutes Bishop Manoel Álvares da Costa into office as of Novem-

ber 15. However, more conservative elements soon besiege the rebels inside Recife.

NOVEMBER 12, 1710. In the West Indies, the 34-gun frigate *Scarborough* of Capt. Edward Holland is taken by the *Comte de Revel* and renamed the *Duc de Chaulnes*. Early the next year, it will be recaptured by the 50-gun, 620-ton HMS *Anglesea* of Capt. Thomas Legge and the 40-gun *Fowey* of Robert Chadwick. (On February 20, 1711 [O.S.], Legge dies at Barbados.)

APRIL 17, 1711. In Europe, the 32-year-old Holy Roman emperor Joseph I dies of smallpox and is succeeded by his younger brother, Archduke Charles of Austria (whom Great Britain and the Netherlands have been attempting to install upon Spain’s throne). Such a prospective Austro-Spanish amalgamation is scarcely more palatable to these maritime powers than the Franco-Spanish union they are fighting to



Duel between Spanish and English warships. (Museo Naval, Madrid)

impede, therefore tentative peace feelers are begun with Paris and Madrid and plenipotentiaries are delegated to meet in Utrecht as early as January 1712.

LATE APRIL 1711. A 200-man Spanish expedition sweeps through the English logwood establishments in the Laguna de Términos, returning into Campeche with an 18- and a 14-gun English frigate, a store ship, two sloops, and a brigantine.

MAY 5–6, 1711. This night, the 44-gun, 550-ton royal frigate *Thétis* of Jean-François de Choiseul, Comte de Beaupré and governor of Saint Domingue (Haiti), is intercepted three miles outside Havana by the 60-gun HMS *Windsor* of Capt. George Paddon and the 48-gun *Weymouth* of Richard Lestock. They batter their French opponent into submission and kill or wound 65 of its 180 crew members. Captives are then set ashore at the Cuban capital, including a wounded Choiseul, who dies shortly thereafter.

JUNE 1711. The French freebooter Jean du Buc descends upon English Montserrat with his 36-gun *Roland* and other consorts and overruns a battery before his men are ambushed, suffering some 60 casualties, which obliges them to retreat.

JUNE 19, 1711. Nicholson returns to New England from London, having convinced the English government to dispatch an expedition to spearhead the colonists' attempt against French Canada. This force appears two-and-a-half weeks later, comprised of 11 Royal Navy warships and 51 troop transports under the recently promoted Rear Admiral of the White, Sir Hovenden Walker. His convoy bears seven regiments of foot—five of them veteran units from the Duke of Marlborough's victorious Continental Army—under Brig. Gen. John ("Jack") Hill. New England will furnish an additional 1,300 militiamen to supplement the 5,300 soldiers and 6,000 seamen and marines brought from England.

JUNE 21, 1711. Off Martinique, the 50-gun HMS *Newcastle* of Capt. Sampson Bourne engages a 36-gun French ship, a 24-gun auxiliary, nine privateer sloops, plus two other vessels, driving them into Saint Pierre's harbor and thereby ending a filibuster expedition against Antigua and Montserrat. (Most likely this engagement involves the same French craft as mentioned in the preceding "June 1711" entry.)

JULY 26, 1711. Commo. James Littleton sorties from Port Royal (Jamaica) with five two-deckers and a

sloop, having learned that the homeward-bound Spanish plate fleet is soon expected from Portobelo at Cartagena.

He arrives off this latter place 11 days later, chasing five large vessels, which run in through its Boca-chica entrance. The next morning, August 7, another four sail are pursued, the 50-gun HMS *Salisbury* of Capt. Francis Hosier and the 50-gun *Salisbury Prize* (ex-French *Heureux*) of Robert Harland overtaking the 60-gun Spanish vice-flagship and engaging it until Littleton can join. The Spanish vessel is thereupon secured at a cost of one British seaman killed and six wounded, while a second is captured by Edward Vernon's 48-gun HMS *Jersey*. Littleton subsequently blockades Cartagena, although he is obliged to withdraw a few weeks later and thus allows the remaining Spanish galleons to exit for Havana, escorted by Ducasse's French warships.

AUGUST 9, 1711. The newly appointed governor Félix José Machado de Mendoça arrives at Recife (Brazil) with a small Portuguese fleet and reimposes royal rule without opposition. Numerous arrests ensue among the rebel ranks.

AUGUST 10, 1711. Early this morning, Walker and Hill get under way from Boston to assault Canada, their 67 auxiliaries and transports being escorted by the 70-gun, 1,120-ton, 440-man flagship *Edgar* of Capt. Joseph Soanes; the 80-gun, 1,300-ton, 520-man *Humber* of Richard Culliford and *Devonshire* of John Cooper; the 70-gun, 965-ton, 400-man *Swiftsure* of John Cooper and *Monmouth* of John Mitchell; the 60-gun, 910-ton, 365-man *Windsor* of Robert Arris, *Montague* of George Walton, *Sunderland* of Henry Gore, and *Dunkirk* of Captain Butler; plus the bomb vessels *Basilisk* and *Granada*. This convoy is manned by 4,500 sailors and marines and bears 7,500 troops under Lt. Gen. William Seymour, with colonels Peircy Kirk, Jasper Clayton, Richard Kane, William Windress, Henry Disney, and Samuel Vetch. One month after this expedition sets sail, another 2,300 volunteers—mostly Palatine Germans and Indian warriors—march north from Albany under Colonel Nicholson to advance up the Hudson River and threaten Montreal.

AUGUST 24, 1711 (O.S.). *Walker's Shipwreck.* After anchoring in Gaspé Bay on August 18 (O.S.), then gingerly probing into the Saint Lawrence Seaway, Walker's expedition sails too far northward. Strong currents confuse the English pilots, so that at 10:30 p.m. on August 23 (O.S.), his fleet blunders onto the breakers surrounding Ile aux Oeufs (near

modern Baie Trinité, Quebec). The next dawn, eight transports are reported lost.

TRANSPORTS LOST FROM WALKER'S EXPEDITION

Ship	Men Lost	Men Saved	Commander
<i>Isabella Anne Katharine</i>	192	7–8	Richard Bayley (drowned)
<i>Smyrna Merchant</i>	200	30	Henry Vernon (drowned)
<i>Samuel and Anne</i>	142	7–8	Thomas Walkup (drowned)
<i>Nathaniel and Elizabeth</i>	10	188	Magnus Howson
<i>Marlborough</i>	130	30	James Taylor
<i>Chatham</i>	60	40	John Alexander
<i>Colchester</i>	150	180	Joseph Henning
<i>Content</i> (Boston victualler)	—	15	William Hutton

After rescuing survivors, Walker and Hill confer on August 25 (O.S.) and opt to abandon their attempt against Quebec. The 40-gun frigate *Sapphire*

of Capt. Augustin Rouse is sent toward Boston with a dispatch recalling Nicholson's army from its Hudson River advance, while Walker's unwieldy formation retreats into "Spanish River Road" (Sydney, Nova Scotia) by September 25 to consider seizing the French fisheries in nearby Placentia Bay (Newfoundland). Even this action is judged too risky, however, so, after four days, Walker and Hill decide to give up their North American campaign altogether and return to England. Aside from sending a colonial detachment to relieve the Annapolis Royal garrison, nothing else is achieved.

(For political reasons, neither Walker nor Hill is held responsible for this failure upon their return to London, blame being heaped instead upon ineffective colonial cooperation. It is not until the government changes with the accession of the Hanoverian George I in September 1714 that both officers are cashiered.)

Duguay-Trouin

René Trouin, Sieur du Gué, was born at Saint Malo on June 10, 1673, the fourth child of a Breton shipowner named Luc Trouin, Sieur de la Barbinais. Young René was destined for the church, so his youth was spent studying at Rennes and Caen. But he was much more inclined to the sea, therefore, against his parents' wishes, he withdrew from the Jesuit school when the War of the Grand Alliance or King William's War erupted in the summer of 1689.

Trouin first shipped out on one of the family's vessels. Then the next year, he set sail as a volunteer on December 16, 1690, aboard the 28-gun privateer *Trinité* of Captain Legoux. The teenaged Trouin proved so adept at naval warfare that he was given command late the next year of the 14-gun family frigate *Danycan*. In the crowded sea lanes around western Europe, he proved an audacious and tireless rover. Soon, the mounting number of his captures made him famous as "Duguay-Trouin."

Coming to the attention of King Louis XIV, the young privateer was entrusted with a series of royal warships. First, he took over the 36-gun, 300-ton royal frigate *Hermione* on June 6, 1692, and the next year he cruised aboard the 32-gun, 400-ton *flûte Profond*. While escorting a convoy with the 34-gun royal frigate *Diligente* in 1694, Duguay-Trouin was cornered near the Scilly Isles and captured on April 12 by six English warships under Adm. David Mitchell. The wounded young Frenchman was sent as a captive to Plymouth Castle, while Mitchell was knighted for this feat. But Duguay-Trouin and four companions escaped on June 19 of the same year and sailed home aboard a boat loaned to them by a Swedish friend.

In January 1695, Duguay-Trouin sallied once more with the 48-gun, 600-ton *François*, capturing HMS *Nonsuch* of 42 guns in a two-day running fight. Louis XIV rewarded this victory with a "sword of honor," while Duguay-Trouin renamed the *Nonsuch* the *Sans Pareil*. The next year, he used it to lure two unsuspecting English vessels under his guns off Vigo. In 1697, while commanding the *Saint-Jacques des Victoires* and two other ships, he snapped up a 15-ship Dutch convoy outside Bilbao. This triumph won the 24-year-old privateer a commission as a junior captain in France's Royal Navy.

When the War of the Spanish Succession broke out five years later, Duguay-Trouin enjoyed even greater success. Numerous captures gained him promotion to senior captain by 1705, and his scattering of a Portuguese convoy the next year earned him a knighthood in the Order of Saint-Louis. Hundreds more seizures resulted in René and his older brother Luc being ennobled in 1709. At a time when France's fortunes were otherwise faltering, their skills at sea were a ray of hope for the nation.

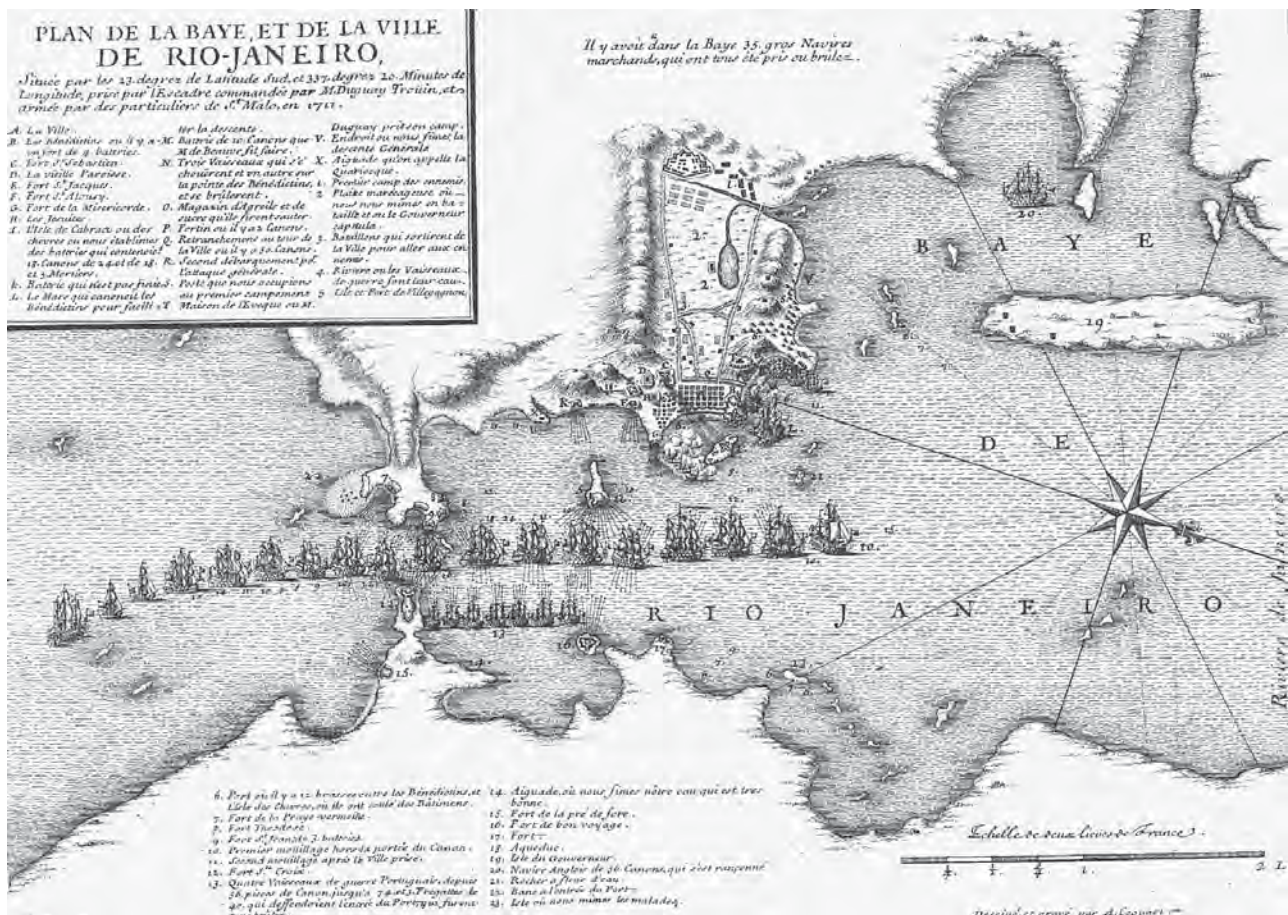
When peace feelers started in 1711, Duguay-Trouin led his first American foray. Ostensibly to avenge du Clerc's mistreatment at Rio de Janeiro, this expedition also promised rich booty. Royal warships were loaned, and investors showered him with funds. With typical boldness, Duguay-Trouin burst into Rio's harbor and unmanned the defenders with a quick assault. Yet profits proved meager, and he never again campaigned in the New World.

AUTUMN 1711. In northern Florida, the frontier captain Theophilus Hastings and Chief Brims of Coweta lead 1,300 Creeks on a destructive rampage through Choctaw territory, killing 80 and capturing 130. Another 200 Chickasaw under the Carolina frontiersman Thomas Welch visit like destruction upon Spain's native allies throughout this region.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1711. *Duguay-Trouin at Rio.* The Saint Malo privateer René Duguay-Trouin appears off Brazil with his 74-gun, 1,400-ton, 678-man flagship *Lys* and its sister ship *Magnanime* under the Chevalier de Courserac; the 64-gun, 1,100-ton, 550-man *Brillant* of the Chevalier de Goyon Beauport, *Achille* of Pierre de Rémy, Chevalier de Beauve, and *Glorieux* of Captain de la Jaille; the 58-gun, 800-ton, 486-man *Fidèle* of Miniac de la Moinerie; the 54-gun, 600-ton, 480-man *Mars* of Joseph Danycan; the royal frigates *Argonaute* of 46 guns, 500 tons, and 336 men under 28-year-old Emmanuel Auguste de Cahideuc, Chevalier Dubois de La

Motte; *Amazone* of 36 guns, 450 tons, and 318 men under Lefer des Chesnais Le Fer; *Aigle* of 36 guns, 300 tons, and 238 men under de La Marre de Caen; *Astrée* of 22 guns, 250 tons, and 160 men under Rogon de Kertanguy; the victualler *Concorde* of 20 guns, 250 tons, and 300 men under Daniel de Pradel; the privateer frigates *Chancelier* of 40 guns and 246 men under du Rocher Danycan, and *Glorieuse* of 34 guns and 227 men under de la Perche; as well as the former galliot *Bellone* of 30 guns, 340 tons, and 229 men under de Kergu.

Although most of this fleet has been loaned by the French Crown, its financing comes from private sources. At 38 years of age, its commander has won fame as a brilliant commerce raider. Masked by mists and propelled by a favorable wind, Duguay-Trouin decides to burst directly into Rio's harbor, despite the formidable batteries covering its narrow entrance: 44-gun Fort Santa Cruz on its eastern shore, plus the 48 guns of Fort São João and Praya Vermelha on its western side. Fighting their way in



Duguay-Trouin's fleet shoots its way into Rio de Janeiro; north is to the right. (Library of Parliament, Ottawa)

behind Courserac (who is familiar with this roadstead), the French encounter four Portuguese warships and two frigates inside under Commo. Gaspar da Costa, who cuts his cables and grounds his ships beneath the protection from Rio's ramparts. At a cost of 300 total casualties, Duguay-Trouin has penetrated the harbor.

The next dawn, the Chevalier de Goyon occupies Cobras Island, where a French battery of 18 guns and 5 mortars is quickly installed. Duguay-Trouin meanwhile circles Rio on September 14 and, supported by covering fire from the *Mars*, disembarks more than 2,800 soldiers and sailors within a half mile of its walls. Before sunrise the next day, his encampment is struck by 1,500 Portuguese militia counterattackers, who are driven off after a sharp exchange. On September 19, Duguay-Trouin calls upon Rio's governor, Francisco de Castro Morais, to surrender. When this demand is rejected, the French begin a combined bombardment with their siege batteries and warships.

At 1:00 a.m. on September 21, a French prisoner slips out of Rio to advise the besiegers that the Portuguese have abandoned their city. Duguay-Trouin consequently occupies Rio, freeing 360 survivors from du Clerc's failed expedition of 1710. His second-in-command, Major General de Beauville, accepts the capitulation of the Portuguese harbor batteries, while Governor Castro withdraws five miles inland in the vain hope of being reinforced from São Paulo and Minas Gerais by Capt. Gen. Antônio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho. The French loot the city warehouses, as well as 35 large and two-dozen small anchored vessels, before demanding a ransom to spare Rio's buildings. As any effective Portuguese military response is being hampered by renewed disturbances against the governor general at Salvador, as well as by lingering animosity between the twin Pernambucan cities of Olinda and Recife, the defenders reluctantly pay on October 10—although only 610,000 *cruzados*, far less than Duguay-Trouin expects.

The French then depart on November 13, having incorporated the 56-gun, 550-ton *Nossa Senhora da Encarnação* and the 44-gun *Reinha dos Anjos* into their fleet while burning the remainder. At a cost of 500 invaders' lives, Duguay-Trouin has devastated the city and burned almost 60 Portuguese merchantmen, but profits will prove to be disappointing for his investors. Moreover, the heavy-laden *Magnanime* and *Fidèle* are lost with all hands during his subsequent homeward passage on January 29, 1712,

whereas the *Aigle* succumbs at anchor off Cayenne, prompting Duguay-Trouin's shareholders to complain bitterly once he regains Brest on February 8.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1711 (O.S.). *Tuscarora War.* Inland from Cape Hatteras in North Carolina, a native war party under Chief Hancock suddenly attacks Baron de Graffenried's colony of Swiss and Palatine Germans on the banks of the Trent and Neuse rivers, slaughtering 130 men, women, and children—among them the historian John Lawson—plus another 70 in isolated homesteads nearer the Pamlico. The heretofore peaceful Tuscaroras have been provoked by repeated encroachments upon their territory, but especially by the practice of certain white traders of selling Indian women and children into slavery whenever the Tuscaroras fail to pay their debts.

Frightened settlers now crowd into stockades, where many succumb to yellow fever, while a force of militiamen and Yamasee auxiliaries under Col. John Barnwell marches against Chief Hancock's village of Cotechney. This place is destroyed, but few casualties are inflicted. A standoff then occurs, resulting in an uneasy peace arrangement; yet, when the selling of Tuscaroras into bondage resumes the next year, a new round of fighting erupts in the autumn of 1712.

Col. James Moore of South Carolina thereupon leads a small body of militiamen and 900 Yamasee warriors against the principal Tuscarora stronghold of Neoheroka, leveling this palisaded town by March 1713 and killing or capturing 950 of its inhabitants—the prisoners being sold at £10 each to help offset the expedition's costs. Their spirits broken by this crushing defeat, the surviving Indians migrate north beyond the mountains of the Roanoke River headwaters, eventually joining their distant Iroquois-speaking cousins in New York as the sixth nation of the Iroquois Confederacy.

APRIL 1712. In eastern New York City, 25 black and 2 Indian slaves arm themselves and set fire to a building, killing 9 whites and wounding 7 others who rush to extinguish the flames. Gov. Robert Hunter sends regular troops to aid the local militia in quelling this uprising, driving the rebels into nearby woods on Manhattan Island, where some commit suicide and others eventually surrender to face execution. About 70 more slaves are also jailed—at least 21 being executed—in a subsequent hysterical outburst.

MAY 1712. When a large band of Fox or Mesquakie Indians advances out of their western Wisconsin and Illinois homeland to resettle amid their Mascouten allies near Fort Pontchartrain (modern Detroit, Michigan), fighting soon erupts for control over its lucrative fur trade. Governor Dubuisson besieges this camp for 19 days with 20 French soldiers, plus numerous Ottawa and Illinois allies, then pursues the fleeing Fox and overwhelms them after a fierce four-day battle. Mesquakie losses total some 1,000 men, women, and children slain or captured.

MAY 22, 1712. *Tzeltal Rebellion.* After five months of secret planning, the Tzeltal Indians of Chiapas (southern Mexico) rise in revolt under their chosen leader Juan García against Spanish oppression. The uprising begins with a sudden assault upon the congregants at Chilum or Chilón, who are surprised while at Sunday prayers inside their church and all beheaded. García thereupon leads a march through the neighboring towns of Ocosingo and Cuira, slaughtering every opponent in his path. When the natives of Simojovel refuse to join the insurrectionists, their village, too, is burned.

García eventually comes to command 15,000 poorly armed adherents but is finally halted at Huitzán or Huistán in November, just short of the provincial capital of Ciudad Real (modern San Cristóbal de las Casas), by a small army under the *alcalde mayor* Pedro Gutiérrez. The next month, the Spaniards are reinforced by troops out of Guatemala under Capt. Gen. Toribio José Miguel Cosío y Campo, Marqués de Torre Campo, who reaches Ciudad Real by December. The rebels are subsequently defeated in a series of clashes and driven back within their principal stronghold of Cahancú or Cancuc, surrendering shortly thereafter to face mass executions and imprisonment. Cosío returns into Guatemala by March 1713, his campaign concluded.

JUNE 1712. *Cassard's Campaign.* The 32-year-old Nantes privateer Jacques Cassard—veteran of many European and Antillean cruises, including the siege of Cartagena, and recently promoted to captain in France's Royal Navy—arrives before Suriname with a small fleet. King Louis XIV has furnished these ships and crews, and private subscribers have provided their financing.

Cassard ventures up the Suriname River until checked by the Dutch batteries guarding the approaches to their capital of Paramaribo. He there-

JACQUES CASSARD'S SHIPS

Name	Guns	Tons
<i>Neptune</i>	72	1,400
<i>Téméraire</i>	50	850
<i>Rubis</i>	56	800
<i>Parfaite</i>	40	400
<i>Vestale</i>	40	400
<i>Méduse</i>	16	?
<i>Prince de Frise</i>	16	?
<i>Allègre</i>	16	?
<i>Anne</i>	?	?
<i>Marine</i>	?	?

upon reverses course and stands back out into the Atlantic, steering northwest toward Martinique.

In Europe, a general armistice is proclaimed at Utrecht, until final peace terms can be arranged.

JULY 1712. Cassard arrives at Martinique and requests that militia colonels François de Collart, Jean du Buc, and Louis du Prey augment his squadron's strength by supplying him with men. They raise 1,500 volunteers within three days, who accompany the expedition aboard 30 of their own craft when it departs northward to attack English Antigua.

Cassard drops anchor in Willoughby Bay by July 16, trying a disembarkation that same night, which is foiled by high wind and surf. Having lost the element of surprise, the French then veer southwest toward Montserrat.

Cassard bears down upon Carr's Bay first, then launches an assault against the capital of Plymouth on July 20. By hurrying men and artillery ashore to overwhelm the island's 400 unprepared defenders, who in the absence of Lt. Gov. John Pearnly are instead led by the planters George Wyke and Edward Parson, the French secure an immense booty—including 1,200 slaves and four rich merchantmen—as well as burning Stapletown to the ground and destroying all the artillery. The English meanwhile retreat into a mountain redoubt known as The Gardens between Galways Soufriere and South Hill, holding out until a quartet of English ships can appear with 600 reinforcements from Antigua, obliging Cassard's engorged expedition to scatter in the general direction of Basse-Terre (Guadeloupe).

OCTOBER 10, 1712. Having refreshed his followers, Cassard beats southeastward to attack Suriname again. Disembarking 1,100 men, the French advance up the river by both land and sea until they encounter the Dutch defenses before Paramaribo. Too tough to breach, the 16-gun frigate *Méduse* of Ensign

d'Héricourt nonetheless slips past and into Suriname's unprotected hinterland, supported by troops under Beaudinard and Nicolas Hercule, Marquis d'Espinay Beaugroult. This threat to their properties compels the Dutch to sue for terms, and although Paramaribo itself does not surrender, its defenders give up 700,000 florins' worth of sugar, 730 slaves, plus some cash, for their plantations to be spared.

A French detachment under Lt. Baron de Moans de Grasse visits a like treatment against neighboring Berbice on November 15, farther to the west (in modern Guyana), extorting another 100,000 florins. Cassard's expedition departs in December, retiring to Martinique.

JANUARY 25, 1713. Cassard—supported by six Martinican freebooter vessels under Collart plus another three from Guadeloupe—descends upon Sint Eustatius, scattering its Dutch inhabitants into the jungle. He only obtains a meager ransom, however, before he veers southwest toward Curaçao.

FEBRUARY 6, 1713. Cassard's expedition parades before Curaçao's Fort Amsterdam, where he discovers that its Dutch defenders are forewarned of his approach. His flagship *Neptune* then strikes a reef, taking a considerable portion of the French siege train (1,000 mortar shells and 17 fieldpieces) to the bottom, while the *Rubis* is carried farther west by wind and currents.

It is not until 12 days later that Cassard and Collart can finally bring their troops ashore at Santa Cruz Bay in western Curaçao, suffering approximately 50 casualties from Dutch opposition—including the French commodore himself, who is wounded in the foot and cedes command to the *Téméraire's* Capt.

Anne Henry de Bandeville de Saint Périer. The attackers number 560 soldiers, 320 buccaneers, and 180 sailors, with which to subdue 800 Dutch troops and militiamen under Gov. Jeremias van Collen. Few of the defenders are regulars, however, so Dutch resistance remains perfunctory, confined to actions intended to delay any French penetration inland.

The invaders press forward and, on February 22, fight a pitched battle against a Dutch company entrenched atop a hill. The French captain Ruty drives against its center, supported by Collart on his left, until d'Espinay can outflank the defenders and send them reeling back into their capital of Willemstad. Bandeville thereupon occupies Otrobanda opposite the city, installing three small mortars, yet the French are otherwise powerless to menace Willemstad's major citadel (which is furthermore protected by three large ships anchored in the intervening channel). Although the invaders cannot inflict much damage upon the Dutch stronghold, they can wreak untold destruction among the island's unguarded plantations; therefore, when Bandeville sends an emissary under a flag of truce to propose terms, van Collen haggles for several days before agreeing to a cessation of hostilities on March 3. The French evacuate Curaçao without pillaging it, in exchange for 115,000 Spanish pesos.

The Treaty of Utrecht is finally signed on April 11, 1713, concluding 11 years of warfare. By its terms, France surrenders all claims to Hudson's Bay, Acadia, and Newfoundland, plus Saint Kitts, while retaining New France (Quebec), Ile Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island), and Ile Royal (Cape Breton Island). Although relatively little territory changes hands, Britain's star is now beginning to ascend, while France's wanes.

MINOR INCIDENTS (1713–1719)

Despite the official cessation of hostilities in Europe, localized frictions persist in the New World. The increasing population base and commercial prosperity of many American colonies lead to a gradual expansion and bring their residents not only into conflict with surrounding tribes but also against one another.

APRIL 17, 1713. English buccaneers advance out of Belize to occupy Cozumel Island (Mexico).

AUGUST 5, 1713. Buccaneers sack Chubulná on the Yucatán Peninsula (Mexico).

APRIL 1714. A dozen Englishmen lead 2,000 Alabama, Abinkha, Talapoosa, and Chickasaw warriors in a descent against the remnants of Spain and France's Choctaw allies in northern Florida, peacefully persuading them to switch allegiance to En-

Slave Asiento

In Spanish legal terms, *asiento* simply means a binding “agreement.” During the colonial era, the Crown and its overseas officials entered into scores of *asientos* every year to meet their empire’s needs. Such contracts were routinely negotiated with private individuals. They granted exclusive rights to supply foods and equipment or to perform services. And, usually, an *asiento* even regulated the heartless business of importing slaves.

But Spain owned no slaving depots in West Africa, whose coastal trade was reserved for Portugal by the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas; therefore, the supply had to come from third parties. The first *asiento* to bring 4,000 African slaves into the Spanish Caribbean was granted as early as 1518 by the Emperor Charles V to his Flemish retainer Laurens de Goumenot. This courtier sold the privilege for 25,000 ducats to some Genoese traders. They, in turn, subcontracted with Portuguese slavers to actually transport the captives across the Atlantic.

Similar slaving *asientos* were issued over the next several decades for limited regions and periods. When Portugal was absorbed into the Spanish empire as of 1580, its slavers gained a broader monopoly, especially after signing the *asiento* of 1595. This bond was broken when Portugal revolted against Spanish rule in 1640. By now weak and bankrupt, the royal government in Madrid had to cast about for alternate suppliers. The notion of allowing private Spanish ships to sail to Angola to make their own purchases was rejected, as was an alliance with the African kingdom of Congo.

Madrid finally sold an *asiento* to the Genoese bankers Domingo Grillo and Ambrosio Lomelín in 1662, knowing that they would hire Dutch suppliers. The Netherlands had by now become the strongest maritime power in the world. Their traders had already smuggled at least 3,800 slaves to isolated colonists along the Spanish Main between 1646 and 1657, and this traffic was growing.

Grillo and Lomelín contracted the Dutch West India Company to bring African slaves to Curaçao, from where it legally delivered 24,000 over the next seven years to select Spanish American ports. But the Dutch also used such visits to sell great amounts of their own merchandise and gain local contacts. Profits proved excellent, as Spain’s colonists had abundant silver but were starved for imported goods. Even after Madrid cancelled the Dutch *asiento* in 1687, their smugglers would carry on a brisk trade out of Curaçao for decades.

These extra benefits made the *asiento* doubly attractive to foreign companies. When the French prince Philip of Anjou ascended the throne of Spain in 1701, one of his first acts was to sell the monopoly to French bidders. The ensuing War of the Spanish Succession prevented the French investors from prospering. And at the end of hostilities in 1713, the victorious British wrested a 30-year *asiento* from Spain for the importation of 144,000 slaves.

gland. The few who refuse seek shelter at Fort Saint Louis (Mobile).

APRIL 30, 1714. Annoyed by the persistent raids into Nicaragua and Costa Rica from the Caribbean coast by Miskito Indians, the Spanish Crown orders their “extermination or enslavement,” authorizing a 1,200-man sweep throughout that coastal region.

APRIL 23, 1715. *Yamasee War.* Two English traders—William Bray among the Yamasee and Samuel Warner among the Palachicola—hasten into Charles Town (later Charleston, South Carolina) to warn Gov. Charles Craven that a native uprising is imminent. This explodes three days later—at daybreak of Good Friday, April 15 (O.S.)—when fighters in red-and-black war paint surprise the veteran frontiersman Thomas Nairne and numerous other residents of Pocotalgio, slowly torturing them to death while ransacking their town.

Angry at having been victimized by dishonest Carolina traders during recent years, as well as by encroachments upon tribal lands, the Yamasee set out to exterminate all interlopers in their midst. More than 300 terrified English residents flee onto a ship anchored off Port Royal, watching in horror as their homes are destroyed and neighbors slaughtered. Farther northeast another Indian war party sweeps through the scattered plantations between the Combahee and Edisto rivers, claiming a further 100 lives.

Craven learns of these attacks while traveling overland toward Savannah in hopes of parleying with the chiefs and immediately orders out his militia. An assault upon his camp is repelled, after which Col. John Barnwell and Capt. Alexander Mackay are sent by sea to relieve Pocotalgio. In the week after Easter, Craven advances into rebel territory with 250 militiamen and settlement Indians and comes upon a Yamasee concentration near the Combahee’s head. Although outnumbered, he nonetheless defeats and

disperses these natives into the swamps in an encounter known as the “Sadkeche Fight.”

Although the Yamasee onslaught is thus temporarily checked, many other tribes rise as well, and numerous traders are killed or robbed. Defensive measures are taken 30 miles around Charles Town, and frontiersmen begin bringing in numerous captives. In mid-June, the Santee border is attacked by another native group, and a relief column of 90 riders under Captain Barker is ambushed by Congarees, who kill this officer along with about a third of his command. Schenkingh’s Cowpen is also overrun when its commander, Redwood, foolishly admits an Indian party proposing peace, who then tomahawk the defenders. But a “brave and bold” officer, incongruously named Capt. George Chicken, marches north from the Ponds with 120 Goose Creek militiamen to inflict a punishing reverse upon these raiders by June 24.

Late in July, Craven marches north with 100 militiamen, plus 100 black fighters and Indians, to join the North Carolina forces of colonels Maurice Moore and Theophilus Hastings in a campaign against the Saraws, plus other hostiles. But no sooner has South Carolina’s governor crossed the Santee than word overtakes him of 700 Apalaches slipping through the Edisto defensive perimeter from the south to plunder its plantations, obliging him to hasten back to Charles Town’s defense. Halted short of Stono Island, the raider band retreats, burning Pon Pon (Jackson’s) Bridge. Shortly thereafter, HMS *Valour*, guard ship for Virginia, reaches Charles Town with 160 muskets and other supplies, greatly easing the colonists’ fears.

South Carolina’s militia is then reorganized, and the situation stabilizes. By autumn, Lt. Gov. Robert Daniel can lead a considerable expedition against the Indian town of Huspaw (near the northern mouth of the Altamaha), finding it deserted. A large Cherokee delegation arrives at the end of October, promising to join the English at Savannah one month later for a combined operation against the Creeks. The warriors fail to keep the rendezvous, though, so Moore marches into their territory with 300 frontiersmen in an attempt to persuade them to join the English cause. He eventually succeeds, and the rebel Creeks emigrate southwest by late January 1716 to seek shelter amid the Spanish and French. Only a few minor skirmishes ensue during the coming spring, and a peace treaty is concluded by 1717.

MARCH 14, 1716. The 64-year-old captain Louis de La Porte, Sieur de Louvigny, departs Quebec

City with 400 French *coureurs de bois* or “backwoodsmen” and 400 Indian allies in a punitive sweep against the Fox Indians deeper in the North American hinterland. He defeats them in a battle about 37 miles above modern Green Bay (Wisconsin) and returns into Quebec City by October 12.

EARLY JULY 1716. The Jamaican rover Henry Jennings raids a Spanish encampment at Cape Canaveral (Florida), setting 300 buccaneers ashore from two brigantines and three *barcos luengos* to plunder its tents after its 50 defenders have been dispersed. This encampment is the base for Havana’s *sargento mayor* or “garrison commander,” Juan del Hoyo Solórzano, who has been salvaging the remains of Adm. Juan Estaban de Ubilla’s treasure fleet, wrecked among the Palmar de Aiz Keys during a storm on February 19.

While del Hoyo and most of his men are absent at the wreck sites with their frigate *Soledad* (flag), plus the auxiliaries *Paquita*, *Smith* (English prize), *Santa Rita*, *Jesús Nazareno*, *Animas*, and the galley *Perfecta*, the raiders are easily able to secure 350,000 pesos’ worth of salvaged coin before sailing away. (Cuban authorities later retaliate by issuing letters of reprisal against British vessels, thereby heightening Anglo-Spanish tensions.)

DECEMBER 7, 1716. *Bay of Campeche.* *Sargento mayor* Alonso Felipe de Andrade exits Campeche with 100 soldiers and 280 volunteers under privateer captain Sebastián García, sailing aboard the hired frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Soledad*, two other frigates, a sloop, two coast-guard galliots under Capt. José de León, plus a pair of *piraguas*, to eliminate the English logwood establishments in the nearby Laguna de Términos. En route, they are joined by another sloop and two *piraguas* from Tabasco, bearing an additional 220 men.

A few days later, the Spaniards capture a Dutch pink outside the Laguna entrance, then cross its bar between 3:00 and 4:00 p.m. on December 11, forcing the surrender of another 18 foreign frigates and sloops the next day. Only an English captain named Thomas Porter continues to resist, melting into the jungle with 150 followers, while the rest of the poachers submit and are allowed to leave; unlike previous raids by the Spaniards, this time the Spaniards intend to stay. On December 15, de Andrade begins bringing ashore matériel to erect a redoubt to cover the Laguna entrance, thereby preventing future access.

EARLY APRIL 1717. Carpenter, one of Jennings's lieutenants, is captured aboard his frigate outside Havana by an 80-man Cuban coast-guard galliot.

JUNE 19, 1717. The French mercenary commodore Jean Nicolas Martinet reaches Concepción (Chile) after a perilous passage around Cape Horn, having been hired by the Spanish Crown to rid its South American coastline of foreign smugglers with his purchased ships *Príncipe de Asturias* (ex-*Conquérant*) of 700 tons, 64 guns, and 500 men; *Triunfante* (ex-*Grand Saint Esprit*) of 600 tons, 50 guns, and 400 men, commanded by Captain de la Jonquière; plus the store-ship *Princesse de Valois* of Captain Garnier du Fougerai. They have been joined off Cadiz the previous December by the 60-gun Spanish *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* (ex-English *Pembroke*) under Capt. Bartolomé de Urdinzu, and the 48-gun, 600-ton *Peregrino* (formerly the French *Pèlerin*) of

one-eyed, one-armed, peg-legged Blas de Lezo y Olavarrieta. However, both Spanish vessels proved incapable of rounding the Horn so have turned back toward Buenos Aires.

After recuperating in Concepción, Martinet forges northward, seizing the French smuggler *Fidèle* off Cobija on September 3, then another five French vessels off Arica on September 11. These prizes are carried into Callao (Peru) by September 27, their crews eventually being repatriated to Europe aboard two of these captured vessels. In March 1718, the *Peregrino* enters Callao, although the *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* has once more circled back into the Atlantic, seizing two small Saint Malo frigates off the River Plate before being abandoned as useless. Urdinzu finally gains Callao in January 1720 aboard his two prizes. Martinet's ships return shortly thereafter toward Brest and Lorient via Cadiz, after which Blas de Lezo succeeds Urdinzu in command of the

Louisbourg

By the terms of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, France gave up its outposts on Newfoundland and Acadia (modern Nova Scotian peninsula). But it kept what are today known as Cape Breton and Prince Edward islands, where a new Atlantic stronghold was to be erected to replace Placentia. The strategic purpose of this new fort was to protect access to the St. Lawrence Seaway and mainland Canada, as well as to provide a shore base for fishermen who crossed from France every year to take cod from the Grand Banks.

The colonial engineer at Quebec City, Capt. Josué Berthelot de Beaujours, Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, was ordered on March 10, 1715, to go to Cape Breton Island to upgrade the neglected settlement at Port Dauphin (modern Englishtown, Nova Scotia). But an officer of the elite Royal Corps of Engineers named Jean-François du Verger de Verville, Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, was sent out from France to take over the project and replaced him the next year. After touring the island, Verville decided to create a new fortified town named Havre Louisbourg at its southeastern end, in a sheltered harbor that did not freeze in winter. Some 750 refugees had already settled around its shores.

Verville returned in the summer of 1717 to draw up plans, and work actually started two years later. His masonry walls proved very expensive to build because most materials, skilled laborers, and even beasts of burden had to be brought across the Atlantic. Cold weather prevented mortar from setting, so that cementing could only be done during the three or four warm months. Verville himself went home to France every autumn. Soon, the cost of his project grew so high that Louis XV asked his ministers whether he might one day be able to see Louisbourg rising over the horizon from his palace at Versailles.

In 1724, Verville was succeeded by 41-year-old captain Étienne Verrier, Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, a more seasoned and politic royal engineer from La Rochelle. They worked together for a year, after which Verville was reassigned. Verrier remained at Louisbourg as resident engineer for the next two decades. He slowly completed its fortifications, as well as the Royal and Island batteries. He also designed very beautiful public buildings, plus a lighthouse, which was raised on the harbor's southeastern headland in 1734 because of frequent fogs.

The town blossomed into a vibrant community. Vast amounts of cod were cured there for export to France and the West Indies. Sugar, rum, and molasses were imported for resale into New England. By the late 1730s, more than 150 ships were putting into Louisbourg every year. It became one of the busiest seaports in North America. Its population reached 2,500–3,000 permanent residents. Yet, ironically, exaggerated reports of the size and expense of its defenses generated fear in New England. Just as Verrier was finishing his labor in 1745, an English expedition disembarked and captured Louisbourg after a six-week siege.

remaining Spanish forces in the Pacific by 1723, amassing a tidy fortune in prize money.

JULY 15, 1717. *El Carmen.* Three buccaneer sloops anchor north of Tris Island in the Laguna de Términos (Mexico) and disembark 335 men to dislodge its newly installed Spanish garrison. After vainly calling upon Governor de Andrade to capitulate, the English wait until nightfall of July 15 to storm its eastern ramparts under cover of darkness.

Ens. Juan Muñoz's detachment is driven back from the walls, and the buccaneers gain the building's interior, only to be expelled by an unexpected 42-man sally from the Santa Isabel Bastion led by de Andrade himself. The Spanish commander falls mortally wounded, yet his men drive the English back to their ships, never to return. Because this victory has been won on July 16—feast day of Our Lady of El Carmen—both the fort and island are subsequently renamed Isla del Carmen by the Spaniards.

AUGUST 24, 1717. After four-and-a-half months of simmering unrest following the proclamation of

a Crown monopoly on tobacco, Cuba's governor, Vicente Raja—in office little more than a year—is compelled to resign and flee for Spain when Havana's garrison refuses to support him during a popular uprising.

AUTUMN 1717. Buenos Aires's 35-year-old governor Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, Knight of the Order of Calatrava, installed into office only since July 11, dispatches an expedition shortly thereafter to extirpate an unauthorized shore camp established by the French captain Etienne Moreau at Maldonado (Uruguay), who has been bartering with the local Guenoa Indians for *corambre* and hides. The Spaniards surprise the four-gun battery covering Moreau's anchorage and detain him along with his flagship *Saint François*, 3 other French vessels, 220 tons of cargo, 18 cannon, and 55 men.

FEBRUARY 11, 1718. José Rocher de la Peña, *gobernador de tercio* or third-in-command of Spain's West Indian squadron, quits San Juan de Puerto



Photograph of modern El Carmen, showing its strategic position at Tris Island's tip. (Secretaría de Turismo, Mexico)

Rico with his 160-man royal frigate *San Juan Bautista*, two privateer sloops belonging to Miguel Enríquez, a pair of coast-guard sloops from Santo Domingo, plus one sloop each from Cumaná and the island of Trinidad to proceed southeastward against English-occupied Vieques Island.

Rocher calls upon these trespassers to surrender, which their leader agrees to do; yet, when the Spaniards come ashore, the settlers flee into the jungle, obliging Rocher's men to spend the next 10 days hunting down as many as possible, while burning their dwellings and six-gun citadel. Eventually, he departs with four prize sloops, 92 black slaves, and a number of English captives, who are carried into Veracruz by July.

SPRING 1718. The renegade English privateer Edward Teach or Thatch (better known as “Blackbeard”)—having been driven out of the Caribbean and Bahamas by the spread of English Crown rule—blockades Charles Town (later Charleston, South Carolina) and extorts a small ransom.

AUGUST 4, 1718. On the afternoon of July 26 (O.S.), the veteran Woodes Rogers (see “November 25, 1708” entry in “Queen Anne’s War”) arrives outside New Providence as the Bahamas’s new governor designate, accompanied by 250 colonists aboard the 460-ton ex-Indiaman *Delicia*, frigates HMSS *Milford* and *Rose*, plus naval sloops *Buck* and *Shark*. Until now, the islands have been run by a private company, under whose absentee rule numerous renegade buccaneers have taken up residence. Rogers’s commission calls for an end to their piratical depredations, therefore many—such as “Blackbeard”—have already forsaken the Bahamas rather than submit to royal government.

However, the pirate Charles Vane’s flagship remains defiantly at anchor inside New Providence’s harbor, so after nightfall, Rogers sends the *Rose* and the *Shark* to take soundings in the anchorage, prompting Vane to respond with a recently captured French prize fitted out as a fireship. The Royal Navy frigate and sloop retreat out to sea, and next dawn the pirates get under way, evading Rogers’s attempted interception. With this threat removed, Rogers comes ashore the morning of August 7, to be greeted by an honor guard of 300 boozy buccaneers who have remained behind in New Providence under captains Benjamin Hornigold, Thomas Burgess, and others to swear fealty to the Crown.



Typical French man-of-war, early 18th century. (Library of Parliament, Ottawa)

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1718. Manuel Miralles departs Havana with the sloops *Santa Rita* of Capt. José Cordero, *Ánimas* of Juan Ramón Gutiérrez, *Regla* of Andrés González, *Ave María* of Juan Bustillos, *Santa Cruz* of Miguel del Manzano, *Begonia* of Ignacio Olavarría, and the brigantine *Jesús Nazareno* of Domingo Coimbra. Miralles’s commission is to drive off the foreign salvors working the Palmar de Aiz shipwreck sites (see “Early July 1716”), which Spain regards as its property.

He returns into Havana by September 25 with 5 captive British sloops, 86 prisoners, 98 black slaves, and 80,000 pesos in specie. Another 70 Englishmen are believed to have fled ashore. Miralles has left a 140-man, four-gun Spanish garrison behind under Cordero to guard the Palmar de Aiz anchorage, supported by 3 sloops, plus Coimbra’s brigantine.

NOVEMBER 21, 1718 (O.S.). Toward evening, Lt. Robert Maynard of HMS *Pearl* arrives opposite Ocracoke Inlet (North Carolina) with two hired Virginia sloops bearing 60 seamen. They trap the pirate Teach’s *Adventure* inside and next morning take it, slaying Blackbeard and 10 of his crew and wounding the other 9. The Royal Navy suffers 10 killed and 24 injured during this fray.

MAY 15, 1719. Off southern Cuba, the Jamaican rover Jennings arrives to make a retaliatory raid for

the salvors driven from the Palmar de Aiz wreck sites by Miralles's flotilla. Some 200 men disembark at the hamlet of Casilda and advance upon its neighboring town of Trinidad, only to find its garrison alerted. Frustrated in his design, Jennings instead destroys several Casilda fishing boats before departing.

SEPTEMBER 1719. The pirate Bartholomew Roberts reaches Bahia (Brazil) from Africa with his 32-gun *Royal Rover*, plundering a 42-ship Portuguese convoy preparing to depart for Lisbon.

LATE 1719. Having been released, the French interloper Moreau (see "Autumn 1717" entry) returns with four vessels to once more barter ashore with Uruguayan natives in the vicinity of Maldonado. A

counterexpedition of 75 troops and 30 militiamen under Capt. Martín J. Echaurri, dispatched overland by Governor Zabala of Buenos Aires, fails to catch these trespassers, although 30 of their empty huts are torched.

A second contingent of 54 soldiers, 27 militiamen, and 25 Chaná archers from Santo Domingo Soriano are therefore sent early next year under Capt. Antonio Pando y Patiño, who—guided by a mulatto laborer escaped from the French encampment—surprises Moreau's shore base at Castillos on May 24, 1720. The French commander is slain during the ensuing half-hour battle, shot through the mouth by the Spanish subaltern Pedro José Garaycochea. Six other interlopers lay dead, 15 are wounded, and 57 are taken prisoner.

WAR OF THE QUADRUPE ALLIANCE (1718–1720)

Despite its name, this conflict does not erupt overtly but, rather, starts as a "police action" in Europe intended to curb Spain's activities in the Mediterranean. Madrid never concluded peace with Austria following the War of the Spanish Succession, still disputing territories in Italy lost to Emperor Charles VI. Spain now hopes to regain these principalities through recourse to arms.

A Spanish expedition therefore invades Sardinia in August 1717, then enters Sicily one year later. Such aggression is opposed by France, Britain, and Holland, who have banded into a war-weary Triple Alliance to preserve the Treaty of Utrecht. Austria becomes a fourth coalition member in early August 1718, and a Royal Navy fleet—without any official declaration of war—destroys the Spanish expeditionary force off Cape Passaro (Sicily) on August 11.

The beleaguered Spanish government subsequently informs its American officials of these developments on September 14, 1718, ordering reprisals taken in the New World, then severs relations with Britain two days later. London in turn declares war on December 26, 1718, and hostilities spread when France also sends an army to invade northern Spain via the Pyrenees in March 1719.

APRIL 19, 1719. Joseph Le Moyne de Sérigny et de Loire, the 49-year-old subordinate (and brother) of Louisiana's 39-year-old governor Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, arrives at Biloxi aboard a French warship with orders for an immediate preemptive strike against the neighboring Spanish outpost of Pensacola.

MAY 14, 1719. *French Seizure of Pensacola.* Having learned of the outbreak of hostilities before the Spaniards, Le Moyne de Sérigny's expedition of four French warships and 600 men surprises Pen-

sacola, calling upon its governor—Col. Juan Pedro Matamoros—to surrender. The latter refuses, but after a token three-day resistance, his 200-man garrison sues for terms because Pensacola's fortifications are incomplete, plus there are insufficient stores for his defenders and the 800 noncombatants to withstand a protracted siege. De Sérigny offers French citizenship to all inhabitants who elect to remain, then assigns the 22-gun frigate *Comte de Toulouse* and 20-gun *Maréchal de Villars* to transport the governor and defeated Spaniards across the Gulf of Mexico to Havana. The occupiers meanwhile

begin transforming Pensacola into Louisiana's new capital and principal port, having been disappointed by the inferior harbor configurations at Mobile and Biloxi.

On July 4, as the pair of vessels bearing the defeated Spaniards approach Cuba, they are escorted into Havana by 14 Spanish privateer vessels that are exiting to raid Louisiana under Lt. Col. Alfonso Carrascosa de la Torre. Learning of Pensacola's fate, the Spanish governor Gregorio Guazo Calderón refuses to honor the French flags of truce, instead imprisoning their crews and using the *Comte de Toulouse* and the *Maréchal de Villars* to spearhead a second Cuban expedition, this time to reconquer the west Florida outpost.

Carrascosa de la Torre's force sets sail again on July 19, now consisting of the two French prizes; a 16-gun, 150-ton Spanish frigate; and eight other privateer craft bearing a total of 1,600 men that include two companies (150 soldiers) of Havana regulars under *sargento mayor* Estéban de Berroa, 900 volunteers, and more than 300 displaced Pensacola residents. They appear offshore on August 4, after having been delayed for two days by a lack of wind, and use their light-oared boats to disembark 100 men at Sigüenza Point, peppering the French positions while the Spanish squadron is towed over the bar. The disheartened 260 troops left as a garrison under Capt. Antoine Le Moyne de Châteauguay surrender the next morning, as well as 140 other Frenchmen. Spanish booty includes the Company of the West vessel *Saint Louis* of Captain du Colombier and the transport *Dauphine* of Captain Faraud, as well as 160 black slaves.

De Berroa and the Cuban coast-guard captain Antonio de Mendieta set sail on August 12 with three privateer craft to attempt an attack against Louisiana, but after sending a surrender demand ashore to Governor de Bienville the next day at Dauphine Island, they content themselves with merely blockading Mobile Bay.

JULY 5, 1719. The 50-year-old commodore Francisco Javier Cornejo Vallejo arrives off Veracruz from Cadiz and enters the next day with the leaky 60-gun warships *San Juan Bautista* and *San Luis*, as well as the 50-gun frigate *San Jorge*, bearing official dispatches announcing the commencement of hostilities.

JULY 9, 1719. The 66-year-old commodore Gilles, Marquis de Des Nos de Champmeslins, reaches Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien, Haiti) from Brest

with his battered 60-gun, 900-ton flagship *Hercule*, as well as the 54-gun, 600-ton *Mars* of Captain Roquefeuil and *Triton* of Captain de Vienne, to campaign against the Spaniards.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1719. *Demolition of Pensacola.* After being joined at Cap François (Haiti) by the 36-gun company ship *Union* of Captain Mancellière-Grave and the *flûte* or transport *Mary* of Captain Japil, Commodore de Champmeslins has set sail for Louisiana on August 13; his five ships bear almost 2,000 men, including 250 fresh troops. His squadron appears off Dauphine Island by September 1, relieving Governor de Bienville's defenders the next day, which causes the Cuban privateer craft to retreat out of Mobile Bay.

The French quickly marshal their strength to reconquer Pensacola. De Sérigny sets sail by mid-September with a few hundred volunteers aboard Champmeslins's warships, while de Bienville leads a column of 100 Louisianans and 500 native auxiliaries overland. Champmeslins drops anchor off Pensacola's entrance by the evening of September 16, and the next morning de Bienville's skirmishers begin harassing the Spanish garrison holding Fort Carlos. The French squadron then shoots its way in past the 24-gun battery at Sigüenza Point and batters Carrascosa's anchored frigate into submission within three hours. The 800 Spanish defenders lose more than 100 men, therefore Matamoros offers to surrender Fort Carlos, and all resistance ceases. Some 626 Cuban survivors are repatriated to Havana with Mendieta, while Matamoros, Carrascosa, de Berroa, and their two companies of Spanish regulars are carried off to Europe by Champmeslins on November 2 as prisoners of war, after the French have razed the town and its defenses.

NOVEMBER 1719. South Carolina's local assembly revolts against the private London company that rules the colony, installing James Moore as an acting "royal" governor. The Crown eventually accedes to this unorthodox change of government, appointing its own representative one year later.

DECEMBER 13, 1719. A few hundred English buccaneers disembark at Tavabacoa Beach (Cuba) and march inland to assault the town of Sancti Spiritus. A Spaniard at work early in his fields sights the invaders and warns the residents, whose militia repel this attack at Sabana de las Minas, with several deaths resulting on both sides.

JANUARY 27, 1720. In Europe, Spain temporarily patches up its differences with France by signing a truce, but terms are not finalized for another year. The actual treaty is not concluded until March 27, 1721, hence some hostile deployments will persist.

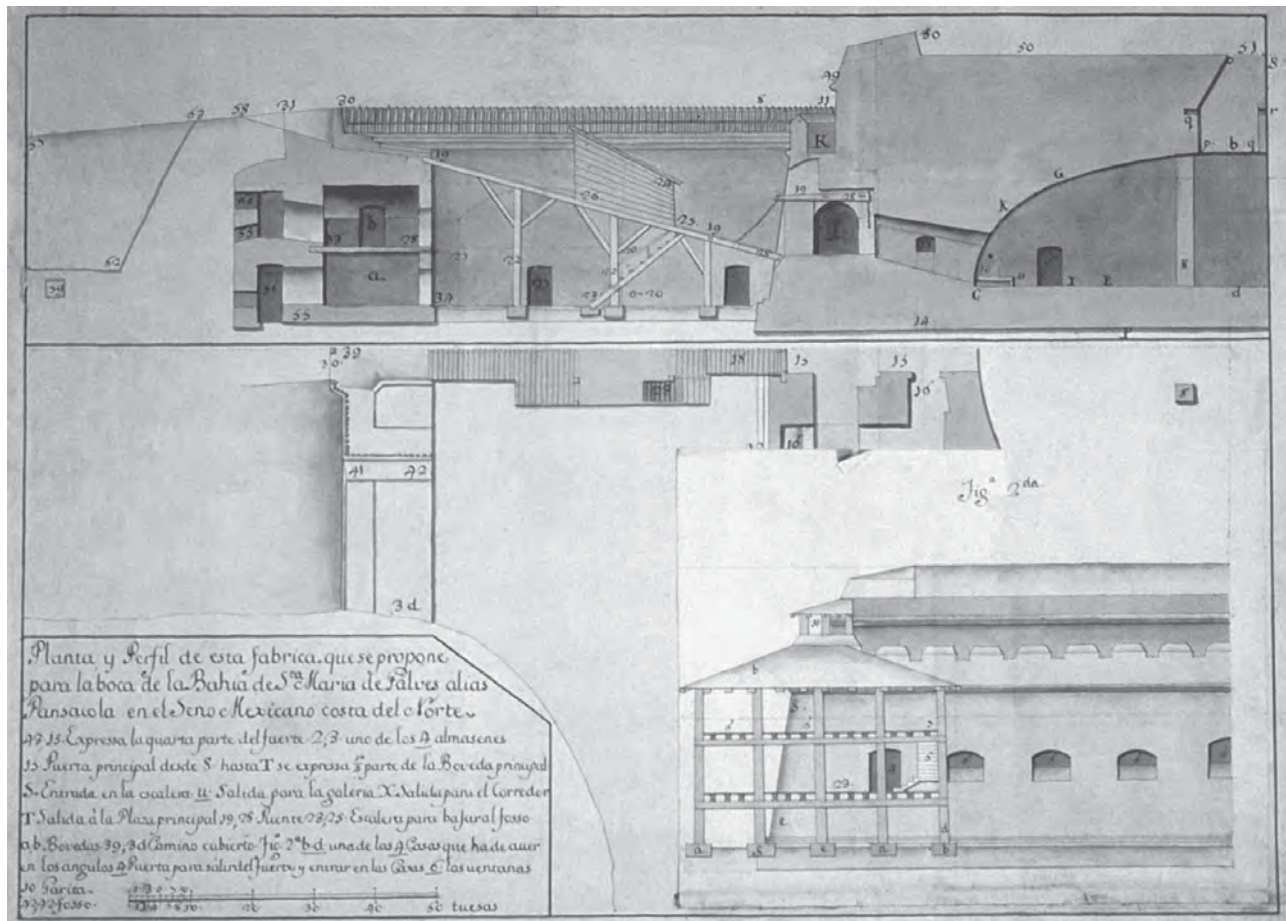
FEBRUARY 1720. *Spanish Attempt on the Bahamas.*

Three frigates of the *Armada de Barlovento's* Commo. Francisco Cornejo and José Cordero, plus nine privateer sloops and brigantines bearing a combined total of 1,200–1,300 Cubans, appear outside New Providence (Nassau) to launch a surprise assault. Reluctant to steer directly across its bar because of the presence inside of Governor Rogers's flagship *Delicia* and the 24-gun frigate HMS *Flamborough*, the Spaniards instead try a disembarkation farther east. Three columns push ashore under captains Fernando Castro, Francisco de León, and Julián Barroso and cause considerable material damage before being repelled by Rogers's 500 militiamen. The Span-

ish then remain offshore and eventually make off with 100 slaves and considerable booty.

FEBRUARY 18, 1720. The 14-gun Royal Navy snow HMS *Happy* arrives at Casilda (Cuba) from Jamaica. Its commander, Lt. Joseph Laws, lodges a formal protest with the authorities at the inland town of Trinidad over the privateering activities of Christopher Winter and Nicholas Brown, two English Catholic rovers serving Spain. Specifically, the rovers are charged with stealing slaves from Jamaica, which Gov. Gerónimo de Fuentes denies, commanding Laws to depart two days later.

MAY 15, 1720. Having rounded Cape Horn, touched at Chiloé, then plundered and burned Paíta (Peru), the former Royal Navy lieutenant George Shelvocke's 24-gun, 160-man privateer *Speedwell* is wrecked off the Juan Fernández Islands, losing two-thirds of its complement.



Spanish drawing from 1720 of proposed harbor castle at the western tip of Santa Rosa Island to guard Pensacola Bay. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

Restoration of Pensacola

By the terms of the subsequent peace treaty, Pensacola was restored to Spanish control, therefore expeditions were ordered across from Veracruz and Havana to reoccupy Pensacola Bay in 1721. Given the ease of Santa María de Galve's fall, the authorities moreover decided to revive the earlier plan of erecting a stronghold at the western tip of its offshore island, as well as transferring the entire mainland settlement over to this more defensible site.

Work on a redoubt to cover the entrance channel commenced in 1723 and was completed three years later, the town that sprang up just east of it becoming known as Santa Rosa Punta de Sigüenza. (Florida State University archeologists excavated this site in 1964 and estimated its total number of buildings to be 35.) The tiny military garrison and civilian populace was sustained by semi-annual dispatches of arms, provisions, medicines, and payrolls from Mexico—although deliveries were often delayed by Gulf storms or enemy threats—while *presidarios* or “convicts” were also transported out to provide a labor force and to bolster the community once their sentences were served.

Most of the few hundred residents operated farms on the mainland and, later, felled large numbers of tall, straight, limber pines during the 1730s to export to Havana's shipyard. Because of their isolation, inhabitants furthermore indulged in clandestine trade with Louisiana.

(This ship originally cleared Plymouth on February 24, 1719, accompanied by the 36-gun, 180-man *Success* of veteran privateer John Clipperton—see “February 1704” entry in “Queen Anne's War.” Both are to have sailed in company, armed with Austrian commissions obtained at Oostende and renamed *Starhemberg* and *Prinz Eugen*; but upon Britain's entry into the war, their owners instead obtained English papers. Before quitting England, Shelvocke has also been demoted from the larger to the smaller ship, and soon after sailing, he quarrels with Clipperton and separates from him. While rounding Cape Horn, Shelvocke's first mate, Simon Hatley, kills an albatross, furnishing the inspiration for Samuel Taylor Coleridge's later poem “Rime of the Ancient Mariner.”)

JUNE 1720. The pirate Roberts ransacks a 22-ship British convoy in Trepassey Bay (Newfoundland), then seizes a half-dozen French vessels shortly thereafter off the Grand Banks. He chooses one of the

vessels, a 28-gun ship, as his new flagship and re-names it *Royal Fortune*. He subsequently intercepts a string of prizes off New England in August, before returning into the West Indies by September.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1720. Cornejo's crewmen mutiny in Havana Bay, approximately 100 privateers landing at Luyanó Beach to march upon Jesús del Monte Monastery—south of the city—and lodge a heated protest regarding their lack of pay. Governor Guazo Calderón surrounds the sanctuary with two companies of troops (thereby incurring the wrath of the local bishop), and the rebels retreat aboard ship. Three days later, Guazo Calderón hangs their ringleaders.

OCTOBER 1720. Bartholomew Roberts stations himself on Saint Lucia and intercepts numerous English and French merchantmen visiting Barbados and Martinique, finally leaving this theater for Africa in spring 1721.

In Europe, Spain is overwhelmed by the Quadruple Alliance and accepts its terms; yet it is not until late March 1721 that Madrid finally instructs its Spanish American officials to restore confiscated British properties, thus perpetuating much simmering local resentment.

OCTOBER 16, 1720. Having constructed a 20-ton vessel called *Recovery* from the *Speedwell's* remains, Shelvocke and 46 survivors strike out from the Juan Fernández Islands toward the South American mainland and eventually capture the 200-ton Spanish merchantman *Jesús María* near Pisco, renaming it *Happy Return*. Shelvocke is subsequently boarded off Quibo by Clipperton, but the two Englishmen again part company, proceeding northwest separately.

Shelvocke thereupon captures the 300-ton *Sacra Familia* off Guatemala and, on March 24, 1721, meets Clipperton once more. Both captains try to patch up their differences for a concerted attempt against the galleon *Santo Cristo de Burgos*, which is about to depart Acapulco toward Manila, but they argue bitterly over prize shares. Clipperton therefore slips away one night in May 1721, heading across the Pacific alone in hopes of intercepting the galleon off the Philippines. Shelvocke withdraws his watch outside Acapulco a few days later, reaching Puerto Seguro near Cabo San Lucas (Baja California) by August 22, 1721, where he rests before departing westward.

TURMOIL (1721–1724)

Amid a spreading wave of stability and prosperity, some New World colonies still suffer minor upheavals, especially in Spanish America.

APRIL 4, 1721. Capt. Antonio, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, arrives in San Antonio (Texas) with a Mexican expedition to bolster Spain's claim over this region against French encroachments out of Louisiana. On August 1, he strikes a bargain with his French counterpart, Louis de Saint Denis, establishing a new boundary between both territories.

JUNE 28, 1721. At Vila Rica in the Brazilian province of Minas Gerais, masked gold miners seize Gov. Pedro de Almeida, Conde de Assumar, angered by excessive duties being charged at royal smelters. After four days of threats, the governor agrees to reduce these rates; but upon regaining his freedom, Assumar has the miners' stronghold of Arraial do Ouro Podre burned on the night of July 14, and their leader Felipe dos Santos is subsequently drawn and quartered.

JANUARY 17, 1722. In western Mexico, a Spanish expedition under Capt. Juan Flores de San Pedro penetrates the Mesa del Tonati plateau (Nayarit) in two pincer movements and overwhelms its Cora defenders, bringing them under Crown rule.

AUGUST 23, 1722. Two English smuggling sloops arrive at Mariel (Cuba) escorted by a man-of-war. Havana's Governor Guazo Calderón sends two Spanish coast-guard vessels and two *piraguas* under Captain Mendieta, plus two companies of regulars and another of militiamen, overland to detain these interlopers. The English are attacked on August 25. The Royal Navy warship fights its way clear after two hours, but its consorts are captured, with 9 dead and 22 wounded (compared to 7 Spanish fatalities).

LATE 1722. The Spanish corsair Esteban de la Barca departs Yucatán with 40 men aboard a galliot and a *piragua* and captures a small English buccaneer vessel off Isla Mujeres, then an interloper brigantine and sloop off Belize, before ravaging its logwood camps.

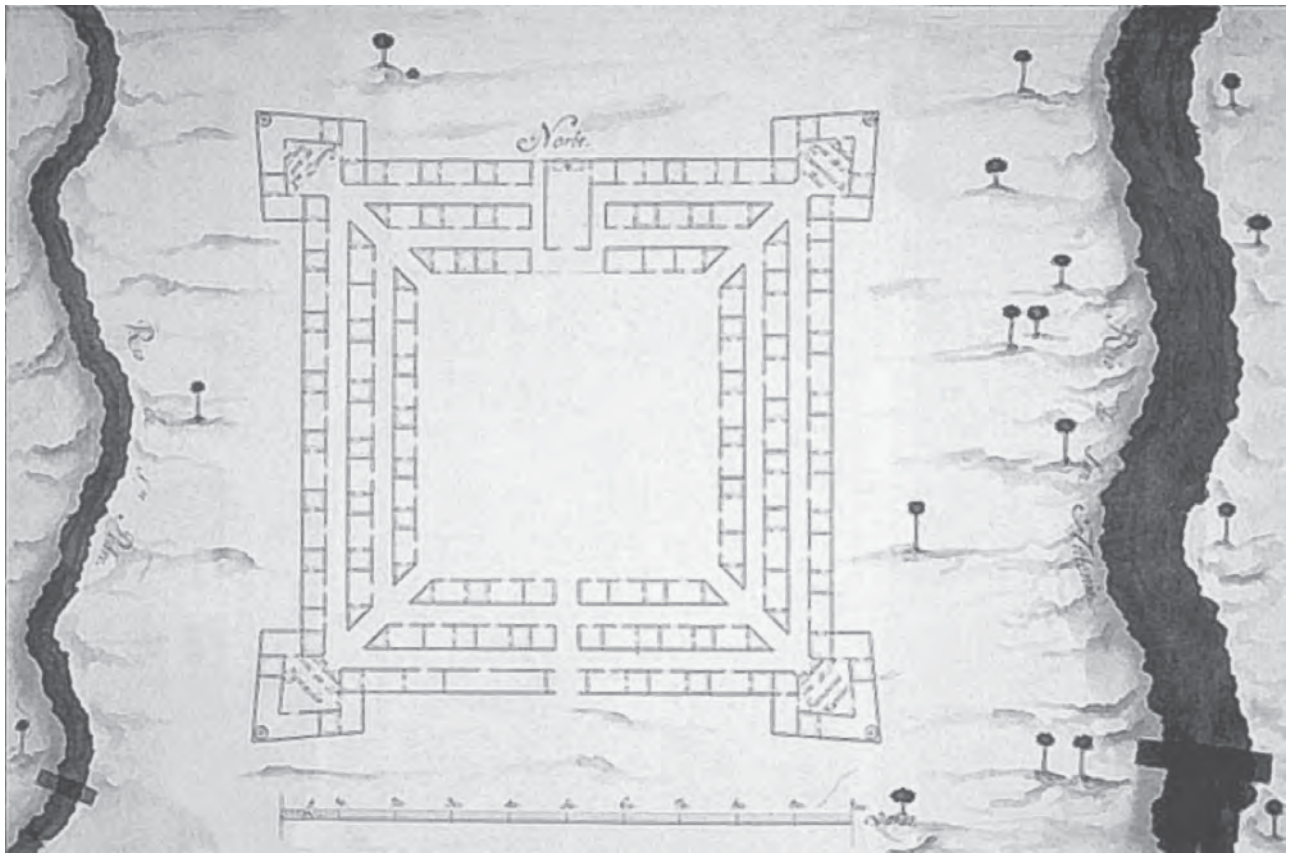
FEBRUARY 18, 1723. An uprising occurs in Cuba against the Crown's proposed new tobacco monop-

oly. Learning that some 500 armed protesters are marching upon Havana, Governor Guazo Calderón sends the cavalry captain Ignacio Barrutia with two companies of mounted infantrymen to disperse this mob at 9:00 p.m. on February 20. Next dawn, Barrutia falls upon rebels outside the town of Santiago, receiving a volley that kills a horse and wounds a trooper before scattering the rebels with a charge. One rioter is killed, several others wounded, and 12 captured, who are promptly hanged at Jesús del Monte as a warning to others.

SPRING 1723. *Araucano Independence.* In Chile, natives near Purén rise against Spanish rule, sparking a general revolt throughout this realm. The 58-year-old governor Gabriel Cano de Aponte, Knight of the Order of Santiago, calls out his militia and places them under the command of his nephew Manuel de Salamanca. In August, the latter defeats a rebel concentration under Chief Vilumilla on the banks of the Duqueco River, yet the Spaniards are too few to hold the entire territory so abandon their outposts south of the Bío-Bío River. Eventually, the Spanish sign a peace treaty with 130 chieftains in February 1726, granting them autonomy within their lands.

NOVEMBER 4, 1723. Having reclaimed Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay), a Portuguese expedition departs east under *maestre de campo* Manuel de Freitas da Fonseca. The campaign consists of three companies (150 troops) and 100 colonists aboard the 50-gun warship *Nossa Senhora da Oliveira* of Capt. Manuel Henriques de Noronha, transport *Chumbado* of Francisco Dias, plus two minor consorts. They appear off Montevideo Bay by November 22 and six days later go ashore to erect a square redoubt.

Upon learning of this new establishment on December 1, Buenos Aires's Governor de Zabala immediately dispatches 250 soldiers under Lt. Alonso de la Vega aboard two warships under Commo. Salvador García Pose to compel the settlers to evacuate this territory. A protracted siege and blockade ensue, until the Portuguese eventually agree to withdraw



Plan for the frontier presidio constructed on orders of Capt. Antonio, Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo, at San Antonio de Abejar in Texas, 1722. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

on January 19, 1724. The Spaniards subsequently found their own city upon this same site.

SPRING 1724. *Dummer's War.* Hostilities erupt between English settlers living on the frontiers of Maine and Vermont and Abenaki Indians, instigated by the French. (This conflict will become known by the name of 47-year-old William Dummer, acting governor of Massachusetts, who exercises jurisdiction over these outposts.)

One of its major actions is a carefully planned expedition of over 200 colonial soldiers, which heads up the Kennebec River from Fort Richmond (Maine) in August under captains Johnson Harmon and Jeremiah Moulton. It is their intent to surprise the encampment of the 67-year-old French Jesuit missionary Sébastien Râle, who has long incited the Norridgewock Indians to resist English expansion. After pausing briefly at Ticonic (Winslow), where they leave their whaleboats and a 40-man guard, the New Englanders continue north on foot toward Narantsouak (Old Point/Madison). Coming within striking distance of this place around noon on Au-

gust 12, the raiding party subdivides into two units of roughly 80 men each. Harmon, who advances through the cornfields, finds no natives and consequently misses the ensuing fight. Moulton, however, leads his men directly into the village, having ordered them to observe strict silence and not fire until the enemy empties its own guns.

Discovering the attackers, some 50–60 warriors rush out of their homes, firing wildly and receiving a heavy countervolley. The natives thereupon retreat to cover the escape of their women and children, being pursued by most of Moulton's men, who cut them down in the river and surrounding forest. Meanwhile, the old Norridgewock chieftain Mog and Father Râle continue to hold out in the village, the latter being killed by Lt. Richard Jaques, Harmon's son-in-law, as the friar fires from a cabin (against Moulton's direct orders, who wishes that the Frenchman be taken alive). The village is then looted, burned, and its dead scalped.

Another encounter occurs at Pigwacket (Fryeburg, Maine) on Sunday, May 9, 1725 (O.S.), when Capt. John Lovewell is ambushed while on a scalping

expedition with 33 volunteers. A band of 80 warriors fells a dozen Englishmen—including Lovewell—with its opening volley. One volunteer runs away, leaving 21 others dug in under Ens. Seth Wyman, the sole surviving officer. Nonetheless, they hold a strong position, with a pond at their backs and two large fallen pines for breastworks. Toward nightfall, seeing the Indians making camp, Wyman sneaks across and kills their leader, effectively ending this fight. Eventually, 18 of his men return home, and peace is reestablished with the natives.

MARCH 16, 1724. The 64-gun Spanish flagship *Estrella del Mar* (also known as *Sanguineto*) of Commo. Francisco Cornejo, accompanied by the 66-gun *Catalán* of Capt. Antonio Serrano and the pink *Volante* of Capt. Pedro Moyano, depart Cartagena for Portobelo and shortly thereafter stumble upon four Dutch merchantmen, who are conducting clandestine trade off Tolú. These interlopers—mounting 36, 32, 22, and 20 guns, respectively—are chased into shallow waters by the Spanish pink, backed by the *Sanguineto*. The 22-gun smuggler is subdued after a two-hour exchange costing 10 Spanish dead and 30 wounded, while the remaining merchantmen escape out to sea. The victors incorporate this prize into their squadron and change its Dutch name into the Spanish-sounding *Adriana Catalina*.

APRIL 11, 1724. A Spanish expedition departs Ascensión Bay (modern Emiliano Zapata Bay, Yucatán) under Nicolás Rodríguez, with the corsairs José Aguirre, José Marqués de Valenzuela, Juan Rodríguez de Raya, Esteban de la Barca, Baltasar de Alcázar, and Juan de Ulloa acting as subordinates. Upon approaching Belize, Nicolás Rodríguez is to lead the main body inside its chain of reefs, while Marqués is to circle outside, catching any interlopers in between.

Marqués's galliot is shipwrecked, however, delaying the flotilla at Aguada Key until April 28, when they proceed to blockade Belize. Because two Royal Navy schooners under a captain named Peyton are protecting the poachers inside, they are allowed to exit unmolested on May 1 before the Spaniards disembark.

AUGUST 1724. *Comunero War (Paraguay).* An army of Guaraní mission Indians led by Col. Baltasar García Ros, lieutenant governor of Buenos Aires, is defeated on the Tebicuary River banks by 3,000 Paraguayans under the 34-year-old Dr. José de Antequera y Castro, renegade governor of that province.

Three years previously, Antequera had been sent to Asunción as a *fiscal* or “special prosecutor” by the audiencia of Charcas on behalf of Peru's acting viceroy, Archbishop Diego Morcillo. He was to investigate complaints by Paraguayan landowners about collusion with the powerful Jesuits by the then governor, Diego de los Reyes y Balmaceda. Finding the governor absent upon his arrival at Asunción, Antequera dispatched a force to imprison Reyes, who had escaped to Corrientes, from where he threatened to gain reinstatement. Antequera meanwhile was acclaimed as governor by the local audiencia in Asunción, receiving support from the landowners, who were eager to exploit the native laborers and territories, policies that the Jesuits had steadfastly opposed.

As a result, the new Peruvian viceroy José de Armendáriz, Marqués de Castelfuerte, seeks to end this impasse by dispatching García Ros's Jesuit-trained army in 1724, only to meet defeat this August. However, Antequera's victory unwittingly renders his position untenable, for it unites both Crown and Church officials against him. Support falls away, so that by 1725 he is forced to flee to Córdoba upon the approach of another Argentine army under Governor de Zabala; he is sheltered by some Franciscans before moving on to Charcas. Martín de Barúa enters Asunción as its new royal governor, while Antequera is finally arrested in 1726 and conveyed to Lima to stand trial.

His confinement in its viceregal palace proves so mild, though, that Antequera is able to dispatch his confederate Fernando de Mompóx y Zayas back into Paraguay to organize a second uprising, which, unlike the first—which entailed a dispute between aristocratic leaders—now involves the common people or *comuneros*. Even the new governor, de Barúa, joins in, venting his wrath against the Jesuits. For months, the *comuneros* rule in and around Asunción, and when de Barúa steps down in 1730, they adopt a republican form of government, and the leader José Luis Barreyro is thereupon proclaimed president of the province. This, in turn, provokes Viceroy de Armendáriz in Lima to eventually find Antequera and his lieutenant, Juan de Mena, guilty of heresy and treason, ordering their executions. This sentence proves unpopular enough to cause riots, so that the viceroy's troops shoot Antequera on his way to the gallows on July 3, 1731.

The Paraguayan revolt meanwhile plays itself out, Barreyro arresting Mompóx, who escapes his guards while being conveyed toward Lima and flees into

Brazil. *Comunero* sentiment spreads as far as Corrientes, where Gov. Ruylobo Calderón is killed and Bishop Juan Arregui of Buenos Aires is elected to succeed him. Eventually, the rebellion is suppressed when

retiring Governor de Zabala leads another Guaraní army from the River Plate into Paraguay, defeating the rebels at Tapabuy, then entering Asunción on May 30, 1735, to execute its last remaining leaders.

ANGLO-SPANISH FRICTIONS (1725–1729)

In April 1725, Madrid confounds Europe by allying with its former archenemy Austria. Fearing that this new alignment might threaten Britain's already limited access to Spanish American markets, as well as lend added weight to Madrid's claims for the restoration of Gibraltar and Minorca, London forges a new coalition of its own in September with France, Hanover, and Prussia (later joined by Holland, Sweden, and Denmark). Russia thereupon allies itself with Austria, and the Spanish government orders its American officials to begin confiscating English goods at the end of March 1726, believing that a war might be imminent. However, this conflict never materializes, as neither Spain's nor Britain's allies wish to plunge into a general conflagration in support of these two nations.

MARCH 12, 1726. The 36-year-old commodore Rodrigo de Torres y Morales, Knight of the Orders of San Juan and Calatrava, arrives off Cozumel (Yucatán) after delivering the annual *situados* or “payrolls” to the Spanish Main. With 600 men aboard his frigates *Juan* (flag), *Nuestra Señora de Begonia* (alias *Holandesa*), and some lesser consorts, his orders are to rendezvous with another seven vessels bearing 300 men from Campeche—led by the Cuban sloop *Águila* of José Antonio de Herrera—and to sweep the English logwood cutters from Belize. (While waiting for this contingent to appear, Lt. Tomás Varela's English prize *Hamilton* also captures the Boston sloop *George* of Richard Randall on March 22.)

By the time the Campeche reinforcements finally arrive on April 10, Torres instead opts to retire into Veracruz to refresh his capital ships, while leaving de Herrera to proceed against the English with only *Águila* and two smaller auxiliaries. The Spanish commodore is therefore reprimanded for dereliction of duty upon entering Veracruz on April 30.

JUNE 16, 1726. *Hosier's Ill-Fated Campaign.* To exert pressure upon Madrid, Francis Hosier—now a 53-year-old Vice Admiral of the Blue—appears off Bastimentos (Panama) with the 70-gun, 1,100-ton ships *Breda* (flag), *Berwick*, and *Lennox*; the 64-gun, 1,029-ton *Superb* (former French *Superbe*); the 60-gun, 925-ton *Rippon*, *Nottingham*, and *Dunkirk*; the

50-gun, 750-ton *Leopard*, *Dragon*, *Tiger*, and *Portland*; the frigate *Diamond*; the sloops *Greyhound* and *Winchelsea*; plus the snow *Happy*.

A treasure fleet is preparing to load in nearby Portobelo, so its Spanish governor inquires the reason for Hosier's presence. The English admiral replies that he has come to escort the licensed South Sea Company ship *Royal George*, but even after this vessel clears Portobelo, the Royal Navy fleet remains, prompting the Spanish authorities to cancel their convoy's departure.

Hosier thereupon institutes a close blockade, preventing ships from entering or departing Portobelo until mid-December, when he sails away toward Jamaica with his crews ravaged by disease. Some ships are so understrength that they experience difficulty working into Port Royal on December 14 (O.S.).

AUGUST 13, 1726. The 71-year-old admiral Antonio Gaztañeta y de Iturrizábalza reaches Havana with a storm-tossed fleet from Spain, bearing 2,000 troops under the command of the city's former governor, Gregorio Guazo—who dies 16 days later of yellow fever and is succeeded by Brig. Gen. Juan José de Andía y Vivero, Marqués de Villahermosa de Alovera.

JANUARY 24, 1727. Gaztañeta departs Havana with 18 ships, bearing a portion of the royal treasures from Veracruz and Cartagena safely across to Spain.

Yellow Fever

This disease is caused by a minute virus. In the Americas, it is carried in the saliva of the *Aedes aegypti* (*stegomyia*) mosquito, which infects humans when puncturing their skin to drink blood. The virus remains dormant for an incubation period of three to six days, then begins to multiply. It will move through the body's lymphatic system into major organs.

The first symptoms usually include a fever, backache, headache, chills, loss of appetite, nausea, and vomiting. If a victim is healthy and properly attended, most will improve after three to four days and make a full recovery. However, some patients experience a recurrence of the fever, at which point their skin turns yellow with jaundice. This symptom explains the name "yellow fever" or "yellow jack" given in the past to this disease. Bleeding can also occur from the mouth, nose, or eyes, as well as internally. Vomit darkened by blood prompted the Latin American name for the disease, *vómito negro*. Many patients who reach this phase will die within 10 to 14 days.

Those who survive develop an immunity, and if no fresh blood source is provided, the disease will dissipate; hence, outbreaks in warm-climate towns and among non-native people have historically been the worst. Before the virus and its spread were properly identified, any influx of people into a mosquito-rich environment could have dire results. Outbreaks in tropical seaports such as Havana, Portobelo, or Panama proved especially endemic. Thousands of passengers and crewmen with nonimmunized blood would disembark from a plate fleet. Mosquitoes multiplying in warm, stagnant waters could also spread a new strain of the virus. The *Aedes aegypti* even flourishes in containers with solid sides and flat bottoms, such as wooden cisterns or ships' casks.

As a result, the arrival of overseas expeditions often caused horrific losses. Such occurred on Martinique in 1691, on Curaçao in 1713, and to Hosier's fleet in 1727. Thousands of the redcoats who landed to conquer Havana in 1762 also died of yellow fever. So did thousands of new French settlers brought in the next year to attempt to populate Kourou in Guiana. Yellow fever also destroyed the French army sent to reclaim Haiti in 1802.

And the disease could be carried into other climes. Philadelphia endured a wet spring in 1793, leaving behind ponds that bred many mosquitoes during that unusually warm summer. French refugees fleeing the Haitian revolt then arrived, some infected with the virus. By early August, an epidemic began. Half the city population fled, yet an estimated 5,000 Philadelphians died by November. Only the onset of winter brought an end to the epidemic.

FEBRUARY 1727. Having replenished his crews, Hosier leads his fleet from Jamaica toward Havana, arriving outside the bay by April 2. He then circles around the Caribbean to blockade Cartagena to prevent Spain's treasure galleons from departing—whose government in turn retaliates by besieging Gibraltar back in Europe, although without either country actually declaring war.

Again, sickness breaks out among the English crews in the West Indies, eventually claiming Hosier's life on August 23 or 25 (O.S.), and his body is conveyed back to England aboard the snow HMS *Happy* under Cmdr. Henry Fowkes. Capt. Edward St. Loe of the *Superb* assumes temporary command over the fleet.

Vice Adm. Edward Hopsonn then comes out from England to replace Hosier, reaching Jamaica by January 29, 1728 (O.S.); however, Hopsonn, too, is dead of illness by May 18, followed by St. Loe on April 22, 1729 (O.S.), as this English fleet continues to suffer a horrific toll in lives. It is estimated that more than 4,000 of its 4,750 officers and men succumb during this three-year tour, its ships being maintained by fresh crews out of Jamaica.

SPRING 1727. An expedition of English logwood cutters and native auxiliaries leaves Belize and sails northward to Ascensión Bay (modern Emiliano Zapata Bay) to march inland and sack Chunhuhub and Telá. The governor of Yucatán, Antonio de Figueroa y Silva, leads a relief force out of Mérida, which drives the raiders back to their ships.

APRIL 1727. At Quiebra Hacha mill in the interior of Cuba, 300 black slaves revolt, and this rebellion soon spreads to other properties. They are quickly put down by the mill owner, José Bayona y Chacón, at the head of two mounted militia companies.

MAY 31, 1727. In Paris, a truce is signed between Britain and Spain, although still without fully resolving their disputes.

FEBRUARY 1728. *Palmer's Raid.* Angered by Spanish support for Yamasee forays, South Carolina decides to send a punitive expedition of 100 mili-

tiamen and 200 native allies into Florida under veteran Indian fighter and member of the Commons House of Assembly, Col. John Palmer. This group departs Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina) in small boats and moves south down its coastal channel without opposition until San Juan Island (mouth of the Saint Johns River) is reached early in March, where the dugouts are beached and Palmer's company proceeds afoot.

During their subsequent march overland, the raiders are spotted by a Spanish scout, who carries a warning into the Indian villages farther south. The Yamasee concentrate at Nombre de Dios, their best-fortified village, a short distance outside St. Augustine. Despite having lost the element of surprise, Palmer's small army wins a decisive victory by overrunning this place on March 9, slaying 30 Yamasee and capturing 15, while wounding many more and scattering the survivors into the Spaniards' Fort San Marcos. Unable to storm or besiege this more powerful citadel, Palmer rests in Nombre de Dios until March 13, then strips it bare and torches it before retracing his steps into South Carolina.

AUGUST 1728. In Wisconsin, the French—fearful of an alliance between the Fox with their Sauk (or Sac), Mascouten, Kickapoo, Winnebago, and Dakota neighbors—dispatch Constant Le Marchand de Lignery with 400 men and 800 native allies to make a punitive sweep through enemy territory. This force burns numerous empty villages but otherwise inflicts few casualties.

SUMMER 1729. Governor de Figueroa of Yucatán sends his nephew Alonso de Figueroa with a group of settlers from the Canary Islands to reclaim the town of Bacalar as a bulwark against the English logwood cutters operating out of Belize. To prevent raids, the governor also authorizes the Italian-born engineer Juan Podio to design and begin building 34-gun, four-pointed Fort San Felipe de Bacalar on the shores of Siete Colores Lagoon, 25 miles northeast of Chetumal. The fort is completed four years later.

In Europe, the Treaty of Seville is signed on November 19, 1729, settling many of the commercial and territorial grievances straining relations between Britain, Spain, France, and Holland.

INTERWAR YEARS (1730–1738)

Despite the promulgation of the Treaty of Seville back in Europe, the continuing spread of major mainland colonies into the interior of the New World leads to increasingly serious frontier flare-ups. Clashes between English settlers pushing southward out of Georgia into Spanish Florida, as well as the traditional Hispano-Portuguese conflict centering around what is today Uruguay, soon threaten to drag in their respective home governments.

MARCH 1730. A force of 600 French soldiers and native allies under 38-year-old captain Paul Marin, Sieur de La Malgue, heads westward from La Baye to confront the Fox Indians who control these trade routes, besieging their main village at Butte des Morts (Wisconsin) for five days. This action drives many tribesmen to seek refuge among the Iroquois south of Lake Ontario.

AUGUST 10, 1730. A French expedition from Fort Vincennes in Upper Louisiana besieges 900 Fox refugees in an extemporized fort. Further reinforcements arrive one week later, until the besiegers number 200 Frenchmen and 1,200 native allies.

Eventually the Fox attempt to escape under cover of darkness on September 9, only to be overtaken and trapped; 500 are ruthlessly massacred, and the rest are enslaved.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1730. A trio of Spanish Guipuzcoan privateers under Ignacio de Noblesia—the 46-gun frigate *San Ignacio*, 25-gun frigate *Santa Rosa*, and a 16-gun galley—seize the Dutch sloop *Juffrau Elida* of Capt. Leendert Franken off Borburata (Venezuela) for smuggling. These three ships have come out from Los Pasajes in Spain on July 15, commissioned by the Biscayan Company to enforce their trade monopoly along Venezuela's coastline.

AUGUST 13, 1731. Angered by the arrival in Venezuelan waters of the Biscayan Company privateers, 18 Dutch vessels hover menacingly outside La Guaira, delaying the departure of the company's merchantmen. The trio of privateers will nonetheless continue making captures.

AUGUST 1732. Fears of a Creek invasion grip the southern frontier of the Carolinas, prompting Col. Alexander Glover to marshal his colonial forces at Palachacola (Fort Prince George). One month later, the rumors prove to be false, so this alert is cancelled.

FEBRUARY 12, 1733. More than 110 English colonists land at Yamacraw Bluff (Savannah) under 37-year-old James Oglethorpe to establish a new colony between the Carolinas and Spanish Florida, named Georgia in honor of the king. The Spaniards resent this expansion, reacting with hostility.

FEBRUARY 21, 1733. A Spanish expedition assaults the English logwood establishments in Belize, by both sea and land. While a flotilla of Campeche privateers appears from Chetumal to distract its inhabitants by threatening the harbor front, troops under Yucatecan governor de Figueroa also arrive overland from Bacalar to surprise them from their rear, inflicting numerous casualties. De Figueroa then remains in Belize for several weeks, destroying numerous encampments before retiring. (While withdrawing toward Mérida, he dies of sickness at Chunhuhub on August 10.)

OCTOBER 1734. Baja California's Pericue Indians rise in rebellion and destroy the Santiago and San José settlements and slay its Jesuit missionaries. When the galleon *San Cristóbal* subsequently arrives from Manila, it is unable to resupply with fresh water and provisions following its transpacific crossing, so the authorities in Mexico City organize an expedition to reconquer these outposts. Santiago is reoccupied by April 1736 and San José in February 1737, after which numerous natives are herded onto reservations, most falling sick and dying.

JULY 9, 1735. The 50-gun Spanish warships *Conquistador* of Capt. Francisco Liano and *Incendio* of Capt. Agustín Iturriza arrive at Cartagena with the viceroy designate for Peru, the Marqués de Villagarcía. They are also carrying two young Spanish naval officers, the recently commissioned junior lieuten-

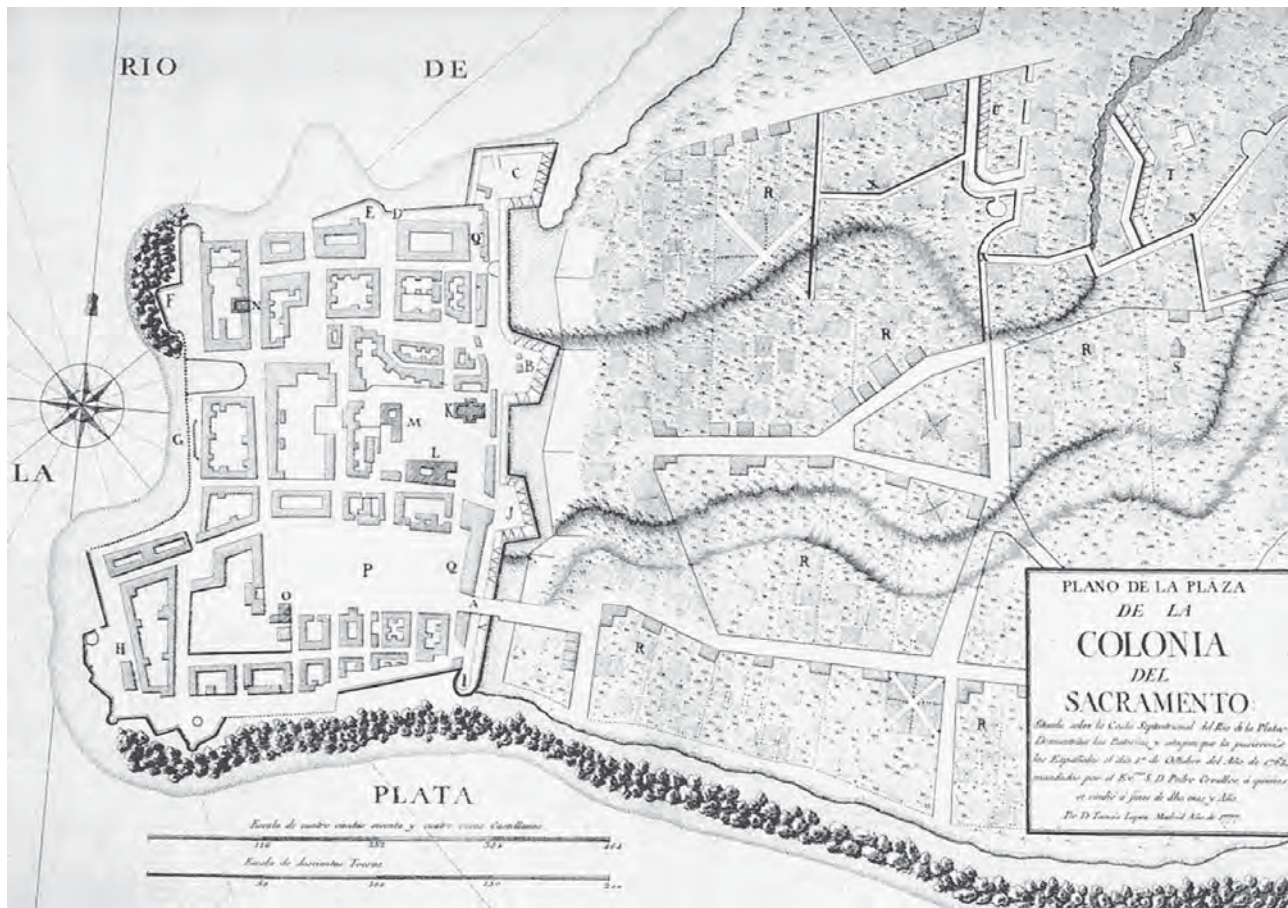
ants Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, who are to join the French "Geodesic Mission" as observers.

For decades, scientists have been puzzled by varying meridional measurements in different latitudes, leading to the realization that the Earth is not a perfect sphere. To determine the exact divergence, which can affect navigation and the drawing of maps, the Academy of Sciences in Paris has won the backing of King Louis XV. He, in turn, has secured permission from his uncle, Felipe V of Spain, for one French team to take measurements of a degree of longitude at the equator in Peru, while another does the same near the North Pole in the Swedish province of Lapland.

The two Spanish naval lieutenants at Cartagena will not be joined until November by their 11 older French colleagues under Charles de La Condamine, who have traveled from La Rochelle and Martinique. The entire group then proceeds to Portobelo and reaches Panama City by December 29. They sail into the Pacific aboard the frigate *San Cristóbal* and disembark at Manta in Peru by March 10, 1736, to begin eight years of important scientific studies.

OCTOBER 3, 1735. *Sacramento Siege.* This morning, after several months of escalating tensions between Portuguese and Spanish settlers in what is today Uruguay, Gov. Miguel Salcedo y Sierralta of Buenos Aires, Knight of the Order of Santiago, disembarks 400 troops at Vacas River (30 miles from Colônia do Sacramento), supported from a distance by the 36-gun, 279-ton, British-built merchantman *San Bruno*, an armed galley, and two launches bearing another 650 men under Francisco de Alzaibar or Alzaybar. The Portuguese governor of Colônia—Brig. Gen. Antonio Pedro de Vasconcelos, Knight of the Order of Christ—has earlier commissioned the 30-man English merchant vessel of William Kelly as a privateer with 30 soldiers on board and now detaches 200 troopers with 500 mounts under cavalry captains Manuel Félix Correa and Inácio Pereira da Silva to shadow the invaders' movements.

After being reinforced by a Guaraní contingent out of the disputed borderlands between both nations, Salcedo advances upon Colônia, clashing outside its gates on October 20. The Spaniards then camp at Veras and continue to build up their strength, probing the defenses again on November 5 with 800 men before finally encircling the walls entirely on November 9 with 500 soldiers, 4,500 Tape native auxiliaries, and 36 siege pieces. Vasconcelos's 935 defenders are well able to resist, having 80 guns



Portuguese frontline outpost of Colônia do Sacramento as it appeared during the October 1762 siege by Spanish forces; map drawn 15 years later by the royal geographer and cartographer in Madrid, Tomás López. (Author's Collection)

plus the galley *Nossa Senhora da Penha de França* and the smaller *Camaragipe* out in the harbor under Capt. Manuel de Carvalho Simão.

A protracted encirclement ensues, the Spaniards alternating their bombardments with calls for the garrison's surrender, which are refused. On January 6, 1736, Colônia is reinforced from Rio de Janeiro by the 50-gun frigate *Nossa Senhora de Nazaré* of Capt. Francisco Pinheiro dos Santos, the 20-gun *Bom Jesús de Vila Nova* (alias "*Corta Nabos*") of Dionísio Antônio de Azevedo, and four auxiliaries bearing 460 troops under Tomaz Gonçalves da Silva, in addition to their 370 crew members.

Unable to starve the Portuguese garrison into submission, Salcedo withdraws the bulk of his forces into Buenos Aires by February 10, leaving 500 cavalrymen and 200 infantrymen under Francisco Nieto to harry the defenders, who are weakened by an outbreak of dysentery. Another 270 Portuguese reinforcements under Capt. Tomaz Banhos arrive on April 5 aboard Kelly's privateer, the 30-gun galley

Nossa Senhora de Nazaré (alias *Leão Dourado*), *Bom Jesús da Confiança*, and three other consorts under Capt. Cipriano de Matos Monteiro. They raid Argentine outposts on April 18, and Vasconcelos himself bloodies Nieto's besiegers on April 24.

JANUARY 1736. More than 170 Scottish settlers arrive at Savannah (Georgia) to establish a new town farther south called Darien, on the Altamaha River. They are joined one month later by more than 250 Londoners, who venture even farther south with the sloop *Midnight* and the scout boat *Carolina* to establish Fort Frederica, thus pushing back the Spanish borderlands.

MARCH 26, 1736. At 8:00 p.m., 40 poorly treated soldiers mutiny at Fort Nassau (Bahamas), even firing upon Gov. Richard Fitzwilliam when he attempts to intervene. The rebels then free a jailed French pilot, nail up the fort's seaward guns, board a large sloop, and set sail toward Havana by 3:00 a.m.

of the 27th. Unskilled sailors, they are overtaken next daybreak by Thomas Walker's sloop, arrested without a fight, and returned to stand trial. Their leader George Collins and 11 others are hanged, while the remainder are flogged and transported.

APRIL 19, 1736. The scout boats *Carolina* of Capt. William Ferguson and *Georgia* of John Ray, accompanied by a *piragua* from Darien (Georgia) with 30 Highlanders and 10 rangers under Capt. Hugh Mackay plus 40 Yamacraw warriors in canoes under their *mico* or "chieftain" Tomochichi, disembark on the northwestern tip of Cumberland Island to begin constructing star-shaped Fort Saint Andrews.

LATE MAY 1736. Georgia militiamen under Capt. Christian Hermsdorf begin constructing Fort Saint George, directly opposite the Spaniards' northernmost lookout station on the Saint Johns River (modern Fort George Island, near Jacksonville, Florida). This work is briefly interrupted by fears of possible Spanish retaliation, but it resumes once Highlander reinforcements arrive aboard the scout boat *Georgia* and a yawl.

JUNE 25, 1736. In retaliation for the Spanish siege of Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay)—although still without any official declaration of war by either Lisbon or Madrid—Portuguese commodore Luiz de Abreu Prego departs Rio de Janeiro with the 74-gun ships of the line *Nossa Senhora da Victória* (flag) and *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* of Capt. João Pereira dos Santos; the frigate *Nossa Senhora da Alampadosa* of José de Vasconcelos, Knight of Malta; the galley *Santanna*; the brigantine *Nossa Senhora da Piedade* (alias *Bichacadella*); a royal sloop or yacht; plus two hired merchantmen bearing 600 troops under Brig. Gen. José da Silva Paes.

Intended to reinforce Brazil's southwestern frontier, this expedition rendezvous off Santa Catarina Island on July 21–22 with the galley *Corta Nabos* and transport *Rosa*, bearing an additional 250 troops from Colônia do Sacramento. All weigh anchor together by August 1, encountering stormy weather and skirmishing with the Spanish frigates *Hermiona* of 52 guns and *San Esteban* of 50 guns—recently arrived from Cadiz under Capt. José de Arratia—on August 18, 20, and 26.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1736. The frigates *Hermiona* and *San Esteban* appear off Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay), disembarking 110 dragoons as reinforce-

ments for its Spanish besiegers before continuing west toward Buenos Aires the next day.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1736. Abreu Prego and Silva Paes's expedition reaches Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay), reinforcing its Portuguese garrison and making a sally with 800 men in three columns before dawn on October 4 to drive back its Spanish besiegers. Numerous supply dumps are burned, obliging the Spaniards to retire beyond the San Juan River.

OCTOBER 1736. After heated protests from Gov. Francisco del Moral Sánchez at St. Augustine, Governor Oglethorpe of Georgia agrees to withdraw Fort Saint George from the mouth of the Saint Johns River and allow this border dispute to be resolved by Madrid and London. The Spanish governor is soon dismissed from office, while Oglethorpe instructs his followers to build Fort Amelia at the Saint Mary's River mouth.

LATE NOVEMBER 1736. As further reinforcements for Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay), the Portuguese warship *Nossa Senhora da Arrabida* of Capt. Luiz Antônio Berderod quits Rio de Janeiro, accompanied by the 30-gun *Santhiago*, the 8-gun *Fangueiro*, and the hired transport *Centeno*, bearing 350 soldiers.

DECEMBER 9, 1736. Capt. Antônio Rodrigues Figueira slips out of Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay) at dawn with 180 Portuguese troops aboard three brigantines and seven boats to raid a Spanish supply dump three miles up the San Juan River. This base is surprised and burned, but the attackers' retreat is then cut off. Rodrigues Figueira's force suffers 10 killed, 37 wounded, and 87 captured before winning free.

DECEMBER 24, 1736. *Montevideo Blockade.* Brigadier General Silva Paes departs Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay) with 720 Portuguese troops aboard the galleys *Leão Dourado* and *Santana do Pôrto*, the brigantine *Piedade*, the corvette *São Francisco Xavier*, and the royal sloop *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* and appears before Montevideo five days later in hopes of making a disembarkation. However, even after rendezvousing on December 31 with Abreu Prego's 500-man squadron, the attackers do not muster sufficient strength to overwhelm the 800 Spanish defenders who are backed by batteries and a 42-gun frigate anchored in the roadstead. Silva Paes therefore continues farther east on January 13, 1737, landing at Punta del Este to establish a

new 130-man Portuguese outpost at Maldonado under *maestre de campo* André Ribeiro Coutinho. He then sails on toward Brazil.

SPRING 1737. At Guaymas (Mexico), the long-pacified Pimas Bajos natives rise up against the Spaniards, inspired by their medicine man. Capt. Juan Bautista de Anza puts down this rebellion and hangs its leader on June 1.

MARCH 15, 1737. Two additional Spanish warships—the *Galga* of 56 guns and the *Paloma* of 52 guns under Capt. Nicolás Geraldín—reach Ensenada de Barragán east of Buenos Aires, bringing in reinforcements aboard the transport *Rosario*, plus five Portuguese prizes intercepted off Brazil.

MARCH 16, 1737. In Paris, Portuguese and Spanish plenipotentiaries sign an armistice.

APRIL 7, 1737. The 48-year-old Spanish vice admiral Blas de Lezo reaches Cartagena (Colombia) with his 64-gun flagship *Nuestra Señora del Carmen*, better known as the *Conquistador*. Eight days later, his 60-gun vice-flagship *Fuerte* straggles in with five of the merchantmen they are escorting from Cadiz, the sixth having been lost to a storm.

MAY 15, 1737. Salcedo returns from Buenos Aires and materializes off Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay) with four Spanish frigates, two corvettes, and a boat flotilla to reinvigorate its besiegers. Nonetheless, his strength is insufficient to subdue the 1,000-man Portuguese garrison under Vasconcelos, bolstered by the brigantines *Tavares*, *Sereia*, *Bigodes*, *Latino*, and *Caramujo* lying in the roadstead. Both squadrons skirmish over the next few weeks without achieving any significant advantage.

SUMMER 1737. A Spanish expedition departs Campeche and attacks the English logwood establishments at Belize.

AUGUST 15, 1737. The royal Portuguese frigate *Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem* of Captain Duarte Pereira reaches Maldonado (Uruguay) with news of the cessation of Hispano-Portuguese hostilities.

MARCH 15, 1738. The Spanish captain Daniel Huoni reaches Veracruz with his 70-gun flagship *León* and 60-gun vice-flagship *Lanfranco* (official name, *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*) to deposit the annual quicksilver consignment from Spain, a vital ingredient used to refine Mexico's ores.

Fearful of England's warlike preparations, the next month Madrid orders Commo. José Alfonso Pizarro, Knight of the Order of San Juan, to also sail for Veracruz with the 70-gun *Africa* (official name, *San José*), 64-gun *Guipúzcoa*, plus the 50-gun frigates *Incendio* (official name, *San Lorenzo*) and *Esperanza* to deposit an additional amount of quicksilver. Pizarro is then to bolster Spain's naval forces in the West Indies before safely conducting home the quicksilver convoy.

MAY 1738. Three transports arrive at Savannah bearing the first contingent of 629 soldiers of the 42nd Regiment of Foot, which Oglethorpe has raised in England to defend Georgia. He himself arrives by mid-September, with the remaining troops aboard another five transports.

JULY 20, 1738. The Spanish Crown, angered by its negotiations with London, authorizes its coast-guard privateers in the Caribbean to broaden the scope of their activities, detaining foreign vessels for merely sailing in "suspicious latitudes."

WAR OF JENKINS'S EAR, LATER KING GEORGE'S WAR (1739–1748)

Great Britain, as the world's rising maritime power, resents Spain's efforts to exclude its merchants from Central and South America. This friction is exemplified by an incident that occurs on April 20, 1731, when the Glasgow brig *Rebecca* of Capt. Robert Jenkins—homeward-bound from Jamaica—is intercepted and ransacked before Havana by the Cuban coast-guard vessel *San Antonio* (alias *Isabela*) of Capt. Juan de León Fandino. Jenkins himself is mistreated and his ear allegedly cut off, "to carry it to His Majesty King George."

The struggle between British smugglers and Spanish patrols eventually climaxes in March 1738 when George II announces that all British subjects with unsatisfied claims against Spain's *guardacostas*

can apply for a letter of reprisal, to fit out as privateers and seize Spanish vessels by way of compensation. No licenses are ever applied for, it being held that such work more properly belongs to the Royal Navy. Diplomatic complaints fare little better, as the Spaniards lodge counterprotests against British activities. War is narrowly averted that year, then finally explodes the next spring.

When France eventually joins Spain in 1744—impelled by the eruption of the War of the Austrian Succession in central Europe—this expanded conflict will become known in Britain’s North American colonies as “King George’s War.”

JUNE 1739. The British government—dissatisfied with the progress of its negotiations in Madrid—decides to authorize limited strikes against Spanish shipping, without officially declaring war. Consequently, fleets will be sent to intercept the treasure convoys, and Commo. Charles Brown’s Jamaica squadron is alerted. Also, Edward Vernon is promoted to Vice Admiral of the Blue on July 9 (O.S.) and delegated to lead a five-ship squadron on a punitive sweep into the West Indies.

AUGUST 13, 1739. Having traversed the Atlantic from Havana in the belief that war will be averted, Commodore Pizarro and Captain Huoni material-

ize outside Santander with their four lightly armed, heavily laden ships. Informed that Admiral Had-dock is awaiting them before Cadiz with 10 men-of-war, the Spanish quartet instead enters Santander the next day and safely transfers all its bullion and cargo ashore by August 15.

AUGUST 25, 1739. Commodore Brown sorties from Port Royal (Jamaica) with his 70-gun flagship *HMS Hampton Court*, the 60-gun *Windsor*, the 50-gun *Falmouth*, *Diamond*, and *Torrington*, the 20-gun *Shoreham*, and the 14-gun sloop *Drake* to cruise around Cuba. On September 14, 34-year-old captain Charles Knowles of the *Diamond* pursues a Spanish

Admiral Vernon

Edward Vernon was born on November 12, 1684 (O.S.), at Westminster in London. He was the fourth and youngest child and second son of a secretary of state under King William III. Edward was sent to study at Westminster School at the age of seven. He volunteered for the Royal Navy and was entered on the books of HMS *Shrewsbury* on May 10, 1700 (O.S.).

Four months after Queen Anne’s War erupted, Edward was promoted to lieutenant aboard HMS *Lennox* on September 16, 1702. The teenage officer saw much action in the Mediterranean, and two years later he transferred aboard Adm. Cloud-isley Shovell’s flagship HMS *Barfleur*. Vernon won promotion to captain by January 22, 1706 (O.S.), and commanded several ships until Shovell’s fleet returned to England the next year. In May 1708, Vernon sailed for the West Indies with HMS *Jersey* as part of Commo. John Edwards’s squadron. The young captain served in that theater for the remainder of the conflict.

His peacetime service included three tours of the Baltic. Vernon was also elected to Parliament in 1721. He sailed to Gibraltar six years later with HMS *Grafton*, as that fortress was being reinforced against a five-month siege by Spain. Once more back in London, Vernon became a vocal supporter in Parliament of a war to protect British merchantmen against Spanish American corsairs.

As such, he was promoted to Vice Admiral of the Blue on July 9, 1739 (O.S.), and instructed to lead five warships in a pre-war Caribbean sweep. Now 54 years of age, Vernon was a fine choice. Politically astute, he also had years of experience in the West Indies. Energetic, brave, and well liked, he was known among seamen as “Old Grog,” apparently because of the grogram boat cloak that he often wore against the damp. (A combination of silk, mohair, and wool, grogram could be stiffened with gum to make it waterproof.) He soon distinguished himself at Portobelo, Chagres, Cartagena, and Guantánamo.

Perhaps most famously, Vernon also altered the navy’s daily rum ration, which had had such a bad effect on seamen in the tropics. A half pint of straight 80 proof rum, plus a gallon of beer, was too much every day. The admiral therefore ordered his captains on August 4, 1740 (O.S.), to consult with their ships’ physicians about the benefits of watering down the issue. When they concurred 17 days later, he signed Order No. 349, directing that each half pint of rum be diluted in a quart of water before distribution. Sugar, lime juice, and cinnamon could be added to make the mixture tastier. Disgruntled sailors referred to this new concoction as “grog.”

sail and fails to rejoin the group, instead returning directly to Jamaica with two valuable prizes. Capt. Edward Boscawen of the *Shoreham* meanwhile reconnoiters the approaches to Havana, destroys two Spanish sloops, and captures a third before landing at Puerto María on September 26 to burn a mass of lumber, despite opposition from two demi-galleys and a sloop.

AUGUST 27, 1739. In response to Britain's attempt on the Mexican quicksilver convoy and other hostile deployments, Madrid authorizes its American officials to take reprisals against British citizens and properties.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1739. An Angola-led slave insurrection occurs at Stono (South Carolina), during which 23 whites are killed, and panic grips the English colonies. Local militias are mustered and soon corner the rebels, killing about 40 and scattering the remainder into the swamps. Uneasy British settlers remain convinced that this uprising has been instigated by the Spaniards out of St. Augustine (Florida).

OCTOBER 2, 1739. Gov. Juan Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas confiscates all English properties in Havana.

OCTOBER 8, 1739. Gov. James Oglethorpe of Georgia receives official notification of the breakdown of negotiations with Madrid, plus orders to "annoy the subjects of Spain, and put the colonies of Carolina and Georgia in the best posture of defense."

OCTOBER 9, 1739. Vernon arrives at Antigua with his 70-gun, 500-man, 1,147-ton flagship *Burford* under the flag captain Thomas Watson; the 60-gun, 400-man, 1,000-ton *Princess Louisa* of Thomas Waterhouse, *Strafford* of Thomas Trevor, and *Worcester* of Perry Mayne; plus the 50-gun, 300-man, 700-ton *Norwich* of Richard Herbert. After refreshing supplies, the British admiral proceeds to Saint Kitts, then detaches Waterhouse to cruise off the Spanish Main between La Guaira and Puerto Cabello with the *Princess Louisa*, *Strafford*, and *Norwich* before rejoining Vernon's main body at Jamaica.

OCTOBER 11, 1739. Commodore Brown maintains his blockade of Havana, his foraging parties being fired upon as they attempt to go ashore at Bacuranao, Jaruco, and Bahía Honda.

OCTOBER 22, 1739. Waterhouse bombards La Guaira (Venezuela) for three hours with HMSS *Princess Louisa*, *Strafford*, and *Norwich* before standing away westward.

OCTOBER 23, 1739. Vernon's squadron reaches Port Royal (Jamaica).

OCTOBER 30, 1739. In Europe, Britain declares war against Spain, which is officially promulgated two days afterward. Madrid reciprocates on November 26.

NOVEMBER 16, 1739. After being rejoined at Port Royal (Jamaica) by Waterhouse's detachment, plus Commodore Brown's flagship *Hampton Court*—which has returned on November 8 after leaving the *Windsor* and the *Falmouth* to maintain the blockade of Havana—Vernon decides that no Spanish treasure convoys will likely sortie, so he instead opts to attack Portobelo. Embarking 200 troops under Capt. William Newton, the British admiral quits Port Royal with HMSS *Burford*, *Hampton Court*, *Princess Louisa*, *Strafford*, *Worcester*, *Norwich*, and the 20-gun *Sheerness* of Capt. Edward Stapleton, heading southeast. The latter vessel is detached during his crossing to maintain watch on Cartagena.

NOVEMBER 24, 1739. At dawn outside Fort Amelia (Georgia), a dozen Yamasee warriors—allies of the Spanish—ambush a pair of Highlanders emerging for firewood, killing both and carrying their scalps to St. Augustine.

NOVEMBER 30, 1739. *Portobelo.* Vernon anchors seven or eight miles to windward of this Panamanian harbor, issuing final instructions for his attack. Next morning at 6:00 a.m., his half-dozen warships and two tenders get under way, led by Brown's *Hampton Court*, which weathers the Salmedina island group by 2:00 p.m., then stands directly toward Portobelo in a faint wind.

Shortly thereafter, the Royal Navy squadron opens fire against San Felipe de Sotomayor or *Todo Fierro* harbor fort ("Iron Castle" to the English), catching its Spanish garrison almost totally unprepared. Some 55 marines are rushed across from the city under naval captain Juan Francisco Garganta to raise the fort's strength to 90 men, yet only 9 of San Felipe's 32 guns are serviceable—and those are quickly reduced to 4 by the British bombardment. By 4:30 p.m. of December 1, when Brown sends



British boat parties move to occupy the battered San Felipe harbor castle before Vernon's fleet continues against Portobelo in the distance, by George Chambers Sr. (National Maritime Museum, London)

boat parties ashore, scarcely 5 Spanish officers and 35 men remain to surrender, the rest having fled. At 8:00 p.m., the English shift their fire against Santiago de la Gloria fortress (Castle Gloria) beside Portobelo proper, sinking a Spanish sloop in the roadstead and doing other damage before ceasing their bombardment at nightfall.

At 5:30 a.m. of December 2, Vernon's squadron works deeper into the harbor, only to be approached soon afterward by a launch requesting terms from the acting governor Francisco Javier Martínez de la Vega y Retes. Vernon deems this overture unsatisfactory so gives Martínez until 3:00 p.m. to accept his conditions, while continuing to warp his squadron into the roadstead. The Spaniards capitulate that same afternoon, at which time the half-empty town is occupied without resistance. English casualties total three dead and five wounded aboard HMSS *Burford* and *Worcester*, with another seriously injured aboard the *Hampton Court*.

Vernon forbids any plundering and reassures the few remaining inhabitants that Britain's fight is against the Spanish Crown, not the Portobelans themselves. In keeping with London's policies, he

then orders captains Knowles and Boscawen to throw down the defenses so as to leave this port "an open and defenseless bay." Upon withdrawing toward Jamaica on December 23 with his three Spanish prizes—two 20-gun ships and the newly renamed snow *Triumph*—Vernon leaves behind no occupying garrison, instead announcing that Portobelo will henceforth be treated as a neutral port as long as its Spanish authorities and *guardacostas* permit free trade.

DECEMBER 11, 1739. Governor Oglethorpe departs Frederica (Georgia) with 200 men aboard 14 boats, coasting south as far as the Saint Johns River (Florida) to probe Spanish preparations. Finding them weak, he reinstalls a small frontline garrison at Fort Saint George (see "October 1736" entry in "Interwar Years"), before retiring into Frederica by December 28.

DECEMBER 16, 1739. The Spanish ships of the line *Galicia* and *San Carlos* reach San Juan de Puerto Rico from El Ferrol, bearing the new viceroy designate for the recently resurrected Viceroyalty of New Granada, 45-year-old lieutenant general Se-

bastián de Eslava y Lazaga Berrio y Eguiarreta, Knight of the Order of Santiago. However, these vessels will not be able to carry him on to Cartagena until April 1740.

JANUARY 14, 1740. Oglethorpe returns to Fort Saint George (near modern Jacksonville, Florida) with 180 men and is joined by an English privateer sloop. Three days later, this small expedition sails up the Saint Johns River to attack the Spanish outposts at Forts Picolata and San Francisco de Pupo. Arriving five miles downstream (north) of this former place at 4:00 p.m., Oglethorpe's company disembarks and creeps upon Picolata at 2:00 a.m. on the 18th, finding it abandoned. The Spanish garrison opposite at San Francisco de Pupo spots Oglethorpe's native auxiliaries and—mistaking them for Yamasee allies—sends a ferry across, which narrowly escapes capture.

During this confusion, Oglethorpe lands his British regulars a mile north of Pupo and marches upon it with four fieldpieces. The latter are hastily sited by artillery Ens. Sanford Mace, who opens fire just before sunset. Pupo's 12-man Spanish garrison capitulates at their second salvo, allowing Oglethorpe to leave behind 50 men to hold this place under Capt. Hugh Mackay Jr., while reversing course toward the coast and Frederica on January 22.

MARCH 6, 1740. After wintering at Port Royal (Jamaica), Vernon sorties with his squadron, detaching the 50-gun *Greenwich* to watch Santa Marta, then appearing off Cartagena on March 13 with his main body to take soundings. Four days later, Vernon directs his recently joined bomb vessels, *Alderney* of Cmdr. James Scott and *Terrible* of Cmdr. Edward Allen, to begin shelling the city. This galling fire persists until the morning of March 20 without the Spanish squadron sallying to challenge under Vice Admiral de Lezo—a grizzled veteran already missing his left leg, right arm, and left eye (see “June 19, 1717” entry in “Minor Incidents”).

Vernon thereupon leaves HMSS *Windsor* of Capt. George Berkeley and *Greenwich* of Charles Wyndham to continue the blockade and steers toward the north coast of Panama with the remainder of his squadron on March 21.

APRIL 1, 1740. *Chagres.* After watering at Portobelo on March 24, Vernon appears off Chagres with HMSS *Strafford* (flag), *Princess Louisa*, *Falmouth*, and *Norwich*; fireships *Cumberland*, *Eleanor*, and *Success*;

bomb vessels *Alderney* and *Terrible*; tenders *Goodly* and *Pompey*; plus a Cuban prize brig and sloop. They bombard Chagres's tiny, 11-gun Spanish keep from 3:00 to 10:00 p.m., forcing its 30-man garrison under Capt. Juan Carlos Gutiérrez Cevallos to capitulate by 11:00 a.m. the next morning. The English thereupon strip the site bare and blow up the fortifications on April 8, sailing away the next day for Portobelo and Cartagena. Vernon eventually returns into Port Royal (Jamaica) by May 13.

APRIL 8, 1740. Capt. Robert Hodgson arrives at Río Tinto (Honduras), having been sent from Jamaica to transform the Mosquito Coast into a British protectorate, in conjunction with the Miskito chieftain Peter.

MAY 19, 1740. Oglethorpe returns from Georgia to the south bank of the Saint Johns River, disembarking an advance body of 100 men near modern Mayport (Florida) to secure this beachhead for a larger group of British colonials that are to follow.

James Oglethorpe

James Edward Oglethorpe was born on December 22, 1696 (O.S.), in London, England. He was the tenth and last child and third son of a prosperous landowner and member of Parliament. Young James grew up at Westbrook Manor on the family estate in Godalming, a small town outside the capital. In 1714, he was sent to Corpus Christi College at Oxford University but soon left for a French military academy. The adventurous teenager then traveled into Austria and fought against the Turks under Prince Eugene of Savoy.

After briefly returning to Oxford, Oglethorpe was elected to the family seat in Parliament in 1722. His life changed six years later when his friend Robert Castell was arrested for debt and died of smallpox in London's Fleet Prison. Its horrid conditions made Oglethorpe chair a parliamentary commission in 1729 to reform the many abuses in the justice system. He and friends such as John, Viscount Percival, became convinced that poor debtors should be given a chance at a better life by settling a new British colony in North America. There they could work their own lands, with large properties, class distinctions, and slavery being forbidden.

Military and economic concerns also led King George II to grant this project a charter in 1732. Oglethorpe was named 1 of 23 trustees who were to create and govern a new colony south of the Carolinas known as “Georgia.”

Next dawn, his Cherokee skirmishers chase some Spaniards toward Fort Diego, the northernmost Spanish fortification, while 220 regulars of the 42nd Regiment and 125 provincials of the South Carolina Regiment (under Dutch-born Col. Alexander van der Dussen) reach him that same afternoon.

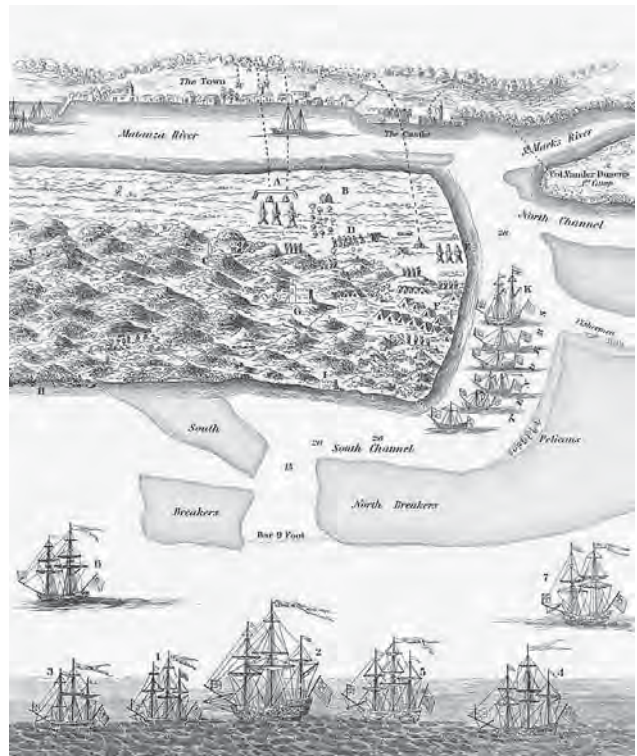
On May 21, Oglethorpe leaves 45 men to hold his base camp, pushing almost 20 miles with the remaining 400 and a 4-pounder in hopes of overrunning Fort Diego (about a mile-and-a-half south-southeast of modern Palm Valley), which is defended by 50 Spaniards under plantation owner Diego Espinosa. A surprise British assault is repulsed at dawn, but Espinosa surrenders when Oglethorpe's main body appears around midday of May 22. A 50-man British garrison is then installed under Capt. Lt. George Dunbar, while the main column retires to the Saint Johns camp, where further reinforcements continue to appear.

MAY 27, 1740. As Oglethorpe's small army approaches captured Fort Diego this morning with fresh supplies, one of its units is ambushed by Yamasee warriors, who kill and behead a Ranger before being pursued for several miles by the British general himself—who has a horse shot out from under him before finally turning back.

MAY 29, 1740. Oglethorpe returns to his Saint Johns base camp, where more Carolina reinforcements have arrived with Commo. Vincent Pearse's Royal Navy warships. Next morning, the general finalizes plans for a combined land-sea assault against St. Augustine. After receiving a false report at 2:00 a.m. on May 31 that Fort Diego is under attack, however, he marches to its relief, establishing a new base camp beneath its walls.

JUNE 11, 1740. *St. Augustine.* Having reconnoitered the approaches to this Spanish stronghold, Oglethorpe marches south from Fort Diego with 300 regulars and 400 South Carolinians. Two days later, his forces occupy Fort Mosa, a deserted earthen fortification north of St. Augustine, in hopes that 57-year-old governor Manuel de Montiano y Luyando might be lured out of his main citadel to fight.

Instead, the Spanish defenses are found to be so exceptionally strong—recently augmented by 200 men aboard two sloops and six demi-galleys from Havana—that Oglethorpe retreats toward his Fort Diego base camp on June 14. Three days later, the British—now 1,500 strong—resume their offensive



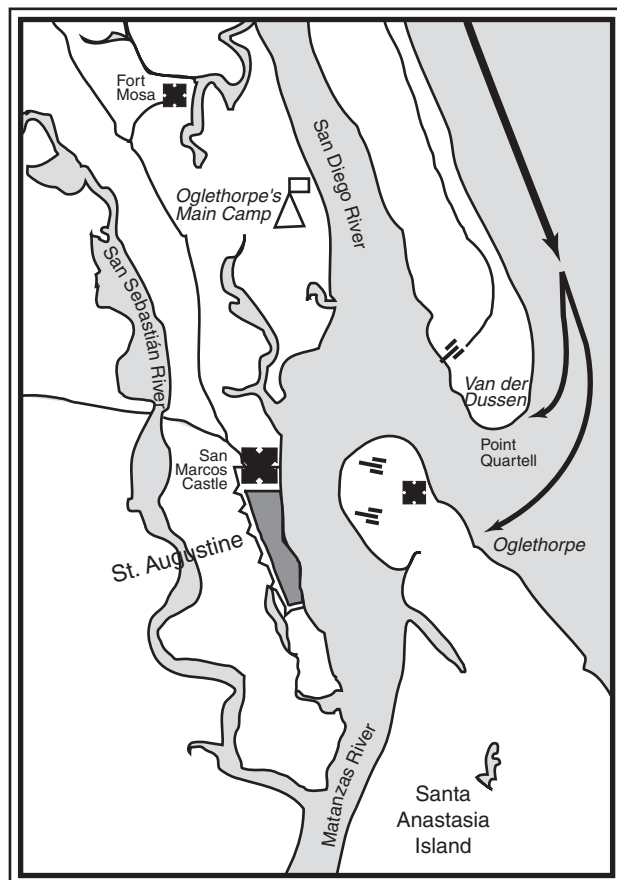
The Anglo-American assault against Spanish St. Augustine, June 1740, by Thomas Silver. (Author's Collection)

when Colonel van der Dussen's 500-man South Carolina Regiment disembarks at the mouth of St. Augustine's harbor (Point Quartell) to dig in. On June 22, a column of 137 Rangers, Highlanders, and Indians under Col. John Palmer reoccupy Fort Mosa. Oglethorpe lands unopposed the next day on Anastasia Island with 200 men of his 42nd Regiment, plus 200 seamen and a like number of Indians. His intent is to cut off the beleaguered Spaniards, then launch a general assault; however, just before dawn of Sunday, June 26, 300 Spaniards under Capt. Antonio Salgado surprise the English garrison in Fort Mosa from three directions. Although repelled twice, the Spaniards fight their way inside and overwhelm its defenders at a cost of 10 dead, slaughtering 63 besiegers—including Palmer—before marching two-score prisoners back into St. Augustine. Spanish morale soars, and when Oglethorpe calls upon de Montiano to surrender four days later, this is refused.

On July 5, van der Dussen shifts his South Carolinians to Anastasia Island, then two days later Oglethorpe transfers his own 42nd Regiment into a new camp near Fort Mosa. That same afternoon, July 7, a storm threatens, so Commodore Pearse stands out to sea with his 20-gun flagship *Flambor-*

ough, accompanied by the 44-gun *Hector* under Sir Yelverton Peyton, the 20-gun *Squirrel* of Peter Warren and *Phoenix* of Charles Fanshaw, the 22-gun *Tartar* under the Hon. George Townshend, the 6-gun sloop *Spence* of William Laws and 8-gun sloop *Wolf* under William Dandridge, plus the 8-gun provincial schooner *Pearl* of Warren Tyrrell.

Before they can resume their blockade, a large Cuban sloop, two schooners, and four supply boats slip into the Matanzas River entrance 13.5 miles farther south, delivering 300 men and much-needed relief into St. Augustine by July 14. Discouraged, Oglethorpe orders the siege lifted next day, and all save two of Pearse's warships sail away on July 16. Van der Dussen's regiment returns to Point Quartell from Anastasia Island four days later, retreating northward to rejoin Oglethorpe at Fort Diego by July 26. The British general, learning that a schooner with more South Carolinians is about to meet him, proposes a quick return to surprise St. Augustine, but his weary troops refuse. The campaign has cost 122 British dead, 16 prisoners, and 14 deserters, the last invaders quitting Florida by August 6.



Oglethorpe's siege of St. Augustine.

JUNE 13, 1740. Zamboes from the Mosquito Coast attack the Spanish fortification at Matina (Costa Rica).

JUNE 17, 1740. Learning that Spanish reinforcements are on their way from Europe, Vernon sorties from Port Royal (Jamaica) with seven of the line and a fireship. The *Worcester* and the *Falmouth* are detached into the Gulf of Mexico to await a transport bearing the new viceroy designate for New Spain, Pedro de Castro Figueroa y Salazar, Duque de la Conquista and Marqués de Gracia Real.

Vernon meanwhile proceeds with his remaining ships to blockade Cartagena. After vainly awaiting the Spaniards' arrival, the English admiral returns to Jamaica aboard his flagship *Burford* on July 2, having left the *Hampton Court* to watch Cartagena. During his absence, the other pair of warships under captains Mayne and Douglas have intercepted the large Dutch merchantman *Vogel Phenix* between Capes Corrientes and San Antonio at the western tip of Cuba. The new Mexican viceroy—who is traveling aboard as a passenger—escapes on a fast, accompanying Puerto Rican sloop under the privateer captain Diego de Morales, but he leaves behind all his papers, providing the English with valuable intelligence.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1740. The veteran Spanish admiral de Torres arrives off Saint Barthélemy with the 70-gun ships of the line *San Ignacio* or *Invencible* (flag), *Santa Ana*, *San Felipe*, *Príncipe*, and *Reina*; the 60-gun *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* or *Fuerte*, *Nueva España*, *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* or *Andalucía*, *Castilla*, *San Luis*, *Real Familia*, and *San Antonio*; plus the lesser consorts *Isabela* and *Hermoso*. Together, this expedition is bearing 2,000 reinforcements for Spain's American garrisons. During their crossing, it has snapped up five English merchantmen and endured a storm that damaged the *Santa Ana*, as well as killing 60 men and incapacitating another 1,000.

Three days later, while steering west toward Puerto Rico, de Torres's fleet is struck by a hurricane and staggers into the small Puerto Rican port of San Francisco by September 15 with yet greater damage—the *Fuerte* and the *Andalucía* being obliged to continue toward Havana, eventually limping in on October 11.

Meanwhile, the *Reina* has captured an English privateer, after which the Spanish admiral transfers his flag aboard the *Nueva España*, sets some of his casualties ashore at San Francisco, then departs on

October 6 for Cartagena. He arrives on October 23 and disembarks his crews to recuperate.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1740. HMSS *Defiance* and *Tilbury* reach Port Royal (Jamaica), having escorted a convoy of store ships from England.

OCTOBER 13, 1740. A large contingent of Virginia troops sets sail for Jamaica escorted by the 10-gun privateer sloop *Wolf* of William Dandridge. (Dandridge is from King William County and is the brother of Martha Dandridge, later Martha Custis, who one day will marry George Washington. Washington's elder half-brother Lawrence also commands one of four militia companies on this expedition and will be so impressed by Jamaica's naval commander in chief that, upon returning, he renames Hunting Creek plantation "Mount Vernon.") Britain's North American colonies eventually supply 3,600 men from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina toward Vernon's West Indian campaign.

OCTOBER 14, 1740. Vernon sails from Port Royal with part of his Jamaican fleet to cruise off Hispaniola and returns 17 days later.

OCTOBER 21, 1740. The 30-year-old French vice admiral Antoine François de Pardaillan de Gondrin, Marquis d'Antin, reaches Martinique with 10 ships of the line, joining 3 already on that station. (The Marquis originally departed Brest on August 25 with 14 of the line and 5 frigates, but he detached 4 ships one week later to cruise off Spain under the 75-year-old commodore Jacques, Comte de Roquefeuil.) D'Antin is being followed across the Atlantic by another 8 ships of the line under Admiral La Roche Alart, and upon uniting, his fleet is to attack English interests throughout the Caribbean in support of Spain—without any formal declaration of war by Paris.

After pausing briefly to refresh supplies and take on 1,200 militiamen at Martinique, d'Antin proceeds westward to Port Saint Louis (modern Les Cayes, Haiti) and arrives by November 7. However, while still awaiting La Roche Alart and contacting Spanish authorities throughout that theater, d'Antin's crews begin falling ill at an alarming rate. By the time La Roche Alart finally arrives on December 18 and Roquefeuil appears by January 8, 1741, all French complements are considerably depleted.

DECEMBER 2, 1740. Spain's Felipe V and France's Louis XV officially renew their Bourbon "family compact" by agreeing that Admiral d'Antin's French fleet is to assist Admiral de Torres's Spanish forces against the British in the West Indies.

DECEMBER 28, 1740. The 43-year-old English commodore George Anson arrives off Brazil at a latitude of 27°30' S with his 60-gun, 521-man, 1,005-ton flagship *Centurion*, accompanied by the 50-gun, 396-man, 866-ton *Gloucester* of Matthew Mitchell; the 48-gun, 384-man, 683-ton *Severn* of the Hon. Edward Legge; the 42-gun, 299-man, 559-ton *Pearl* of Daniel "Dandy" Kidd; the 24-gun, 243-man, 559-ton *Wager* of the Hon. George Murray; the 14-gun, 96-man, 201-ton sloop *Trial* of Lt. David Cheap; and the 16-man, 400-ton victualer pink *Anna* under Mr. Gerrard.

Anson's orders are to round Cape Horn and "annoy and distress" the Spaniards in the South Seas, to attempt to link up with British expeditionary forces advancing across the Isthmus of Panama, and to hunt the Acapulco-Manila galleons.

DECEMBER 30, 1740. Some 25 British warships—scattered by an Atlantic storm—begin arriving at Prince Rupert's Bay (Dominica) under Rear Adm. Sir Chaloner Ogle and Commo. Richard Lestock, escorting 100 transports bearing 8,000 soldiers under Maj. Gen. Charles, Lord Cathcart. The latter dies of dysentery on January 1, 1741, and is succeeded by his second-in-command, Brig. Gen. Thomas Wentworth. Ogle's vessels (except the detached 80-gun *Cumberland*) reassemble and set sail toward Jamaica on January 7.

JANUARY 16, 1741. The Spanish rear admiral Pizarro arrives off Punta del Este (Uruguay) from Santander with his 64-gun, 700-man flagship *Asia* (official name, *Nuestra Señora de Loreto*) and vice-flagship *Guipúzcoa*; the 54-gun, 500-man *Hermiona*; the 50-gun, 450-man *Esperanza*; the 40-gun, 350-man *San Esteban*; and the 20-gun sloop *Mercurio*. His mission is to counter Anson's venture (see "December 28, 1740" entry) by rounding Cape Horn first and taking up station in the South Pacific with his squadron, as well as by bolstering all coastal garrisons with the regiment of 500 Spanish regulars, which he is bringing.

Immediately after anchoring, Pizarro sends to Buenos Aires for provisions as well as news of any English movements.

Admiral Pizarro

José Alfonso Pizarro was born in Murcia in 1689. As a youth, he joined the naval service of the Knights of Malta in the Mediterranean. He later transferred into the Royal Spanish Navy, rising through the ranks. From a well-connected family, he also became a knight of the Order of Saint John. Promoted to commodore, he sailed to Italy with a squadron in 1736 to escort home its retiring Spanish army. Then in April 1738, he was sent to the Caribbean with the warships *Africa* and *Guipúzcoa* to guide home the quicksilver convoy from Veracruz.

Through good fortune, Pizarro evaded the British blockaders awaiting him outside Cadiz, instead slipping into Santander to safely discharge his cargo by mid-August 1739. Because of this success, when Madrid learned next year of Anson's plan to round Cape Horn, Pizarro (now a rear admiral) was ordered to lead a counterexpedition into the South Pacific to establish a permanent naval deterrent.

Despite failing to round the Cape on his first try early in 1741, Pizarro persisted. He made a second attempt from Montevideo a few months later, with only his flagship *Asia* and the *Esperanza*. Again, violent storms drove the dismayed vessels back. The admiral then sent the less-damaged *Esperanza* under Capt. Gabriel de Mendinueta to make a third try, while himself leading his handful of surviving seamen and 60 troops overland. After an epic march over the Pampas and Andes, the weary men reached Valparaíso in Chile by year's end. They were met by the *Esperanza*, plus two armed merchantmen sent down by the viceroy of Peru to travel on to Valdivia and Concepción.

After recovering and keeping watch against Anson's possible return southward, Pizarro eventually sailed into Callao aboard the *Esperanza* in the spring of 1743. A year-and-a-half later, he returned overland to Montevideo to find the *Asia* now refurbished. Conscripting South American hands, he set sail for Spain in November 1745, bearing a million pesos in bullion from Buenos Aires. His resentful South American crewmen mutinied one night, trying to seize the ship. Pizarro killed their ringleader and drove the rest into the sea. He entered Corcubión in Spain on January 20, 1746, after which the *Asia* was sailed on to El Ferrol to be broken up.

Because of this risky delivery and his perseverance, Pizarro was ennobled as Marqués del Villar and promoted to vice admiral. When the war with England ended, he was named on April 22, 1749, as viceroy of New Granada (modern Colombia). He did not reach Cartagena until November 6 and the inland capital of Bogotá by May 3, 1750. His four-year term was considered a success, but upon being succeeded on November 24, 1753, Pizarro was already in a wheelchair with a tumor in his leg. He died on the voyage home.

JANUARY 18, 1741. *Cape Tiburón.* This morning, as the Ogle-Wentworth expedition passes 20 miles south of Cape Tiburón (southwestern Haiti), four sail are sighted closer inshore. The British admiral detaches 30-year-old captain Lord Aubrey Beauclerk, youngest son of the Duke of St. Albans, to investigate with the 70-gun *Prince Frederick* and *Orford*, plus the 60-gun *Lion*, *Weymouth*, *Rippon*, and *Dunkirk*.

The unidentified foursome is the French 64-gun, 950-ton *Ardent* of 66-year-old Commo. Nicolas Hercule, Marquis d'Espinay Beaugroult; the 54-gun, 850-ton *Mercure* of Capt. Henri François Desherbiers, Marquis de Letandière; the 50-gun, 830-ton *Diamant* of Captain de Poisins; and the 44-gun, 500-ton frigate *Parfaite* of Capt. Constatin Louis d'Estournel, returning toward Admiral d'Antin's anchorage at Port Saint Louis (modern Les Cayes, Haiti) after visiting Petit Goâve. Suspecting that they might be Spanish men-of-war, the six Royal Navy warships chase them aggressively into the night, persuading the outnumbered French that war has already been declared back in Europe between Lon-

don and Paris. Knowles's *Weymouth* even hails one of the French ships at 10:00 p.m. but receives no reply.

Beauclerk eventually fires a warning shot across one of the Frenchmen's bows, which responds with a full broadside, precipitating a round of inconclusive exchanges until dawn. At daylight of January 19, Knowles convinces Beauclerk that this encounter has been a mistake, so that after exchanging compliments with d'Espinay's ships, the Royal Navy squadron stands away to rejoin its main body (which has since begun reaching Jamaica). D'Espinay meanwhile reports to d'Antin, who is greatly discouraged by the arrival of this huge British reinforcement in the West Indies and therefore decides to abandon the theater altogether. He quits Port Saint Louis for France by February 7, leaving only seven ships of the line at Petit Goâve under Roquefeuil.

FEBRUARY 3, 1741. At Maldonado (Uruguay), Pizarro's squadron gets under way without awaiting its fresh provisions from Buenos Aires, for the

Spanish admiral has learned from Portuguese sources that Anson's force lies only 500 miles northeast at Ilha de Santa Catarina (Brazil), threatening to precede him into the Pacific. The five Spanish warships—their 20-gun sloop being abandoned at Maldonado—stand southward in increasingly heavy weather, briefly spotting HMS *Pearl* before attempting to round Cape Horn on February 28.

Fierce snowstorms blow up out of the northwest on March 7 and disperse their formation, the *Hermiona* being lost with all hands on the Cape. Eventually, Pizarro's *Asia* limps back into Montevideo in mid-May with half its 700-man crew dead; the *San Esteban* suffers similar losses before regaining Baragán Bay (Argentina). The jury-rigged *Guipúzcoa* drifts helplessly onto Ilha de Santa Catarina and is wrecked, and the *Esperanza* reaches Montevideo with only 58 of 450 crew members still alive.

FEBRUARY 8, 1741. Vernon works his way out of Port Royal (Jamaica), joined by Rear Adm. Sir Chaloner Ogle's and Commo. Richard Lestock's fleets.

OGLE: VAN

Ship	Guns	Tons	Men	Commander
<i>Princess Amelia</i> (ex- <i>Humber</i>)	80	1,352	600	John Hemington
<i>Windsor</i>	60	951	400	George Berkeley
<i>York</i>	60	?	400	Thomas Cotes
<i>Norfolk</i>	80	1,393	600	Thomas Graves
<i>Russell</i> (vice-flag)	80	1,350	615	(flag captain) Harry Norris
<i>Shrewsbury</i>	80	1,314	600	Isaac Townsend
<i>Rippon</i>	60	1,021	400	Thomas Jolly
<i>Litchfield</i>	50	?	300	William Cleland
<i>Jersey</i>	60	1,065	400	Peter Lawrence
<i>Tilbury</i>	60	962	400	Robert Long

Auxiliaries: 20-gun sloops *Experiment* of Capt. James Rentone, and *Sheerness* of Captain Maynard; fireships *Vesuvius* and *Phaeton*; bomb vessel *Terrible*; tender *Goody*.

VERNON: CENTER

Ship	Guns	Tons	Men	Commander
<i>Orford</i>	70	1,098	480	Lord Augustus Fitzroy
<i>Princess Louisa</i>	60	?	400	Edward Stapleton
<i>Augusta</i>	60	1,067	400	Dennison
<i>Worcester</i>	60	1,061	400	Perry Mayne
<i>Chichester</i>	80	1,278	600	Robert Trevor
<i>Princess Carolina</i> (flag; ex- <i>Ranelagh</i>)	80	1,353	620	(flag captain) Thomas Watson
<i>Torbay</i>	80	1,296	600	Gascoigne
<i>Stafford</i>	60	1,067	400	Thomas Trevor
<i>Weymouth</i>	60	1,065	400	Charles Knowles
<i>Deptford</i>	60	951	400	Savage Mostyn
<i>Burford</i>	70	1,147	480	Thomas Griffin

Auxiliaries: 40-gun frigate *Ludlow Castle* of James Cusack; 20-gun sloops *Squirrel* of Peter Warren, *Shoreham* of Thomas Broderick, and *Seahorse* of T. Limeburner; fireships *Cumberland*, *Eleanor*, *Strombolo* (a volcanic Sicilian island), *Success*, and *Vulcan*; bomb vessel *Alderney*; tender *Pompey*; and a brig tender under Lieutenant Dampier.

LESTOCK: REAR

Ship	Guns	Tons	Men	Commander
<i>Defiance</i>	66	949	400	John Trevor
<i>Dunkirk</i>	60	966	400	T. Cooper
<i>Lion</i>	60	1,068	400	Charles Cotterel
<i>Prince Frederick</i>	70	1,225	480	Lord Aubrey Beauclerk
<i>Boyne</i> (rear admiral)	80	1,390	600	(flag captain) Charles Colby
<i>Hampton Court</i>	70	1,137	480	Digby Dent
<i>Falmouth</i>	50	760	300	W. Douglas
<i>Montague</i>	60	920	400	William Chambers
<i>Suffolk</i>	70	1,224	480	Thomas Davers

Auxiliaries: store-ship *Astrea* (20-gun prize taken at Portobelo; see "November 30, 1739" entry) under Captain Scott; privateer sloop *Wolf* under William Dandridge; fireships *Etna* and *Firebrand*; ordnance tender *Virgin Queen*.

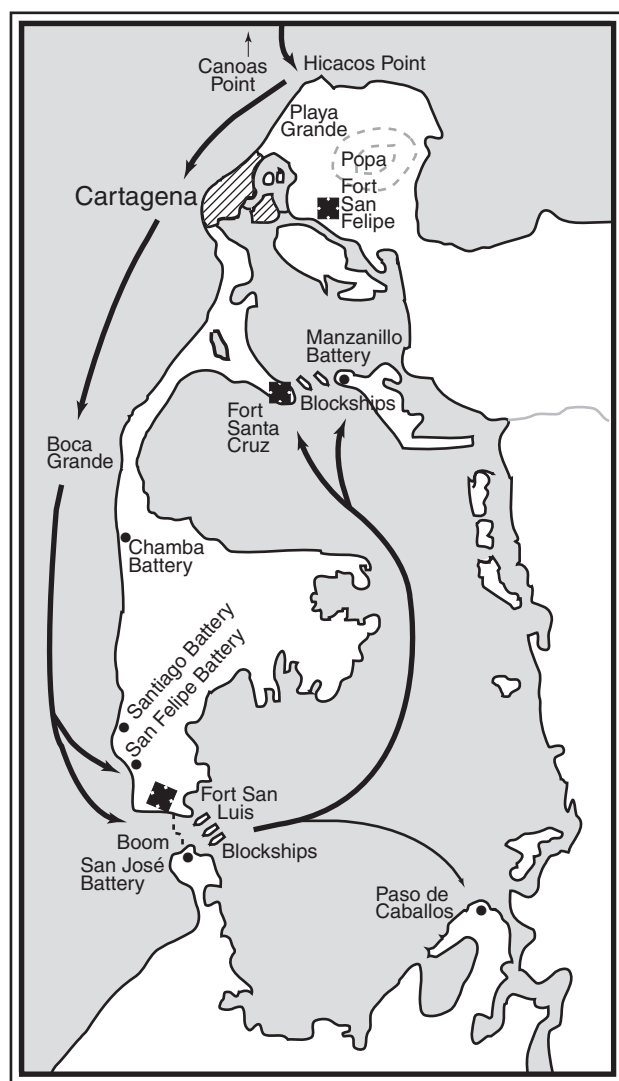
Augusta is obliged to turn back shortly thereafter, having been damaged while exiting the harbor. The formation is escorting 85 troop transports, but Vernon's first aim is to beat upwind toward southwestern Haiti and confront d'Antin's French fleet within Port Saint Louis (Les Cayes) before venturing against any Spanish American target.

FEBRUARY 11, 1741. Three and a half months after arriving, Admiral de Torres departs Cartagena with 14 Spanish warships and continues his passage toward Havana.

FEBRUARY 23, 1741. After assembling his huge expedition outside Port Saint Louis (Les Cayes, Haiti), Vernon prepares to attack next morning, only to discover that d'Antin's fleet has already sailed for France. Replenishing provisions, Vernon and Wentworth then decide to assault Cartagena instead, weighing anchor on March 8.

MARCH 13, 1741. *Siege of Cartagena.* Two English warships and an auxiliary anchor north of this city, off Canoas Point. Next day, a French sloop runs past, bringing the city warning from Charles Brunier, Marquis de Larnage, and governor of Saint Domingue (Haiti) about the intended British invasion. During the afternoon of March 15, advance elements of Vernon and Wentworth's 176 ships come up over the horizon, anchoring next afternoon between Hicacos Point and Grande Beach. Smaller English ships then feint a disembarkation north of the city, while the *Weymouth*, *Dunkirk*, *Experiment*, and the sloop *Spence* reconnoiter the bay's shoreline farther south near Boca Grande. Heavy swells preclude any easy landings, so the invaders opt for an attack against Boca Chica, still farther to the south.

The Spaniards use these few days' grace to good advantage. Viceroy de Esclava has been in office less



Vernon's siege of Cartagena.

than a year, but the city boasts a garrison of 1,100 regulars from the Aragón, España, and De la Plaza regiments, 300 militiamen, two 100-man free black companies, plus 600 native archers raised by Col. Melchor de Navarrete. In the harbor ride the 70-gun ships of the line *Galicia* (flag), *San Felipe*, *San Carlos*, and *Africa*, plus the 64-gun *Dragón* or *Santa Rosa de Lima* and *Conquistador* (although all these men-of-war mount considerably fewer than their full allotment of artillery). Their commander is Vice Admiral de Lezo, who shifts his four largest ships to cover the Boca Chica entrance, while sending many of his 600 sailors and 400 marines ashore to stretch the log boom and bolster the defenses. The Spaniards muster perhaps 4,000 defenders in total.

At 9:00 a.m. on March 20, the 80-gun HMSS *Norfolk*, *Shrewsbury*, and *Russell* move inshore to open fire against the Santiago and San Felipe batteries,

while the 80-gun *Princess Amelia* and smaller *Litchfield* engage the Chamba Battery, bomb vessels rain shells upon Fort San Luis, and Commodore Lestock's division menaces the distant city of Cartagena itself. The *Shrewsbury*'s cable is cut by a chance Spanish round, setting it adrift under the main enemy batteries, which inflict 60 casualties before the ship can crawl out of danger. Otherwise, the British succeed in silencing the batteries by noon, allowing Wentworth's disembarkation to begin at 2:00 p.m. north of Fort San Luis. The 8,000-strong English army comes ashore very slowly, however, some contingents not landing until the next day, then failing to install their first 12-gun mortar battery before San Luis until three days later and their two-dozen heavy siege artillery pieces by April 2. This sluggish pace threatens the entire enterprise, because sickness is already spreading throughout the invaders' ranks.

At dawn of April 1, 300 British sailors and 200 soldiers come ashore a mile from the 15-gun Abanicos Battery under naval captains Watson, Norris, Colby, Boscawen, Laws, and Cotes, as well as military captains James Murray and Lawrence Washington. Despite being ambushed by another hidden 5-gun battery at Varadero, they succeed in overrunning and temporarily spiking the guns of their intended target, although the Spanish battery commander, naval lieutenant José Campuzano, soon succeeds in unspiking several and resuming fire. At first light of April 3, Lestock ventures inshore with the vessels *Boyne*, *Princess Amelia*, *Prince Frederick*, *Hampton Court*, *Tilbury*, and *Suffolk* to commence a two-day bombardment against Fort San Luis and the nearby San José Battery, eventually retiring with numerous casualties (including Captain Beauclerk, who is killed). Both senior Spanish commanders, de Eslava and de Lezo, are also wounded during this exchange by shell fragments from a round that strikes the *Galicia* on April 4, although neither is seriously incapacitated.

The Spaniards have already resolved to abandon San Luis, so when Wentworth orders it stormed at 5:30 p.m. on April 5, its 500 surviving defenders hang out a white flag and beat for a parley. Unable to see or hear this display because of the smoke and din, the British grenadiers under Brig. Gen. William Blakeney press home their attack, while the exhausted Spanish garrison—fearing that this onslaught means that no quarter will be given—flee out of San Luis's far side. The men-of-war *San Carlos*, *San Felipe*, and *Africa* are scuttled shortly thereafter to block the channel. Knowles meanwhile lands a party of seamen on the southern bank and storms San José Battery, securing this abandoned position by 10:00 p.m.

He then rows out in the darkness to the Spanish flagship *Galicia*, finding it manned by only 60 men, thereby capturing it intact. He furthermore cuts the log boom so that the next morning Vernon's fleet can begin working past the scuttled Spanish ships, gaining the safety of the lower harbor by evening of April 7. The British admiral then presses north against the inner Spanish defenses, using the *Burford* and the *Orford* to stem the upper harbor while Knowles's *Weymouth* and a sloop destroy the Paso de Caballos batteries by April 8. So confident is Vernon of victory that he dispatches Laws's sloop *Spence* toward England, announcing Cartagena's imminent fall.

But the Spaniards continue to resist, scuttling their last two warships—the *Dragón* and the *Conquistador*—along with the rest of their merchant shipping on April 10 to block the Manzanillo Channel into the upper harbor, while also preparing to evacuate their 60-gun Santa Cruz fortress (known as Castillo Grande) after nightfall. Knowles notices this movement, so he sails the *Weymouth* directly beneath its walls and opens fire, then finds the fortress empty. Santa Cruz's seizure allows the English greater ease in clearing the block ships, Knowles being installed as garrison commander with 100 soldiers from Lord James Cavendish's regiment. By April 12, the first bomb vessels are shelling Cartagena proper, and on the night of April 16, a large-scale disembarkation is made by Blakeney three miles south of La Popa at Tejar de Gracias, intending to cut off the city from its hinterland. This encirclement is completed the following noon, when North American colonial militiamen occupy the La Popa heights unopposed.

Nevertheless, Wentworth closes upon Cartagena's ramparts very sluggishly, disease sapping his army. The 24-gun San Felipe de Barajas fortress, manned by 250 Spanish marines and soldiers from the Aragón and España regiments under military engineer Carlos Desnaux, checks the advance and prompts an assault at 3:00 a.m. on April 20 by 1,500 English troops under Brig. Gen. John Guise and colonels Wynyard and Grant, who suffer 645 killed, wounded, or captured. Disheartened, Wentworth announces a few days later that Cartagena cannot be carried with his remaining strength—only 3,569 of his original 8,000 soldiers still being left. A bitter dispute erupts with his naval counterpart as the English expedition prepares to withdraw.

At 5:00 a.m. on April 27, the captured *Galicia*—now transformed into a floating battery—approaches Cartagena's walls under Capt. Daniel Hore, exchanging broadsides with its defenders for seven hours

Smollett's Memoirs

Among the besiegers at Cartagena was a 20-year-old surgeon's mate named Tobias George Smollett. He was born in Scotland in March 1721, the second son and third child of a minor landowner, who soon died. Young Tobias completed some medical studies at the University of Glasgow before his rich grandfather also died, leaving him penniless. Traveling to London in 1739 in the vain hope of having his tragic play *The Regicide* performed, the teenager signed on next April as surgeon's mate aboard HMS *Chichester*, which sailed for Jamaica that October with Sir Chaloner Ogle's squadron.

Eight years later, having survived the ordeals of this campaign, Smollett published a lively account of his West Indian service. A best-seller, the ribald *Adventures of Roderick Random* included many details about the siege of Cartagena. For example, as yellow fever ravaged the fleet, his captain developed a morbid fear of inhaling any diseased scent. Smollett wrote:

I received a message to clean myself and go up to the great cabin, and with this message I instantly complied, sweetening myself with rosewater from the medicine chest. When I entered the room, I was ordered to stand by the door, until Captain Whiffle had reconnoitered me at a distance with a spy-glass. He, having consulted one sense in this manner, bade me advance gradually, that his nose might have intelligence before it could be much offended. I therefore approached with great caution and success, and he was pleased to say: "Aye, this creature is tolerable."

The injustices and callousness of naval life caused Smollett to resign when the *Chichester* returned to Plymouth in February 1742. He struggled to establish a medical practice in London's Downing Street, until his first novel appeared.

More works followed; Smollett's satirical novels were his most successful. Always proud and sharp tongued, he was fined £100 and jailed for three months in 1760 for describing Sir Charles Knowles in print as "an Admiral without conduct, an engineer without knowledge, an officer without resolution, and a man without veracity."

until it finally sinks. Six of the *Galicia's* 300-plus English crewmembers are killed and another 56 wounded, but under cover of this action, the diseased English army strikes camp and marches off to reembark. Their transports set sail for Jamaica that same day, leaving Vernon and his men-of-war behind to destroy the Spaniards' shipping and fortifications, while loading whatever stores, equipment, and booty

they can find. Vernon eventually quits Cartagena's lower harbor by May 17, followed the next day by Ogle's division and, on May 20, by Lestock's, returning into Port Royal (Jamaica) by May 30. The Spaniards have endured some 600 deaths during this invasion, plus many other defenders wounded or lost, but they exult over their success. De Lezo dies of his wounds on September 7, being posthumously ennobled as Marqués de Ovieco, while de Eslava is created Marqués de la Real Defensa.

MARCH 29, 1741. A large party of Yamasee warriors raid Governor Oglethorpe's Hermitage Plantation (also called Carr's Fort, Georgia) during his absence, killing four servants and wounding several others before retiring south with their plunder. The governor dispatches scout boats in pursuit, which overtake the marauders before they can regain Spanish Florida.

JUNE 19, 1741. *Anson in the Pacific.* At daybreak, HMS *Centurion* sights the Juan Fernández Islands and anchors three days later after a gruelling passage around Cape Horn. That same day, June 22, his flagship is rejoined by the sloop *Trial*, by the *Gloucester* on July 8, and by the store-ship *Anna* on August 28. Of more than 1,000 original crew members and troops, only a third are still alive, the *Severn* and the *Pearl* having turned back into the Atlantic, while the *Wager* lies wrecked on the Patagonian coast.

The British are in fact fortunate, for three days prior to Anson's arrival, Peruvian Commo. Jacinto de Segurola has visited these islands from Concepción with his 44-gun, 450-ton flagship *San Fermín*, the 30-gun warships *Concepción* and *Sacramento*, plus the 24-gun hired merchantman *Socorro*. Convinced that the long-delayed enemy incursion has been cancelled, Segurola has already departed back toward his home port of Callao.

JUNE 30, 1741. In Havana, Admiral de Torres's 70-gun flagship *Invencible* is struck by lightning at 3:00 p.m., catches fire, and explodes an hour and a quarter later. This accident not only claims 16 lives and injures 21 men but also damages the remaining warships anchored nearby: the 70-gun *Nuestra Señora de Belén* or *Glorioso*, *Príncipe*, and *Reina*; the 62-gun *San Isidro*; plus the 60-gun *Fuerte*, *Hércules*, *Nueva España*, and *Real Familia*.

JULY 11, 1741. *Guantánamo.* Vernon quits Port Royal (Jamaica) to attack Santiago de Cuba with his

80-gun flagship *Boyne* and Ogle's vice-flag *Cumberland*; the 70-gun *Grafton* and *Kent*; 60-gun *Montague*, *Tilbury*, and *Worcester*; the 50-gun *Chester* and *Tiger*; the 20-gun sloops *Experiment*, *Sheerness*, and *Shoreham*; the bomb vessel *Alderney*; the fireships *Phaeton*, *Strombolo*, and *Vesuvius*; the sloops *Bonetta* and *Triton*; the hospital ships *Princess Royal* and *Scarborough*; plus the tender *Pompey*. This fleet is furthermore escorting 40 transports bearing 3,400 troops under Wentworth.

After rendezvousing 18 days later between Guantánamo Point and Caimanera (soon rechristened "Walthenham" by the British), Vernon dispatches eight warships on July 31 to cruise off Santiago. Judging its entrance impervious to sea assault, the redcoats are disembarked at three different beaches in Guantánamo Bay—renamed Cumberland Bay—on the night of August 4–5 and march against the nearby village of Catalina. However, the invaders, being 65 miles short of their objective, slow down three days later because of Wentworth's growing trepidations.

Santiago's governor Francisco Caxigal de la Vega, its *sargento mayor* or garrison commander Carlos Riva Agüero, and regional militia captain Pedro Guerrero only have 350 regulars and 600 militiamen in total, so they fall back before this British host. Nevertheless, Wentworth's army becomes paralyzed by fatigue and disease and spends the next four months encamped and sporadically raided by Cuban guerrillas. Vernon, exasperated by his colleague's inactivity, sends warships on independent cruises until Wentworth's sick list grows so long—2,260 soldiers being struck with fever by December 5—that the expedition is reembarked and sets sail at dawn of December 9 to return into Port Royal 10 days later. It is estimated that 3,000 Englishmen may have been incapacitated during this futile campaign.

JULY 20, 1741. After suffering many years of intermittent attacks, Panama's governor Dionisio Martínez de la Vega signs a peace treaty with the Indian chieftains Felipe de Uriñaquicha and Juan Sauni, greatly reducing anti-Spanish warfare throughout the Darién region.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1741. After breaking up his store-ship *Anna*, Anson resumes his Pacific penetration by departing the Juan Fernández Islands with the vessels *Centurion*, *Gloucester*, and *Trial*.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1741. Anson's trio of warships capture the 3-gun, 450-ton Spanish merchantman *Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo* of its master Manuel

de Zamora bound from Lima toward Valparaiso. It is renamed *Carmila* and incorporated into the British squadron, bearing eight more guns.

On October 6, the 600-ton *Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu* is also intercepted, being armed with 20 guns to replace *Trial*, which is scuttled on October 15. Pressing farther north, Anson then seizes Bartolomé Urrunaga's 300-ton, 45-man *Santa Teresa de Jesús* on October 17, and the 270-ton, 43-man *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* under Marcos Moreno on November 21.

NOVEMBER 24, 1741. At 10:00 p.m., Anson sends a 58-man boat party in toward the unsuspecting town of Paíta (Peru) under lieutenants Percy Breitt and Augustus von Keppel, following three hours later with the larger ships. This advance force surprises the Spaniards at 2:00 a.m. of the 25th, carrying Paíta with the loss of a single man and another wounded. The next morning, the *Centurion* and the *Carmila* stem the harbor entrance, anchoring at 2:00 p.m. to begin the process of plundering Paíta's buildings. The ship *Soledad* is seized as a prize, while two snows, a bark, and a pair of demi-galleys are scuttled and the town put to the torch. Anson releases all his captives and withdraws on the afternoon of the 27th.

JANUARY 23, 1742. Capt. Edward Herbert's 50-gun HMS *Tiger* is lost on a key near Florida's Tortuga Bank, its crew managing to build a camp ashore, defended by 20 raised guns. The 60-gun Spanish warship *Fuerte* is sent from Havana to capture the survivors, but it also becomes lost. The *Tiger's* seamen, after two months on their island, take a sloop with their boats and reach Jamaica.

JANUARY 26, 1742. Some 2,000 troops reach Jamaica from England aboard a convoy escorted by the 50-gun *Greenwich* and *Saint Albans* and the 20-gun *Fox*. Many of these soldiers soon fall ill, precluding their use in any immediate operation.

FEBRUARY 1742. Santiago de Cuba is reinforced by 1,500 men of the Portugal Regiment and Almansa Dragoons under colonels Francisco Villavicencio and Alonso de Arcos Moreno, respectively, which were transported out from Spain by a Guipúzcoan convoy.

FEBRUARY 9, 1742. After burning several prizes and releasing more prisoners off South America,

Anson arrives near Colima (Mexico) with the *Centurion*, the *Gloucester*, and three Spanish prizes in hopes of intercepting the annual Manila galleon. Two weeks later, he takes up station outside Acapulco, vainly awaiting the *Nuestra Señora de Cavadonga*—which already lies inside, having entered on January 6.

MARCH 15, 1742. Vernon quits Port Royal (Jamaica) with the *Boyne* (flag), the *Montague*, the *Worcester*, the *Defiance*, and two smaller auxiliaries in hopes of intercepting six Spanish vessels that are rumored to be sailing from La Guaira toward Cartagena. He leaves instructions for his second-in-command Ogle to follow with the remainder of his squadron, convoying Wentworth's 40 transports to a rendezvous off the Spanish Main. From there, this combined force will descend upon northern Panama in an attempt to march across its isthmus and seize the capital.

The latter contingent sets sail from Port Royal on March 18–19 with 3,000 troops, meeting up with Vernon before Cartagena on April 4. The expected Spanish squadron having failed to materialize, the admiral then veers around toward Nombre de Dios.

APRIL 7, 1742. *Portobelo Fiasco.* According to the strategy proposed by the veteran West Indian rover George Lowther—now breveted as a Royal Navy lieutenant commanding the sloop *Triton*—Vernon and Wentworth are to initially land 500–600 men at Nombre de Dios and hasten them inland to cut off the Portobelo-to-Panama road, thus preventing news of the main body's subsequent disembarkation at Portobelo from traversing the Isthmus. Instead, Vernon stands directly into Portobelo at 4:30 p.m., allowing its Spanish governor Juan José Colomo ample time to assemble his 80 regulars and 300 militiamen and make an orderly withdrawal into the interior. When the English come ashore, they find the Portobelo garrison already retired into the jungle, causing the invaders to lose heart. Almost 1,000 redcoats are already sick, leaving only 2,000 to march inland.

Next, word arrives that Panama City's 450 defenders have been augmented on March 22 by five warships and 1,400 men from Peru, leading the English army commanders to abandon this project altogether and sail away toward Jamaica aboard their transports by April 20. Vernon follows five days later, with eight of the line and three lesser craft, peering

into Cartagena before running downwind to Jamaica and reaching Bluefields Bay by May 23.

APRIL 11, 1742. The Spaniards in Costa Rica complete work on Fort San Fernando, erected to prevent Zambo and privateer raids into the Matina Valley.

APRIL 23, 1742. The 40-gun Royal Navy frigate *Eltham* of Capt. Edward Smith and the 20-gun sloop *Lively* of Cmdr. Henry Stewart intercept three hired Spanish ships bearing reinforcements toward Puerto Rico and maul them before nightfall brings an end to this action.

MAY 17, 1742. Disappointed by the Manila galleon's failure to emerge from Acapulco, Anson waters at Zihuatanejo and scuttles his last three Spanish prizes before striking out westward across the Pacific with his two remaining warships.

JUNE 1, 1742. Ten Spanish vessels leave Havana bearing the first contingent of an expedition intended to reinforce St. Augustine and then to fall upon the advance British outpost of Saint Simons (Georgia).

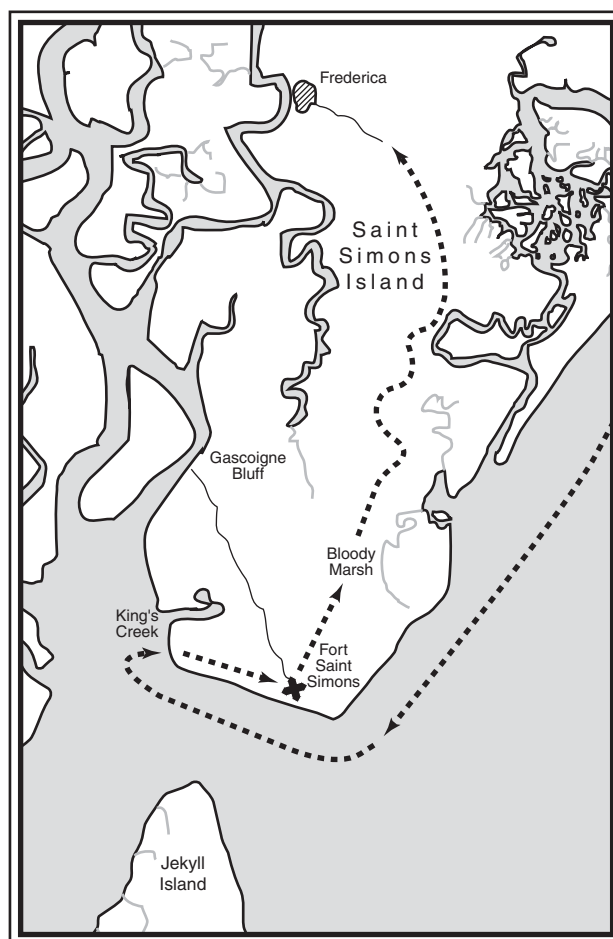
One week later, they encounter HMS *Flamborough* off Florida, which drives two of the Spanish galleys and a sloop aground before retiring to carry a warning into Charles Town (present-day Charleston, South Carolina). Meanwhile, the main body of 25 Cuban vessels departs Havana on June 6, escorted by a 30-gun royal frigate under Capt. Antonio Castañeda. The fleet straggles into St. Augustine by June 15, after being dispersed by a storm.

Governor de Montiano quickly marshals 52 craft bearing 1,950 men, including two battalions of regular infantrymen, a regiment of dragoons (without mounts), gunners, numerous militia companies—some composed of runaway South Carolina slaves—and 60 Indian scouts. Finally, at 7:00 a.m. on July 1, this host sets sail from St. Augustine, Col. Miguel de Rivas Rocafull being left in charge of the settlement's 300-man garrison.

JUNE 15, 1742. Off the Bahamas, Capt. Thomas Frankland's *Rose* attacks a four-ship Spanish convoy and captures its largest vessel—a 10-gun, 80-man snow commanded by Juan de León Fandino—after a fierce two-hour fight. (This is the privateer who allegedly cut off Jenkins's ear, precipitating this conflict.)

JULY 2, 1742. *Spanish Invasion of Georgia.* This afternoon, four Spanish demi-galleys, two schooners, and nine *piraguas*—separated from de Montiano's larger fleet by heavy west-northwesterly seas—attempt to shelter in Cumberland Sound, being fired upon by Fort Prince William and the schooner *Walker*. After an hour's exchange, the Spaniards veer toward the north end of Cumberland Island, anchoring at the entrance to Saint Andrews Sound beyond range of the British artillery. A report reaches Oglethorpe next morning at Frederica (10 miles farther north), who immediately calls out his provincials—fewer than 1,000 men—to repel a Spanish invasion.

By July 4, the first British reinforcements reach Cumberland Island when Capt. William Horton leads a grenadier company and Indian band across from Jekyll Island. When Oglethorpe follows with two companies of regulars aboard three scout boats, though, he is intercepted in Saint Andrews Sound by the four Cuban demi-galleys and has to fight his



Spanish invasion of Georgia.

way through with only two craft (while the third turns back, erroneously reporting that the British commander has been lost). Upon gaining Fort Saint Andrews, Oglethorpe orders it abandoned so as to concentrate his forces upon Fort Prince William. Next day, he watches as the Spanish flotilla stands away from Cumberland Island toward St. Augustine before they can be subjected to an English counterattack.

Oglethorpe returns to Saint Simons Island aboard the *Walker*, but on July 9 the main Spanish fleet of 36 sail comes up over the horizon, anchoring 10–12 miles northeast of Fort Saint Simon by the next afternoon. After the wind abates on July 12, de Montiano attempts a disembarkation on the southeastern side of the island, demurring when a sudden squall blows up. The Spaniards then shift to within five to six miles of the entrance to Saint Simons Sound on the afternoon of the 15th and, after reconnoitering its approaches next morning with a galley and two demi-galleys, stand in at 4:00 p.m. The British batteries open fire, backed by the *Walker*, the guard sloop *Faulcon*, and the merchant frigate *Success* of Capt. William Thompson, anchored west of Fort Saint Simons. The lead Spanish warships reply effectively, sending the *Faulcon* to the bottom and forcing their way to the Frederica River mouth by 5:30 p.m., suffering only five fatalities.

A half hour later, de Montiano's flagship hoists a red pennant, signalling his troops to disembark at a dry marsh just below Kings Creek, a mile and a half from Fort Saint Simons. Lt. Col. Antonio Salgado brings the first 500 Spanish regulars ashore at 7:00 p.m., under covering fire from a galley, two demi-galleys, and a packet, which scatters the few Georgia Rangers and native warriors lining the beach. By morning, as many as 1,500 Spanish troops are ashore under de Montiano, while Oglethorpe has abandoned Fort Saint Simons and concentrated 500 men in Frederica, simultaneously ordering the *Walker*, the *Success*, and a large South Carolina merchant sloop to flee out to sea. The Spaniards occupy the vacant fort the next day and, on the 18th, send a 115-man reconnaissance unit north under Capt. Sebastián Sánchez to probe the six-mile road leading into Frederica.

A mile and a half short of their destination, the Spaniards are set upon by a column of Georgia Rangers, Highlanders, Chickasaw, Yamacraw, and Creek warriors—all under Oglethorpe's personal direction—who succeed in killing or capturing 36 invaders (including Sánchez and his second-in-

command, Capt. Nicolás Hernández). The British commander then digs in some of his companies and returns into Frederica for greater numbers. At 3:00 p.m., 150–200 Spanish grenadiers appear under Capt. Antonio Barba, having marched from Fort Saint Simons to cover their defeated colleagues' retreat. Despite a steady drizzle, they engage the British in a heated firefight, during which most of Capt. Raymond Demere's company of 42 regulars flees. Nonetheless, Lt. Charles Mackay's Highlanders hold, along with some Rangers and other troops, obliging the Spaniards to retire at 4:00 p.m. (this engagement becomes known as the Battle of Bloody Marsh).

On July 19, Horton's grenadier company, two foot companies, and Fort Saint Andrews's garrison reach Frederica, bringing Oglethorpe's total strength to 700–800 men. The Spaniards remain ensconced within Fort Saint Simons, both sides gingerly probing each other's defenses over the next few days, while shying away from any costly confrontation. Then, five British sail arrive from South Carolina at noon of July 25, prompting de Montiano to order an immediate withdrawal. By nightfall, Fort Saint Simons has been razed, the larger Spanish warships are standing out to sea, and de Montiano's army has been ferried across to Jekyll Island to destroy Forts Saint Andrews and Prince William during their retreat toward St. Augustine.

JULY 26, 1742. Retiring toward Florida, the remnants of de Montiano's expedition burns vacant Fort Saint Andrews on Cumberland Island (Georgia). Next day, the Spanish commander detaches his schooners, sloops, and other sea craft to sail directly toward St. Augustine, while using four demi-galleys and his flotilla of *piraguas*—who have rejoined after becoming separated—to proceed down the Cumberland River against Fort Prince William.

JULY 29, 1742. This morning, de Montiano reaches the southern end of Cumberland Island and attempts to use 200 troops to overwhelm tiny Fort Prince William, held by only 60 regulars and a Ranger detachment under Lt. Alexander Stewart. But the defenders have been forewarned of the Spaniards' approach and also know that Oglethorpe is marching to their relief, so they send eight snipers to fire upon the Spanish boats. Their resistance persuades de Montiano to forego his attack, steering instead toward St. Augustine with his boats, while the Cuban demi-galleys bombard Prince William's ramparts for an hour before following in his wake.

AUGUST 6, 1742. A South Carolina relief force of 1,092 men arrives off Saint Simons Island (Georgia) aboard four Royal Navy warships and eight armed provincial vessels to find de Montiano's Spanish expedition already gone. Four days later, Capt. Charles Hardy takes his flagship—and all other vessels except two provincial galleys—back to Charles Town on the unfounded fear of a Spanish assault against South Carolina during his absence.

AUGUST 24, 1742. A small expedition quits Port Royal (Jamaica), escorted by Cusack's 50-gun *Litchfield* and the 4-gun sloop *Bonetta* under Cmdr. William Lea, to sail west and establish an English presence on Roatán Island (Honduras). This convoy is accompanied by William Pitt, a well-known figure along the Mosquito Coast, who ensures a hearty welcome from Roatán's residents.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1742. Oglethorpe appears off St. Augustine with six Royal Navy warships, six armed provincial vessels, and a flotilla of scout boats. Two days later, they attempt to force entrance to destroy the half-dozen Cuban demi-galleys lying inside the bay but are repelled.

The British therefore shift southward to the Matanzas Inlet by September 10, trying to assault a large, partially built stone blockhouse on an island just inside its entrance (present-day Fort Matanzas monument), but they are again driven off. When the wind rises on the 11th, Oglethorpe sails away for Georgia, returning there safely by the 15th.

OCTOBER 2, 1742. Capt. Peter Lawrence's 60-gun HMS *Tilbury* catches fire accidentally and sinks off Hispaniola, taking down more than 100 crew members. Survivors are rescued by an accompanying Jamaican privateer sloop and another warship.

OCTOBER 4, 1742. Rear Admiral Ogle is instructed to relieve Vernon as commander in chief at Jamaica. His fleet consists of the 80-gun *Cumberland*; the 70-gun *Kent* and *Grafton*; the 60-gun *Lion*, *Montague*, *Rippon*, and *York*; the 50-gun *Assistance*, *Saint Albans*, and *Litchfield*; the 40-gun frigates *Adventure*, *Eltham*, *Fowey*, and *Ludlow Castle*; the 20-gun sloops *Astrea*, *Experiment*, *Seahorse*, and *Shoreham*; the 6-gun sloop *Spy*; the 4-gun sloop *Bonetta*; the fireships *Strombolo* and *Vulcan*; plus the bomb vessels *Basilisk*, *Blast*, and *Thunder*. At Barbados are the 50-gun *Advice* and *Norwich*, and the 20-gun sloop *Scarborough*. In the Leeward Islands are the 40-gun frigates Gos-

port and *Launceston*; the 20-gun *Lively*; and the *Pembroke's Prize*.

OCTOBER 30, 1742. Discouraged and at odds with one another, Vernon and Wentworth quit Jamaica for England.

NOVEMBER 18, 1742. Yamasee raiders launch a dawn attack against the Mount Venture trading out-

Lawrence Washington and Mount Vernon

When 22-year-old Lawrence Washington sailed from Virginia to fight in the West Indies, he left his father, Augustine, in control of his estates. After staggering back into Jamaica from the failed assault against Cartagena, he wrote to his father in May 1741 to say that, if he survived the war, he wished to build a home on one of three lots that he owned near the town of Fredericksburg. As a result, his father started laying out a modest farmhouse that same year on a vacant bluff overlooking the Potomac River.

When Lawrence Washington learned of his father's project late that same year of 1741, he apparently wrote to say that he wanted the home named "Mount Vernon" in honor of his commander. Despite the repulses at Cartagena and Guantánamo, the energy and stylish courage of the British admiral retained the young officer's admiration. The earliest known reference to "Mount Vernon" occurs in a letter written in early August 1742 by its neighbor, William Fairfax of Belvoir.

Sick and weak, Lawrence Washington returned from the war late in 1742. The next spring, his father died, leaving him in charge of family affairs. He married Anne Fairfax, and they moved into the completed Mount Vernon by July 1743. A welcome visitor was 11-year-old George Washington, Lawrence's half-brother from Augustine's second marriage. The young boy was greatly influenced by his older sibling. In 1746, Lawrence even suggested that George join the Royal Navy. The 14-year-old was very excited at this prospect, but George's mother, Mary, refused to give her consent.

Lawrence expanded Mount Vernon before his untimely death in July 1752. George, who was already living there and managing the plantation's operations, leased it as of December 1754. Three years later, he rebuilt the entire house, doubling it in size. After inheriting the estate outright in 1761, he poured more efforts into it, eventually rebuilding and doubling it once more. Despite all these dramatic changes, it never lost its original name.

post (near the Altamaha River, Georgia), exterminating its five-man garrison before retiring toward St. Augustine.

FEBRUARY 22, 1743. Having returned into the West Indies the previous month after a brief sojourn in England, during which he has been promoted to commodore, 37-year-old Charles Knowles sets sail from Antigua for Saint Kitts with his 70-gun, 380-man flagship *Suffolk* and the *Burford* under Franklin Lushington; the 50-gun, 250-man *Norwich* of Thomas Gregory, *Advice* of Elliot Smith, and *Assistance* of Smith Callis; the 40-gun, 210-man frigate *Eltham* under its acting captain Richard Watkins; the 20-gun, 120-man sloops *Lively* under the acting commander Henry Stewart and *Scarborough* of Lach-

lin Leslie; the 14-gun, 45-man sloop *Otter* of John Gage; plus the 8-gun, 40-man bomb vessel *Comet* of Richard Tyrrell.

Knowles takes on 400 militiamen from Colonel Dalzell's regiment aboard two transports, then heads southwestward on February 23 with the intent of attacking La Guaira. Knowles believes this port will prove an easy target, but the Spaniards have been forewarned of his plan, and it has been heavily reinforced by Caracas's governor, 47-year-old general Gabriel José de Zuloaga. After touching at Tortuga Island on February 27, the English expedition approaches La Guaira three days later.

MARCH 2, 1743. *La Guaira.* At first light, Knowles's squadron lies 15 miles east of this Venezuelan port,



Map of La Guaira, surveyed in May 1778 to demonstrate some proposed improvements to its defenses. (Servicio Histórico Militar, Madrid)

the *Otter* being sent ahead to reconnoiter its inner harbor. Spanish lookouts light signal fires at 6:30 a.m., warning both La Guaira and Caracas and prompting Governor de Zuloaga to gallop the 25 miles of winding road down to the coast with a large body of militiamen. The port's garrison commander, Mateo Gual, and Capt. José Iturriaga are meanwhile bracing for an assault. About midday, HMS *Burford* stands into the roadstead, followed by the vessels *Eltham*, *Norwich*, *Suffolk*, *Advice*, and *Assistance*. Despite the hail of rounds fired from six batteries—some using heated shot—the English men-of-war anchor in a double line by 1:00 p.m. and begin a furious exchange. The Spanish counterfire proves unexpectedly heavy and accurate, a heavy swell further preventing a British disembarkation.

After three and a half hours, the *Burford* cuts its cable to move out of range, and the frigate *Eltham* is also in distress. Both accidentally drift afoul of the *Norwich*, forcing it out of action as well and thus slackening Knowles's overall effort. Shooting ceases at sundown (8:00 p.m.), with the battered *Burford* seeking shelter to leeward, escorted by the vessels *Norwich*, *Otter*, and *Assistance*—which cannot anchor. The English bombardment resumes rather desultorily the next dawn from long range with the bomb vessel *Comet*, while de Zuloaga is obliged to return to his capital on March 4 to reassure its uneasy populace that the enemy has not come ashore. At 3:00 a.m. on March 5, Knowles sends boat parties into La Guaira's roadstead under cover of darkness, who board a French merchantman before being discovered and driven off.

Having suffered 92 killed and 308 wounded over three days, Knowles decides to retire westward before sunrise of March 6 and assail nearby Puerto Cabello. Despite instructing his captains to rendezvous four miles east of this latter port at the Borburata Keys, the detached *Burford*, *Norwich*, *Assistance*, and *Otter* instead proceed into Curaçao's capital of Willemstad, compelling the commodore to angrily follow them in. On March 28, he sends his smaller ships to cruise off Puerto Cabello and, after his main body is refitted, ventures to sea again on March 31, only to struggle against contrary winds and currents for two weeks before finally diverting to the eastern tip of Santo Domingo by April 19.

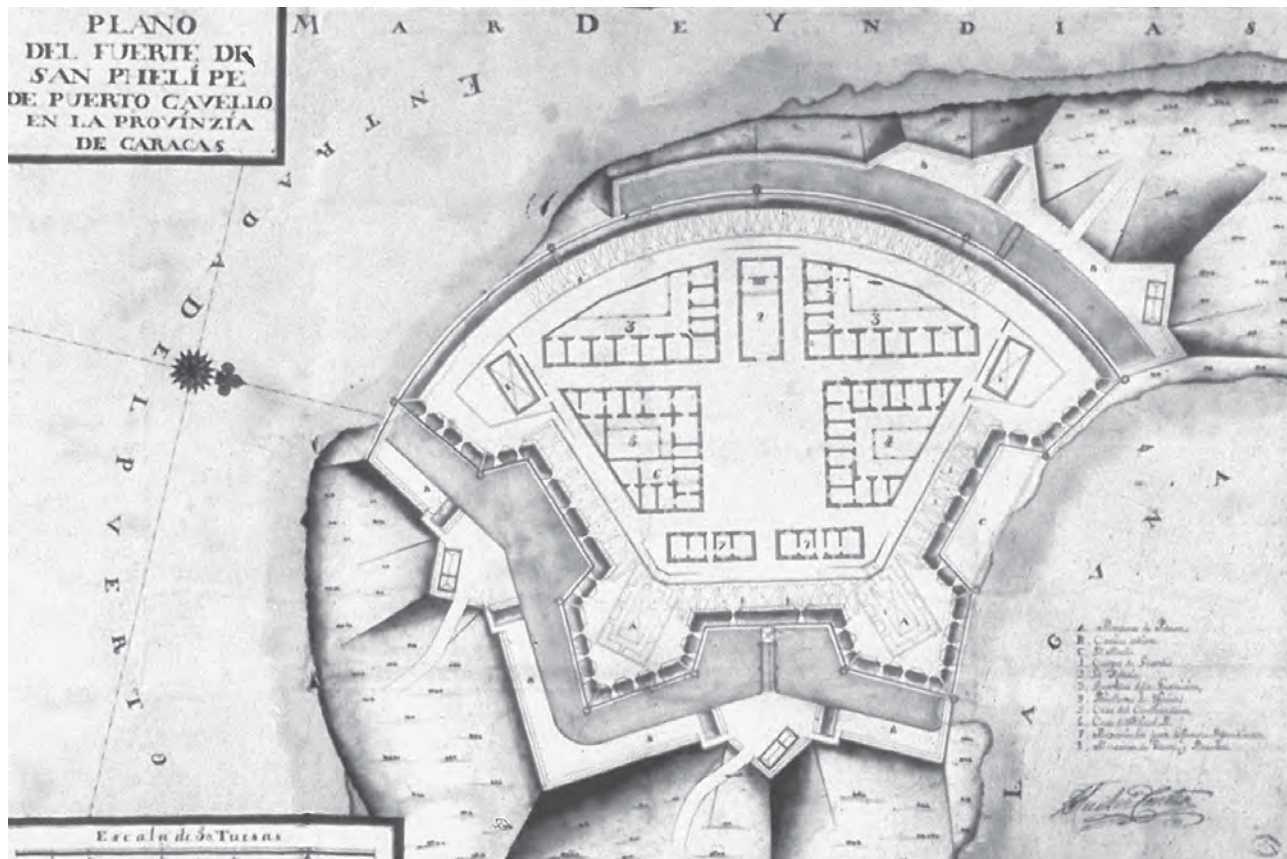
MARCH 15, 1743. At noon, Oglethorpe quits Cumberland Sound (Georgia) with an expedition of regulars, Rangers, and Indians, to make a reprisal raid against Spanish Florida. Two days later, his ad-

vance units establish a base on the southern banks of the Saint Johns River (near Mayport, Florida), from which a Creek war party steals upon St. Augustine and ambushes a Spanish *piragua* bearing 40 members of a labor battalion. Five are killed and scalped before the natives are obliged to retire by the guns of nearby Fort San Marcos.

After the warriors return into Oglethorpe's camp on the afternoon of March 22 and hold a celebration, they disperse, leaving the British general with only 200–300 regulars and provincials to march south three days later, hoping to lure the Spanish garrison out of St. Augustine into the open. Oglethorpe arrives three miles north of St. Augustine at 8:00 p.m. of the 27th, but after concealing his columns, a deserter from the 42nd Regiment—a soldier named Eels—reveals the attackers' presence to Governor de Montiano. The British immediately withdraw, returning into their Saint Johns base by the afternoon of the 29th. Two separate bands of Indian allies then attempt a raid on the outskirts of St. Augustine without result. Oglethorpe then materializes off Anastasia Island on the afternoon of April 8 with 80 troops aboard the schooner *Walker* of Capt. Caleb Davis and a pair of scout boats, escorted by the provincial frigate *Success* of William Thompson. High seas prevent any disembarkation, so the British sail away a few days later toward Georgia.

APRIL 26, 1743. *Puerto Cabello.* This afternoon, Knowles arrives four miles northeast of this Venezuelan port, sending his bomb vessel *Comet* to take up station inshore while preparing the remainder of his expedition for an assault. Next day, the 50-gun *Norwich*, 40-gun *Eltham*, and 20-gun *Lively* move in to bombard two small Spanish batteries—one mounting 15 pieces and the other 8—north of Puerto Cabello's main San Felipe harbor castle. This attack is intended to weary the batteries' defenders, after which a large force will be disembarked nearby under cover of darkness to overwhelm these isolated outposts, then turn their artillery against the main Spanish keep.

Knowles's operation starts well, with this trio of vessels pounding the batteries until 7:00 p.m., after which 1,100–1,200 Englishmen under Major Lucas are landed unseen at 10:30 p.m. But upon advancing, the troops stumble upon a 40-man Spanish company a half hour later, who fall back and turn two small artillery pieces inland, firing volleys of grape. The English troops panic, blazing wildly in all directions before eventually becoming so confused



Puerto Cabello's main harbor castle of San Felipe. (Archivo General de Indias, Seville)

that they shoot into each other's ranks and precipitate a general stampede back to the boats.

On April 28, the same three Royal Navy warships resume their offshore bombardment, to little effect. On May 2, Caracas's governor de Zuloaga arrives overland with reinforcements for the Spanish garrison, whose normal complement is three companies of regulars and 300–400 militiamen. Next day, de Zuloaga is wounded in a leg after inspecting the Punta Brava Battery. By now running low on ammunition and provisions, Knowles decides to attempt a general assault on May 4 (April 23 [O.S.], Saint George's Day). However, the breeze dies away before his squadron can get under way at 1:00 p.m., so the operation is postponed until May 5. Knowles weighs anchor at 11:00 a.m., prompting the Spaniards to man their defenses. The vessels *Assistance*, *Burford*, *Suffolk*, and *Norwich* are to batter San Felipe Castle, while the *Scarborough*, *Lively*, and *Eltham* engage the fascine batteries farther north.

The battle begins shortly after 1:00 p.m. of May 5, the warships anchoring so close to San Felipe that only 11 of their guns can be depressed far enough to bear. At 4:00 p.m., the wind rises, and de Zuloaga

fears that the English will charge the harbor mouth, so he orders its anchored block ship scuttled. Seeing the channel closing, Knowles finally gives the signal to retire two and a half hours later, only to then have his formation become becalmed. The English suffer heavily before eventually warping out of range by 9:00 p.m. Having endured 90–100 casualties in this last desperate gamble—plus another 100 from his previous tries—Knowles orders his most crippled ships to retire toward the Borburata Keys on the morning of May 7 (the *Burford* and the *Assistance* being barely able to move), while still shelling the inner harbor with his lone bomb vessel. The English commodore eventually offers a prisoner exchange, and after being grudgingly allowed to water by de Zuloaga a few days later, he sails away in two divisions on May 11 and 13 for Jamaica.

OCTOBER 25, 1743. French and Spanish diplomats formalize a Bourbon “family compact” by signing a treaty at Fontainebleau.

DECEMBER 15, 1743. Because of growing fears of a rupture between England and France, Knowles

reaches Barbados with the 60-gun *Superbe*, 20-gun *Biddeford*, and bomb vessel *Comet* to assume joint command over this station with the 39-year-old commodore Peter Warren.

The latter arrives from North America on January 2, 1744, going on a cruise with the *Superbe*, while Knowles attends to the reconstruction of Barbados's defenses.

MARCH 15, 1744. In Europe, France officially declares war against Great Britain, which reciprocates on April 9.

LATE MARCH 1744. A 43-man Yamasee war party raids Capt. Mark Carr's Hermitage Plantation (also called Carr's Fort, Georgia), capturing 5 marines who are cutting logs. They are carried off toward Florida, pursued by Carr's soldiers and a band of Yamacraw warriors under Chief Toonahowi. The raiders are overtaken the next day on the north side of the Saint Johns River; 5 are killed, and the captives are released. Toonahowi dies during this fight.

MAY 3, 1744. Elderly Jean-Baptiste Louis Le Prévost, Seigneur du Quesnel and governor of French

Île Royale (Cape Breton, Canada), learns of France's declaration of war while at his stronghold of Louisbourg, so he begins organizing an expedition to reconquer some of his country's lost territories.

MAY 23, 1744. Boston learns of the outbreak of Anglo-French hostilities back in Europe. That same day farther northeast, a French expedition quits Louisbourg under 37-year-old captain Joseph-François du Pont Duvivier. The force consists of 139 soldiers and 212 sailors aboard the privateer *Succès* of 58-year-old Pierre Morpain (now *capitaine de brûlot* or "fire-ship captain" in France's Royal Navy), plus another sloop under Captain Doloboratz, a supply sloop, and 14 fishing smacks. It is their intent to eradicate the English frontier outpost of Canso (Nova Scotia).

Duvivier arrives in Canso's fog-shrouded roadstead next dawn, catching its English garrison—four incomplete companies of Lt. Gen. Richard Phillip's 40th Regiment, 87 ill-trained soldiers under Capt. Patrick Heron—completely off guard. The French bombard Canso's blockhouse, and Heron immediately surrenders; Lieutenant Ryall's Royal Navy sloop resists a bit longer out in the harbor before striking. The fortifications are then demolished, and Canso's buildings are set ablaze before Duvivier retires into Louisbourg with more than 100 prisoners.

JUNE 2, 1744. News of the war with France reaches Antigua, prompting numerous Royal Navy warships and English privateers to put to sea for prizes. Dispatches are also sent to Jamaica, arriving eight days later.

JULY 11, 1744. At the urging of Governor du Quesnel in Louisbourg, 37-year-old French missionary Abbé Jean-Louis Le Loutre convinces the Micmac Indians to rise up against the English outpost of Annapolis Royal (Nova Scotia). The outpost's 60-year-old lieutenant governor, garrison commander, and former Huguenot refugee Paul Mascarene discovers 300 natives six miles from his walls, poised to attack. He musters 75 effectives (out of approximately 100 soldiers) and the next morning repels this Micmac assault.

The warriors then remain outside his ramparts until July 16, when they withdraw toward Minas upon the arrival of the 14-gun Massachusetts provincial snow *Prince of Orange* under 61-year-old captain Edward Tyng, bearing 70 reinforcements.

AUGUST 1744. Rioting occurs in Puebla (Mexico).



Redcoat of the British 40th Regiment. (Parks Canada)

AUGUST 2, 1744. The English merchant captain William Kinghill appears off Portobelo to demand the return of one of his ships. When it is not forthcoming, he batters the Panamanian port with a prolonged bombardment.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1744. Duvivier appears off Annapolis Royal from Louisbourg with 50 French troops, 160 Micmac, and 70 Malecite warriors, having approached overland via Chignecto and Minas. The English garrison has meanwhile been further augmented from Massachusetts and now numbers 250 well-armed troops. Duvivier therefore masks his army's small numbers, deceiving Mascarene into believing he is being besieged by a much larger force, while simultaneously hoping that the French 64-gun warship *Ardent*—which has reached Louisbourg on August 16 with a damaged bowsprit—can be repaired in time to lead a seaborne pincer movement against Annapolis Royal.

Unable to effect anything more against his entrenched foes, Duvivier opens negotiations with Mascarene on September 15, supposedly arranging terms for its capitulation. But this truce is cancelled on September 23, and the garrison's morale lifted when a New England brigantine and sloop arrive in Annapolis Basin on the 26th, bringing 50 Pig-wacket allies under 35-year-old captain John Gorham. Duvivier is then informed on October 2 that the *Ardent* will not join him, so he reluctantly lifts his siege and retires toward Minas a few days later.

OCTOBER 12, 1744. Off Martinique, five ships of Commodore Knowles's blockading squadron drive the 24-gun French *Stanislas* of Saint Malo ashore under the Anse d'Arlet batteries, setting it ablaze. A Spanish governor designate traveling as a passenger and three crewmen are killed.

OCTOBER 20, 1744 (O.S.). Jamaica is struck by a hurricane that drives eight warships and 96 merchantmen ashore, while inflicting heavy material damage upon Port Royal, Kingston, and Savanna-la-Mar.

OCTOBER 28, 1744. In Boston, 49-year-old governor William Shirley declares war against the Micmac and Malecite tribes for having aided Duvivier in his assault upon Annapolis Royal.

LATE OCTOBER 1744. Spanish admiral de Torres departs Havana with the ships of the line *Glorioso*, *Castilla*, and *Europa*, the frigate *Flecha*, as well as the

merchantmen *Perfecta* and *Brillante*, transporting 8 million pesos in bullion across to La Coruña in Spain by January 2, 1745. Three weeks later, Philip V ennobles him as Marqués de Matallana de Val Madrigal and promotes him to commander in chief of Spain's Mediterranean fleet for having successfully eluded the Royal Navy's blockade with this treasure.

NOVEMBER 11, 1744. Simon Potter's privateer *Prince Charles*, bearing a commission from Gov. William Green of Rhode Island, appears off the Oyapock River mouth (eastern French Guiana) to take on water. Realizing that the 12 defenders of this isolated outpost are still unaware of any outbreak of hostilities, Potter disembarks three-dozen men and overruns Fort Saint-Louis, ransacking its surrounding district before making off with booty and seven prisoners.

A subsequent attempt to land 20 men from a pair of boats to burn some sugar plantations at Macouria, near the capital of Cayenne, is repelled, resulting in the death of 2 of Potter's privateersmen plus 7 captured.

DECEMBER 5, 1744. Commodore Warren returns to Barbados with the 44-gun frigate *Launceston*, capturing the 6-gun French privateer sloop *Marie-Charlotte* from Martinique as he arrives.

DECEMBER 28, 1744. Louisbourg's 400-man garrison—many of them Swiss mercenaries of the Karrer Regiment—mutiny against back pay and other injustices and are appeased by the new acting governor, 66-year-old Louis du Pont, Sieur Duchambon (his predecessor du Quesnel died on October 9).

MARCH 24, 1745. Reacting to Duvivier's Nova Scotia offensives the previous summer, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts has spent the ensuing winter raising financing for a counterexpedition against the main French stronghold of Louisbourg. Having assembled a sizable force, Shirley dispatches the provincial armed vessels *Prince of Orange* of 14 guns, *Boston Packet* of 12, and *Fame* of 24 by March 24 to prowl off Cape Breton in anticipation of an impending attack. The hired vessels *Molineux* of 24 guns, *Caesar* of 14, and 400-ton provincial frigate *Massachusetts* of 22 guns follow on the 27th, while the next day the 10-gun *Resolute* and 6-gun *Bonetta* also depart toward Canso, where this expedition is to rendezvous.

APRIL 4, 1745. At 4:00 this Sunday afternoon, 2,800 New England volunteers under the 50-year-old militia lieutenant general William Pepperrell—a merchant originally from Kittery, Maine—and the militia brigadier general Samuel Waldo set sail aboard 51 transports from Boston, escorted by the 24-gun *Shirley*, to launch a counterstrike against French Louisbourg. They are followed by a second contingent of 200 more New Englanders two days later.

APRIL 6, 1745. French reinforcements begin arriving at Martinique under a new governor general for the West Indies, 47-year-old Charles de Tubières, Chevalier de Caylus. His convoy takes six days to enter, being escorted by the 76-gun, 1,400-ton *Espérance*; 64-gun, 1,180-ton *Northumberland* (captured on May 19 of the previous year from Great Britain); the 64-gun, 1,200-ton *Trident*; the 64-gun, 1,050-ton *Sérieux*; the 50-gun, 830-ton *Diamant*; the 42-gun, 700-ton *Aquilon*; two or three frigates of 30–36 guns; two bomb vessels; and a pair of fireships.

APRIL 21, 1745. Pepperrell's New England expedition straggles into Canso (Nova Scotia) after being scattered by a storm, disembarking on the 26th to drill while awaiting Commodore Warren from the West Indies. They are to combine forces and then proceed against Louisbourg.

MAY 3, 1745. Capt. Philip Durell's 40-gun HMS *Eltham* reaches Canso, augmenting Pepperrell's expedition. That same morning, the new 32-gun, 500-ton French frigate *Renommée* of 42-year-old captain Guy François de Coëtnempren, Comte de Kersaint—unable to approach Louisbourg's harbor four days earlier because of dangerous ice—appears off Pope's Harbour, chasing the Rhode Island guard sloop *Tartar*.

Next day, the galley *Shirley* of Capt. John Rouse, the snow *Prince of Wales*, and a privateer are detached from the main English body to assist the *Tartar*, although the sloop successfully eludes its larger French opponent and returns by April 25 (O.S.). The *Renommée* meanwhile retreats back out into the Atlantic for France.

MAY 4, 1745. Warren reaches Canso from Antigua with the 60-gun HMS *Superbe* under the flag captain Thomas Somers, the 44-gun *Launceston* of Warwick Calmady, and the 44-gun *Mermaid* of James Douglas to assist in Pepperrell's forthcoming campaign against French Acadia. Without wasting time

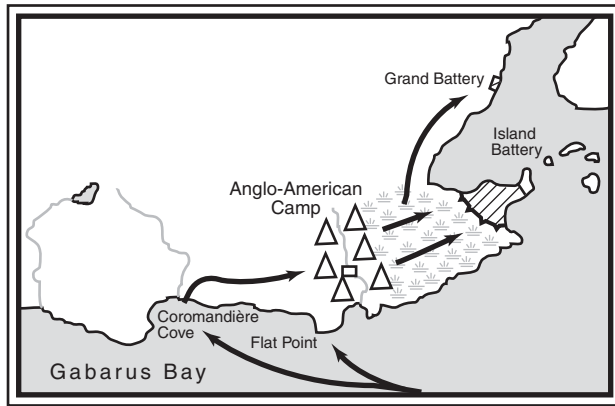
going ashore to visit with his old friend Pepperrell, Warren instructs his men-of-war to proceed directly toward Louisbourg and institute a blockade.

MAY 7, 1745. The 18-gun French privateer *Saint Jean de Luz* of Capt. Janson Dufoure picks its way through ice floes into Louisbourg, reporting that the previous day it has been chased by a trio of New England vessels. This is Governor Duchambon's first inkling of an impending enemy assault. Next day, the city's warning gun is fired, and the militia companies fall in when English blockaders begin intercepting incoming coasters—among them the 14-gun, 160-ton provision ship *Marie de Grâce* of Captain La Perrelle du Gauran, taken on May 10 by the *Molineux*.

MAY 10, 1745. Between 5:00 and 6:00 a.m., Pepperrell and militia Major Gen. Roger Wolcott's 100 sail get under way from Canso, standing northeastward and escorted by *Massachusetts*, the brig *Boston Packet*, and the 8-gun provincial snow *Lord Montague*. A separate contingent of 270 New Hampshire volunteers has already departed some days earlier under veteran colonel Jeremiah Moulton (see "Spring 1724" entry in "Turmoil") to seize the advance French outpost of Port Toulouse (today Saint Peter's, Nova Scotia) and then rejoin the main force before Louisbourg. Two companies of colonials also remain at Canso under Ammi Cutter.

MAY 11, 1745. *Louisbourg.* By 8:00 a.m., Pepperrell's expedition begins rendezvousing with Warren's blockading squadron off Gabarus Bay, and three hours later, the 7th Massachusetts Regiment's lieutenant colonel John Gorham leads a company of Indian rangers in an attempted disembarkation at Flat Point Cove. This landing is repelled by 20 French soldiers, obliging the invaders to land two miles farther west at Anse de la Coromandière (today Kennington Cove).

Rattled, Governor Duchambon belatedly sends 80 French volunteers out of Louisbourg, but their leader, Morpain, is unable to contain the hundreds of New Englanders now streaming ashore. His force suffers a half-dozen killed and a like number captured—including Morpain's second-in-command, the veteran Antoine Le Poupet de La Boularderie—without stemming the enemy onrush. By early afternoon, the first of 2,000 English colonials arrive within a mile and a quarter of Louisbourg's western ramparts and are fired upon by its batteries. Duchambon orders



Anglo-American siege of Louisbourg.

his gates closed at 4:00 p.m., and the city becomes besieged.

That night, 200 French troops and civilians under François Nicolas de Chassin de Thierry abandon the detached Grand Battery and retire undetected from this strong defensive emplacement into Louisbourg. Pepperrell himself comes ashore with more soldiers on the morning of May 12, and that same night—upon advice from Lt. Col. John Bradstreet of the 1st Massachusetts—sends Col. William Vaughan (a graduate of Harvard, class of 1722) with 400–500 men to probe the French defenses along the waterfront. Encountering no opposition, this force burns valuable warehouses and stores before retiring into its camp for the night. Vaughan, however, remains behind with a dozen men and the next dawn discovers that the formidable Grand Battery lies empty.

He therefore occupies it at 9:00 a.m. of May 13, beats off a feeble French sally, and by the next day the New Englanders can begin using its artillery to fire upon Louisbourg. A somewhat loose siege is thereupon imposed, Duchambon being asked on May 18 to capitulate. He refuses, still commanding 600 regulars and 900 militiamen. The New England irregulars refuse to storm Louisbourg's walls, so a protracted operation ensues—over Warren's strenuous objections. After a fortnight of artillery duels, the Rhode Island sloop *Tartar* of Capt. Daniel Fones captures a small French brigantine on Saturday, May 29, learning that a relief convoy is expected from France.

On the afternoon of May 30, Douglas's 44-gun HMS *Mermaid* sights the approaching 64-gun French *Vigilant*, commanded by Capt. Alexandre de la Maisonfort du Boisdecourt, Marquis de la Maisonfort and Knight of the Order of Saint Louis. Douglas lures this vessel toward the main British fleet, and by 9:00 p.m.,

the lone French man-of-war is overwhelmed by the combined broadsides of the vessels *Superbe*, *Launceston*, *Mermaid*, *Eltham*, *Shirley*, and *Massachusetts*. The French suffer 35 killed and 26 wounded, as opposed to only 6 casualties among the English and New England vessels. Because of heavy fog, the *Vigilant* cannot be boarded until next morning, when its captors find more than 500 men on board, as well as 1,000 barrels of powder, 40 cannon, and food intended for Louisbourg.

Some 400 New England volunteers under Captain Brooks attempt to storm Louisbourg's island battery just after midnight on June 6–7 but are repelled by Capt. Louis d'Aillebout, with 60 killed and 116 captured. British morale is restored by the arrival of more siege equipment on June 13 and 17, plus the capture of four French blockade runners. On June 19, the besiegers reveal the *Vigilant's* capture to the garrison, dashing its final hopes of relief. Just before sunset of June 26—amid massive English preparations for a combined land-sea assault the next dawn—Duchambon sends out an officer requesting terms. Louisbourg surrenders by the afternoon of June 28, its siege having cost the defenders 53 killed, as opposed to 101 New Englander deaths. Despite sending more than 1,200 volunteers back to New England by mid-September, Pepperrell is still left with a garrison of 2,250–2,600 men throughout that coming winter.

MAY 24, 1745. The 46-year-old commodore Fitzroy Henry Lee arrives at Barbados with a merchant convoy from England to assume command over the Leeward Islands station. His flag flying aboard the 70-gun *Suffolk*, he is accompanied by another ship of the line.

JUNE 1, 1745. Two French royal frigates of 36 and 30 guns under Captain Fouché, plus three privateers, make a descent upon the West Indian island of Anguilla, being repulsed by its militia defenders with 35 Frenchmen killed and 65 wounded.

JULY 1745. In Europe, the exiled Stuart prince Charles Edward—"Bonnie Prince Charlie" or the "Young Pretender"—lands in Scotland from France to raise the Highlands in revolt. Over the coming year, he will wage a protracted campaign to regain his title, taking Edinburgh by September 1745 and invading northern England in early December, only to have his hopes dashed when greater numbers of subjects do not rally to his side.

AUGUST 2, 1745 (O.S.). On patrol this morning outside occupied Louisbourg, the 12-gun *Boston Packet* of Capt. William Fletcher sights an approaching French ship. He signals the garrison and hoists false French colors to lure the strange sail closer. HMSS *Chester* and *Sunderland* are also towed out under false colors to join Fletcher.

When the British trio unmask and fire a warning shot, the arriving vessel surrenders. It is the 22-gun frigate *Notre Dame de la Délivrance* of Capt. Pierre Litan, which sailed from Cadiz around Cape Horn to Peru more than three years previously. Mauled on its return passage by a pair of British warships off the Azores, Litan has steered to Louisbourg for repairs. His cargo consists of £300,000 worth of gold and silver bullion, plus “cocoa, Peruvian wool, and Jesuits’ bark.” Also traveling aboard is the Spanish naval officer and scientist Ulloa, who is sent to London with his papers.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1745. The 60-year-old veteran Isaac Townsend (see “February 8, 1741” entry) arrives from Gibraltar at Barbados, now promoted to vice admiral and commanding the 80-gun *Dorsetshire* (flag); the 70-gun *Ipswich*, *Lennox*, and *Princesa* (captured five years earlier from Spain); the 60-gun *Kingston*, *Pembroke*, and *Worcester*; plus the 50-gun *Hampshire*.

Hoping to use local forces to invest French Saint Lucia, he finds upon reaching Antigua on October 2 that the English governors do not wish to lend troops for such a venture, so Townsend sorties 12 days later to blockade Guadeloupe, Dominica, and Martinique.

NOVEMBER 11, 1745. At 7:00 a.m., Townsend’s *Lennox*, *Ipswich*, the 60-gun *Dreadnought*, the sloop *Hind*, plus other lesser consorts intercept a 43-ship French convoy approaching Martinique under escort by the 53-year-old commodore Hilarion-Josselin’s (Comte Duguay) 74-gun, 1,500-ton flagship *Magnanime* and the smaller ship of the line *Rubis*. The convoy scatters, 14 of its members being captured by the English auxiliaries, while the ships of the line fight an inconclusive, long-range gun duel until next morning, when Townsend stands away toward Antigua with his prizes.

The English admiral subsequently learns that a second 80-ship convoy has parted company earlier from Duguay, sailing directly for Saint Domingue (Haiti) with the 55-year-old commodore Jean-Baptiste Macnemara’s 74-gun, 1,500-ton flagship

Invincible; the 50-gun, 600-ton *Jason*; and the 32-gun, 440-ton frigate *Atalante* (sometimes mistaken as “*Galante*” in English reports). Consequently, Townsend detaches some of his men-of-war to reinforce Jamaica.

NOVEMBER 29, 1745. Lt. Paul Marin de La Malgue with 400 French Canadian militiamen, plus 200 Abenaki and Micmac allies, destroys Saratoga (New York), capturing 100 prisoners.

DECEMBER 26, 1745. At sunrise, a 32-ship convoy 18 days out of Port Royal (Jamaica)—bound for England and escorted by Capt. Cornelius Mitchell’s 60-gun HMSS *Strafford* and *Plymouth*, plus the 20-gun sloop *Lyme*—sights a 23-ship French convoy 30 miles west of Cape Saint Nicholas Mole (Cap du Môle, Haiti). The latter are making for France under the protection of Commodore Macnemara’s trio of warships. All the merchantmen scatter, leaving both naval squadrons to clash at 4:00 p.m. Mitchell engages at long range until evening, then breaks off and steers north before reversing course for Jamaica, while Macnemara returns into Saint Domingue. The *Strafford* suffers 5 killed and 8 wounded, the *Plymouth*, 8 dead and 14 injured.

(Two years later, Mitchell is court-martialed for not having attempted more during this particular affair but is eventually acquitted; see “August 8, 1746” entry.)

APRIL 1746. In Scotland, the Stuart pretender “Bonnie Prince Charlie” is defeated at Culloden near Inverness by an English army and flees back toward France this same September, never to return.

MAY 20, 1746 (O.S.). Admiral Townsend reaches the occupied fort of Louisbourg with three warships and two store-ships from England and the West Indies to relieve Warren as naval commander on that station.

JUNE 1746. The 56-year-old French commodore Hubert de Brienne, Comte de Conflans and Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, reaches Martinique with a 214-ship merchant convoy, escorted by his 78-gun, 1,500-ton flagship *Terrible*; the 74-gun, 1,500-ton *Neptune*; the 50-gun, 760-ton *Alcyon*; and the 46-gun, 500-ton frigate *Gloire*. Commodore Lee belatedly takes up station to blockade this French island, retiring empty-handed by July 3. Conflans thereupon sails again that very same day, guiding a

significant portion of his charges on to Saint Domingue (Haiti).

JUNE 2, 1746 (O.S.). Commodore Knowles arrives at Louisbourg to relieve Warren as its governor 12 days later. When Warren and Pepperrell sail for Boston on June 16 (O.S.), they encounter a dispatch vessel at sea bringing news of a projected invasion of French Canada.

AUGUST 8, 1746. The 14-gun English sloop *Drake* of Cmdr. Edward Clark sights Conflans's four French warships off southwestern Saint Domingue, beginning their homeward leg with 93 West Indians. The *Drake* hastens northward and advises Commodore Mitchell four days later, who is cruising off Cape Saint Nicholas Mole (Cap du Môle, Haiti) with his 60-gun *Strafford* (flag), *Lennox* of Peter Lawrence, *Plymouth* of Digby Dent, and *Worcester* of Thomas Andrews, as well as the 24-gun frigate *Seahorse*. (The 44-gun *Milford* of Capt. Edward Rich also joins shortly thereafter.)

Mitchell steers for the French, coming within sight of Conflans's host by 3:00 p.m. of August 14. Unable to overtake in the faint breezes, the English commodore stands away northward, apparently to prevent the French convoy from slipping past and exiting the Windward Passage in the darkness. But the next day, Mitchell continues to maneuver for the weather gauge rather than bear down, thus allowing Conflans further respite. The English commodore still hesitates on August 16 and eventually allows the French to regain Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien), losing only a single merchantman to the *Drake*.

When Mitchell returns into Port Royal (Jamaica) on August 30, he is greeted by a storm of protest and a few weeks later is court-martialed and cashiered. Conflans has meanwhile departed Cap François after only a fortnight's stay, conducting his convoy safely into Brest by October—capturing the 50-gun HMS *Severn* en route.

AUTUMN 1746. The Mohawk chieftain Theyanoguin (also known as "White Head" or "Hendrick") visits French Gov. Charles de Beauharnois at Montreal, receiving gifts to remain neutral in the war.

Nevertheless, Theyanoguin and his warriors attack some French carpenters at Isle La Motte (Vermont) upon their homeward journey, so a raiding party is sent to kidnap him next spring. The Mohawk leader preempts this attempt with a large war

band, which strikes at various points along the Saint Lawrence near Montreal before being dispersed by French forces under Louis de La Corne and Jacques Legardeur de Saint Pierre.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1746. *French Counterstrike.* The 37-year-old lieutenant general and admiral Jean-Baptiste Louis Frédéric de La Rochefoucauld de Roye, Duc d'Anville, arrives off Nova Scotia with his flagship *Northumberland*; the 64-gun vice-flagship *Trident*, *Ardent*, *Mars*, and *Alcide*; the 62-gun, 1,150-ton *Borée* and 62-gun, 1,100-ton *Léopard*; the 60-gun *Caubon*; the 56-gun, 850-ton *Mercure* and 56-gun, 830-ton *Diamant*; the 50-gun, 800-ton *Tigre*; the 30-gun, 490-ton frigate *Mégère*; the 26-gun, 650-ton *flûtes* or supply-ships *Argonaute* and *Prince d'Orange*; three bomb vessels; plus approximately 60 transports bearing 3,500 troops. His orders are to free Louisbourg, drive the English invaders from Acadia, then ravage the New England coastline as far as Boston.

However, his fleet is scattered by a storm three days later, and only some battered ships stagger into Chebucto Bay (modern Halifax) with their commander on September 17. More will arrive within the next two weeks, but 2,300 of his soldiers and sailors will die from scurvy and smallpox while at anchor. D'Anville himself collapses from a fit of apoplexy "while walking on his forecandle deck" on the morning of September 25 and succumbs two days later. He is replaced by the melancholy 55-year-old rear admiral Constantin Louis d'Estourmel, Knight of the Orders of Malta and Saint Louis (as well as commander of *Trident*), who, because of an attempted suicide on September 30, is quickly superseded by the more dynamic, 61-year-old rear admiral Pierre Jacques Taffanel de la Jonquière, d'Anville's original flag captain aboard the *Northumberland* (and also Canada's newly designated governor general).

Faced with the fact that thousands of his men are unfit for duty, de la Jonquière sets up camps ashore to tend to them and obtain fresh provisions. On October 2, a New England prize is taken outside Chebucto Bay, bearing dispatches revealing that Vice Adm. Lestock is to arrive soon in these waters with a large fleet. De la Jonquière therefore decides to pare down the size of his own force and instead assail the smaller English garrison at Annapolis Royal in conjunction with an overland offensive by 38-year-old Capt. Jean-Baptiste Nicolas Roch de Ramezay.

As a result, four transports are detached toward Quebec City on October 10 under escort by the frigate *Renommée* of Captain de Kersaint. Two days

later, the French rear admiral burns his most crippled ships and English prizes in what will later become known as Bedford Basin, thus exiting next day with a reduced force. Reports nonetheless indicate that, of his 7,000 remaining sailors and soldiers, 2,274 are still listed as sick.

On October 11, de Ramezay appears two miles above Annapolis Royal with fewer than 700 French Canadian militiamen and native allies and encamps to await de la Jonquière's appearance. But as his fleet is rounding Cape Sable to circle into the Bay of Fundy, it is again struck by a storm and obliged to retreat back into Chebucto Bay without ever coming within sight of its objective. The discouraged rear admiral then lands his remaining troops and decides not to assume office as Canada's governor general but, instead, to steer his shattered expedition back toward Brest on October 26. De Ramezay withdraws from outside Annapolis Royal by November 3.

NOVEMBER 29, 1746. Lee's blockading squadron sights a recently arrived French convoy north of Martinique, sailing west toward Saint Domingue and escorted by Commo. Emmanuel Auguste de Cahideuc, Comte Dubois de la Motte and Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, with his 74-gun flagship *Magnanime* and the 48-gun, 650-ton frigate *Étoile*. HMSS *Suffolk*, *Dreadnought*, the 50-gun *Sutherland*, and the 44-gun *Gosport* give chase, skirmishing against the French escorts and snapping up six merchantmen, while the rest of this convoy scatters into the night. Dubois de la Motte eventually reaches Cap François (modern Cap-Haïtien) with his surviving charges.

MID-DECEMBER 1746. After having reinforced Louisbourg (Nova Scotia), Lt. Col. Arthur Noble and his 500-man 2nd Massachusetts Militia Regiment advances into the Minas region to occupy it unopposed during the winter. Noble himself establishes his headquarters in the town of Grand Pré by New Year's Day (O.S.), while Captain de Ramezay and his 680 men winter on the distant Chignecto Peninsula.

FEBRUARY 12, 1747. Hoping to surprise Noble's garrison at Grand Pré (Nova Scotia), de Ramezay detaches a column of 236 French Canadian raiders and 50 Micmac warriors under his second-in-command, Capt. Nicolas Antoine Coulon de Villiers. After a stealthy approach, they attack the occupied town at 3:00 a.m. on the morning of January 31 in a raging snowstorm. The 500 Massachusetts militia-

men are caught utterly unprepared and about 70 are slain, some still in their beds. Noble and his younger brother, Ens. Francis Noble, are among the dead, so command of the defeated regiment falls to Benjamin Goldthwait. He and other survivors are repatriated to Annapolis Royal.

APRIL 5, 1747. While cruising 20 miles northwest of Cape Saint Nicholas Mole (Cap du Môle, Haiti), Commo. Digby Dent's 60-gun *Lennox*, *Plymouth*, and *Worcester* pursue a French convoy steering south from Cap François into the Bight of Léogâne. Its naval escort under Dubois de la Motte—the 74-gun flagship *Magnanime*, the 64-gun *Alcide*, and the 54-gun, 900-ton *Arc-en-Ciel*—turns to give battle, leaving the seven merchantmen protected by the frigate *Étoile*.

Action erupts shortly past noon, both formations crisscrossing repeatedly throughout the afternoon and firing as their courses intersect. At 4:00 p.m., the *Lennox*'s foremast topples, compelling it to bring to and halting the engagement altogether when Dubois de la Motte subsequently retires back toward his convoy. The *Plymouth* has suffered 2 killed and 9 wounded; the *Lennox*, 11 dead and 25 injured; the *Worcester*, 4 killed and 5 wounded, allowing the French convoy to escape into Petit Goâve. Dent returns into Port Royal (Jamaica) by April 10 to refit and reprovision.

APRIL 25, 1747. Commo. Edward Legge arrives at Barbados with the 70-gun *Captain*, plus the 60-gun *Dragon* and *Sunderland*, escorting a 44-ship English convoy. A few days later, he proceeds to Antigua, relieving Lee as commander in chief. Legge is unpopular with his crews, and the council on that island has also complained to London of Legge's "drunkenness, incivility, and neglect of duty."

But Legge himself will sicken and die by September 19 (O.S.). Before this news can be carried to England, however, he is elected as a member of Parliament for Portsmouth.

MAY 2, 1747. Dubois de la Motte departs Petit Goâve (Haiti) with a 163-ship convoy for France. He will be intercepted outside Brest by Anson and lose 48 of his charges.

LATE JUNE 1747. The 70-gun, 1,900-ton Spanish warship *Glorioso* exits Havana under its 47-year-old captain Pedro Messía de la Cerda, Knight of the Order of San Juan (who will later succeed his father as

Marqués de la Vega de Armijo). Although the ship was completed in the Havana yards seven years previously, this is only the *Glorioso's* second significant voyage. With 4 million pesos in silver bullion aboard, plus a million pesos in merchandise, as well as 760 crewmen and passengers, it hopes to speed across the Atlantic through the British blockade.

The tall and powerful Spanish warship encounters HMSS *Warwick* of 60 guns and the frigate *Lark* of 44 guns escorting a merchant convoy past the Azores on the afternoon of July 25 and fights its way past them by nightfall. Another 60-gun English warship and two frigates are engaged off Finisterre on the morning of August 14, before the damaged *Glorioso* slips into nearby Corcubión two days later to unload the royal treasure.

When the *Glorioso* emerges on October 10 to attempt to gain La Coruña, contrary winds oblige Messía to veer around and run south for Cadiz. Intercepted seven days later off Cape Saint Vincent by four English privateers under Commo. Hovenden Walker, the *Glorioso* mauls the frigates *King George* and *Prince Frederick* before other Royal Navy vessels begin to close in. HMS *Dartmouth* of 50 guns explodes the next day during its engagement, only 14 crewmen being rescued. Finally, Messía surrenders after another six-hour battle on October 19 against the 80-gun HMS *Russell* of Capt. Matthew Buckle, which leaves 33 dead and 130 wounded aboard the *Glorioso*. Despite losing his ship, the audacious traverse and safe delivery of the king's treasure will win Messía promotion and new titles. Eventually, he will become viceroy of New Granada (modern Colombia).

AUGUST 13, 1747. A force of Zamboes and English baymen from the Mosquito Coast capture, ransack, and destroy Fort San Fernando at Matina (Costa Rica).

JANUARY 8, 1748. Knowles—recently promoted to rear admiral and designated to command the Jamaica station—returns to Barbados from Louisbourg and Boston with HMSS *Canterbury*, *Norwich*, *Lark*, *Fowey*, and the sloop *Achilles*, escorting a merchant convoy. After cruising briefly with Capt. George Pocock (acting commodore in the Lesser Antilles since the death of Legge), Knowles reaches Port Royal by February 7.

LATE JANUARY 1748. The Spanish corsair Felipe López de la Flor departs Honduras to raid the English establishments at Roatán, Belize, and Yucatán.

FEBRUARY 17, 1748. Knowles quits Port Royal with 240 of Governor Trelawney's Jamaican troops aboard his 80-gun, 1,350-ton, 600-man flagship *Cornwall* under Capt. Richard Chadwick, as well as the 70-gun, 1,224-ton, 480-man *Elizabeth* of Polycarpus Taylor; the 60-gun, 1,000-ton, 400-man *Plymouth* of Digby Dent, *Strafford* of James Rentone, *Warwick* of Thomas Innes, and *Worcester* of Thomas Andrews; the 58-gun, 1,117-ton, 400-man *Canterbury* of David Brodie; the 50-gun, 767-ton, 300-man *Oxford* of Edmund Toll; plus the 6-gun, 100-man sloops *Weazel* and *Merlin*.

This expedition intends to attack Santiago de Cuba, but contrary winds prevent Knowles from beating northward, so he instead steers for Port Saint Louis (modern Les Cayes, Haiti). After watering in Tiburón Bay on March 9, then pausing at Ile à Vache to reorganize their landing forces, the English are prepared for battle.

MARCH 22, 1748. *Port Saint Louis.* Shortly before midday, HMS *Elizabeth* leads Knowles's squadron into this Haitian harbor, completely surprising its defenders. An imposing 78-gun island castle guards its roadstead, manned by 310 troops and a company of black gunners under Gov. Étienne Cochard de Chastenoye behind 24-foot-high stone walls. The first French guns open fire at 12:05 p.m., but Knowles's ships remain silent until all can anchor beneath the western and northern ramparts, letting fly with their broadsides simultaneously. A heated exchange then ensues over the next three hours, during which the defenders send a fireship down from the inner roadstead, compelling the *Elizabeth* to cut its cable and warp out of danger.

The remaining Royal Navy ships maintain such fierce pressure, however, that Chasteanoye sends an officer out at 3:00 p.m. to suggest terms. Knowles makes a counteroffer, and a half hour later the French commander accepts, his garrison having suffered 160 casualties, as opposed to 19 killed and 60 wounded among the British warships. The town and four anchored vessels are seized. Port Saint Louis's castle is dismantled and blown up, after which Knowles stands away on March 30, again hoping to assault Santiago de Cuba.

After pausing in Tiburón Bay to take on water once more, he continues north on April 5.

APRIL 8, 1748. *Santiago de Cuba.* This afternoon, Knowles sights Cuba, his fleet consisting of the vessels *Plymouth*, *Cornwall*, *Canterbury* (flag), *Elizabeth*,



Knowles's warships pound the harbor castle guarding Port Saint Louis. (National Maritime Museum, London)

Strafford, *Warwick*, *Worcester*, *Lennox*, plus the smaller consorts *Vainqueur*, *Vulture*, and *Sharp* (tender). Dent's *Plymouth*, which has been selected to lead the attack, has earlier reconnoitered Santiago's entrance. Faint winds prevent the English from rushing its mouth the next morning, instead leaving them becalmed within view of the Spaniards—whose governor, Brigadier General Arcos Moreno, immediately orders a 200-ton ship warped out of the inner bay to support a 10-inch cable stretched from shore to shore.

When a breeze finally springs up that same afternoon, the *Plymouth* guides the squadron toward its entrance, only to sheer off when a chain is sighted in addition to the cable. Next day, April 10, Knowles gives up and shifts his flag back aboard the *Cornwall*, detaching vessels on independent cruises and then leading the remainder back to Jamaica, where he presses charges against Dent for not having burst the boom (who is eventually exonerated).

JULY 1748. A second raid by the Honduran corsair Felipe López de la Flor against the English logwood establishments in Belize ends badly when his vessel

is ambushed from a cliff-top. The Hundurans suffer 3 killed, 11 wounded, and 1 captured.

JULY 10, 1748. News of the cessation of Anglo-French hostilities reaches Knowles at Jamaica, which induces him to lead his squadron into the Gulf of Mexico and take up station off Florida's Tortuga Bank in hopes of intercepting a Spanish treasure fleet between Veracruz and Havana before peace is concluded with this nation as well.

LATE AUGUST 1748. Knowles quits Port Royal (Jamaica) with his flagship *Cornwall*, with the vessels *Canterbury*, *Tilbury*, *Strafford*, *Oxford*, and a sloop tender, to await Mexican treasure ships off the Tortuga Bank.

OCTOBER 2, 1748. Learning of Knowles's presence off Florida, 56-year-old Spanish vice admiral Andrés Reggio Branciforte Saladino y Colonna, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of San Genaro and commander in chief at Havana, reluctantly puts to sea with his 74-gun, 710-man flagship *Africa*

(officially designated as *San Francisco de Asís*) under Capt. Juan Antonio de la Colina and vice-flagship *Invencible* (also called *San José*) under Rear Adm. Benito Antonio de Spínola or Espínola; the 64-gun, 610-man *Conquistador* (official name: *Jesús, María y José*) of Tomás de San Justo, *Dragón* of Manuel de Paz, *Nueva España* of Fernando Varela, and *Real Familia* of Marcos Forestal; plus the 36-gun, 300-man privateer frigate *Galga* of Pedro de Garaycochea. Reggio's crews have been supplemented by a military regiment and numerous conscripts, his squadron moreover being accompanied by a brigantine and xebec.

The Spanish squadron edges away from Cuba, patrols sweeping the horizon before them, until they capture a British sloop on October 4 that reveals to the admiral that Knowles now has nine of the line with him rather than five. This information causes Reggio to retreat toward Havana, arriving by October 6 and remaining hove-to a dozen miles offshore.

OCTOBER 11, 1748. At dawn, Reggio's squadron sights a mass of sails coming up over the western horizon. By noon, a frigate signals that it is a homeward-bound English convoy out of Jamaica, consisting of several score merchantmen protected by a large and a small Royal Navy escort. Reggio orders a general chase, and both his warships and their prey scatter in every direction. The convoy

commander is Capt. Charles Holmes, whose flagship *Lennox* is so old and decrepit that it has had 18 of its 74 guns removed. He vainly tries to protect his charges, even exchanging a few shots with the *Galga*, before turning northwest to advise Knowles that the Spaniards are at sea.

Coming upon the admiral that same evening off the Tortuga Keys, Holmes's report prompts Knowles to immediately begin beating upwind toward Havana with seven ships.

KNOWLES'S SHIPS

Ship	Guns	Tons	Men	Commander
<i>Cornwall</i> (flag)	80	1,350	600	(flag captain) Taylor
<i>Tilbury</i>	58	1,124	400	Charles Powlett
<i>Strafford</i>	60	1,067	400	David Brodie
<i>Warwick</i>	60	951	400	Thomas Innes
<i>Canterbury</i>	58	1,117	400	Captain Clarke
<i>Lennox</i>	56	1,096	400	Charles Holmes
<i>Oxford</i>	50	767	300	Edmund Toll

OCTOBER 12, 1748. *Knowles's Action.* Just before dawn, both squadrons sight each other east of the Cuban capital, on converging courses. Reggio's formation is regrouping after pursuing the Jamaican convoy the previous day (during which they have captured the merchantmen *Julius Caesar*, *Mary*, *Gloucester*, and *Queen of Hungary*). Upon spotting his enemy, Knowles orders his warships to rear around and form a line of battle; Reggio mistakes this evolution as



While engaged off Havana, Knowles's flagship *Cornwall* (center) loses its topmast. (National Maritime Museum, London)

more merchantmen fleeing from his squadron, so he races north. Sunrise reveals the heavy English two-deckers, so at 7:00 a.m. the startled Spanish admiral orders his lead ships *Africa*, *Invencible*, *Conquistador*, and *Galga* to wear round and unite with the *Dragón*, *Nueva España*, and *Real Familia*, which are coming up from astern.

Knowles signals his own squadron to tack toward the Spaniards, who remain clumped together but who sail away under easy canvas while the English experience difficulty closing the five or six miles in between because of light winds. Through faulty signal reading, the English line becomes disjointed, the *Warwick*, *Oxford*, and *Canterbury* lagging two miles astern of Knowles's flagship while the *Tilbury* and the *Strafford* surge a mile ahead. Thus, rather than bearing down upon the Spaniards en masse, the English approach piecemeal.

When the Spanish commander in chief orders the privateer *Galga* out of his line, Knowles does the same with the *Oxford* so as to have a reserve to aid any English warship that becomes hard-pressed.

Between 1:00 and 2:00 p.m. the wind picks up, so that the Royal Navy squadron gains. As the *Tilbury* creeps three-quarters of a mile off the Spanish line, shots ring out from Reggio's center. The range is too great for accuracy and no hits are scored, but when some of the *Tilbury*'s guns respond, Knowles grudgingly signals his two van vessels to open fire, while steering directly toward the enemy flagship accompanied by the *Lennox*. The *Cornwall* holds its fire until shortly after 4:00 p.m. when it comes within pistol-shot range. It then crashes an opening broadside into Reggio's *Africa*. Ahead, the *Strafford* pours salvos into the *Conquistador*, while the *Lennox* joins the action from astern. Within an hour, the *Conquistador* is battered out of the Spanish line, its captain and two lieutenants being dead, and it surrenders to the *Strafford*, which then plunges into the smoke searching for another opponent. The British flagship also sheers out of the line, its main topmast head felled by a round from the *Africa*, and is quickly replaced in the British line by the *Canterbury* coming up from astern.

When the *Warwick* finally appears ready to overtake them by 5:30 p.m., Spanish resolve collapses. Low on ammunition, every Spanish ship attempts

to save itself, the *Strafford* and the *Canterbury* clinging to the huge *Africa*, while the *Tilbury* and the *Oxford* pursue the vice-flag *Invencible* (the other Spanish warships limp off into the night, with the *Lennox* and the *Warwick* lagging far astern). By 9:00 p.m., the *Invencible* appears silenced, but its English attackers are too weak to prevent its escape. The same occurs with the Spanish flagship; the *Strafford* and the *Canterbury* pound the *Africa* until its main- and mizzen-masts fall, but the Royal Navy pair are too crippled to maneuver and so break off at 11:00 p.m. to begin setting up jury-rigging and claw back out to sea. Spanish casualties aboard their five surviving ships are more than 150 dead, plus a like number seriously wounded.

Next morning, the victors reassemble before Havana with their prize *Conquistador*. Most Royal Navy vessels have sustained some damage, so this day is spent effecting repairs. Early the following day (October 14), Knowles takes part of his squadron to windward, searching for the crippled *Africa*, which he finds at 4:00 p.m. on the 15th, dismasted and helpless in a small unguarded bay 25 miles east of Havana. When the Spaniards perceive the English warships standing in, they cut the *Africa*'s cables and set it afire, sending it drifting ashore to blow up one hour later.

Knowles returns before Havana, preparing to follow up his victory by waylaying the Mexican treasure ships; but on October 16, a sloop approaches out of the west bearing news from Cadiz that peace preliminaries have been signed between London and Madrid back in Europe. Disappointed, Knowles deposits his prisoners ashore, then makes off toward Port Royal with the *Conquistador*.

(Bitter recriminations eventually lead to court-martial and even duels once this squadron regains England next year. The Spaniards, in contrast, exonerate Reggio after an inquiry in July 1749, investing him as Knight Grand Cross in the Order of San Juan de Jerusalem and giving him command of the Cadiz fleet, where he remains until his death 31 years later.)

Late in October 1748, the small Spanish frigate *Industria* of Ens. Antonio José Posadas reaches Cartagena with copies of the official peace, thus marking an end to the War of Jenkins's Ear.

SPANISH AMERICAN DISTURBANCES (1748–1754)

Oblivious to the general peace achieved in Europe, localized frictions continue in Spain's New World colonies, especially in the remote hinterlands of South America.

DECEMBER 1748. Capt. José de Escandón quits Querétaro (Mexico) with 750 troops and 2,000 colonists to establish a new Spanish colony amid the nomadic Tamaulipa Indians. After following a route through Los Pozos, San Luis de la Paz, Santa María del Río, San Luis Potosí, and Tula, his expedition enters Tamaulipa territory and sets down new settlements. De Escandón returns into Querétaro the next year, being ennobled as Conde de la Sierra Gorda and created a knight of the Order of Santiago for this privately financed effort.

APRIL 19, 1749. At Panaquire (Venezuela), the wealthy *hacendado* or "estate-owner" Juan Francisco de León leads a popular uprising against the Biscayan Company's monopolistic influence. During the blockades of the recently concluded War of Jenkins's Ear, ranchers in the Panaquire and Caucagua valleys smuggled their harvests out to Dutch Curaçao or French Martinique. When a dozen troops are sent into this region under the Biscayan Martín de Echeverría to end this practice, a violent reaction ensues.

Marching upon Caracas with several thousand adherents, de León enters the capital the next day, compelling Gov. Luis de Castellano to flee toward La Guaira two days later disguised as a friar. When no easing of the Biscayan monopoly results, de León leads a second march upon the capital on August 1, which again produces nothing.

However, a Spanish expedition under the naval officer Julián de Arriaga reaches La Guaira by November 28 to restore order and listen to local complaints. The Biscayan Company is allowed to resume operations, but on a limited scale. Two years later, Lt. Gen. Felipe Ricardos will arrive as Venezuela's new royal governor, backed by 1,200 troops. He will deport de León and five other rebel leaders to Spain aboard the man-of-war *Santa Bárbara* to stand trial, while also razing de León's Caracas home.

Because of a resurgence of Dutch smuggling during this interlude, the Biscayan Company will also station three new privateer sloops at Puerto Cabello, La Guaira, and the mouth of the Orinoco River in 1752.

JANUARY 13, 1750. Spain and Portugal sign the so-called *Tratado de Permuta* or "Treaty of Exchange," realigning the boundaries of their American empires by agreeing to an exchange of disputed territories; specifically, Colônia do Sacramento is to pass under Spanish control, while seven Jesuit "reductions" or mission towns in Ibicuy territory (a several-hundred-square-mile wedge of land east of the Uruguay River) are to pass over to Portugal. Many Spaniards are dissatisfied with this arrangement, feeling that their interests have not been upheld by their Portuguese-born queen, María Bárbara of Braganza. The Guaraní natives living along the eastern banks of the Uruguay River prove to be especially adverse, having been raided for many years by Brazilian slave-catchers known as *bandeirantes*. They thus fear this transfer and prepare to resist it.

JULY 6, 1750. A slave rebellion erupts on the Dutch island of Curaçao and is suppressed this same day.

SPRING 1751. The Spanish corsair José Antonio de Palma leads a Yucatecan expedition against the English logwood establishments at Belize and captures 43 interloper vessels off Río Hondo, before scattering another 57 farther upriver.

NOVEMBER 1751. An expedition of English logwood cutters plus Zamboes and Miskito Indians attack the Spanish garrison at San Felipe de Bacalar (Yucatán).

In northern Mexico that same month, the Pima Indians rise in revolt against the Spaniards and are put down the next year.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1752. After five months spent marshalling an *Exército Demarcador* or "Demarcation Army" in Río Grande do Sul province in southwestern Brazil, 67-year-old lieutenant general Gomes Freire de Andrade sets off at the head of 491 soldiers of his São Pedro Cavalry and Infantry Regiment; 204 of the *Infantaria Velha* and 104 of the *Infantaria Novo* regiments, as well as 189 gunners for 10 field-pieces, all from Rio de Janeiro; plus 104 men from

the Santos Infantry Regiment of São Paulo. This army is to be guided by 160 local scouts in two mounted companies under Capt. Francisco Pinto Bandeira, supported by 266 teamsters and laborers for almost 6,000 horses, 1,000 oxen, and 73 wagons. After a month's progression along the shoreline, they meet at Castilhos Grande with a similar Spanish force sent from Buenos Aires by Capt. Gen. José de Andonaegui y la Plaza, Marqués de Valdelirios, and jointly begin erecting a series of border markers that stretch inland.

NOVEMBER 3, 1752. Pensacola's offshore island outpost of Santa Rosa Punta de Sigüenza is devastated by a two-day hurricane, which drives its Spanish survivors to seek refuge on the mainland. Relief soon arrives from Havana and Veracruz, but it is agreed that the fort and its town are too exposed so must be transferred deeper inside the bay. The military engineer Felipe Feringán Cortés will therefore draw up plans for a new quadrilateral stockade, with twin towers and four gates enclosing a new civilian compound.

His proposal is endorsed by the Crown and implemented in 1756 by the military engineer Agustín López de la Cámara Alta, who is supported by funds and 200 additional convict laborers from Mexico, plus 50 cavalymen and 100 women to help reinvigorate the population. The new mainland town is named San Miguel de Panzacola, and its new citadel is called Fort San Carlos.

DECEMBER 1752. The Spanish corsair Alberto José Rendón is killed in a confrontation off Belize against several English interlopers.

JANUARY 1753. As work progresses on the demarcation of the borderline between Spanish and Portuguese territories, General Andonaegui withdraws into Montevideo and Freire de Andrade moves into Colônia do Sacramento to prepare for the Portuguese outpost's transfer to Spanish rule.

FEBRUARY 26, 1753. *Guaraní War.* The Spanish and Portuguese surveyors marking the borderline between their territories reach Santa Tecla Chapel on the fringe of Jesuit missionary territory and the next day are barred from proceeding farther by José Sepé Tiarayú, *corregidor* of the nearby Guaraní town of San Miguel. He refuses to accept the transfer of his people to Portuguese rule as specified by the Treaty of Permuta (see "January 13, 1750" entry) or

Suppression of the Jesuit Order

Anger boiled in Portugal against the suspect role of the Society of Jesus in inciting Guaraní tribesmen to resist the transfer of royal authority. Pamphleteers even accused the Jesuits, a rich and powerful order, of acting like an independent fiefdom in the New World. And ominously, the Jesuits gained the enmity of Foreign Minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, who soon became the prime minister of Portugal.

Wishing to reform and modernize Portugal, Melo saw the doctrinaire order's grip on education and high society as an impediment to progress. Europe closely followed this struggle. A papal investigation into alleged Jesuit abuses was arranged by Melo with his own handpicked cardinal. This cleric pronounced the order guilty of "illicit and scandalous commerce" on May 15, 1758, therefore their properties were taken by the Crown. And when King Joseph I's carriage was fired on by assassins on the evening of September 3, Melo arrested the entire Távora family of the nobility and charged them with plotting regicide. All male members were executed, while their Jesuit confessor was burned at the stake in January 1759. The society was outlawed.

Jesuits soon were driven from France as well. Although banned from doing business like every other religious order, the society operated vast plantations on Martinique. That island's superior, Fr. Antoine La Vallette, borrowed heavily and then went bankrupt when British warships seized millions in goods at the beginning of the French and Indian War. Creditors turned to the procurator in Paris for payment but were rebuffed. They then sued and won a verdict in 1760. The society unwisely appealed to Parlement, which upheld the decision on May 8, 1761. More complaints followed, as well as attacks in the press. Parlement condemned the society to extinction on August 6, 1762, but Louis XV offered a compromise. If the French Jesuits separated from their order, the Crown would protect them. They refused, so were banished on March 9, 1764. In a larger sense, there was a growing sentiment that religious dominance was a constraint on the development of France. The king and his reform-minded ministers feared defiance from the rich, powerful society.

Other religious orders did not rally to the Jesuits' side. The immense wealth, holdings, and power held by the society also excited resentment by rulers.

to relocate them to the western banks of the Uruguay River. Although initially commanding only 68 men, the chieftain now has several hundred followers, so the outnumbered surveyors withdraw, blaming their repulse upon Jesuit machinations.

Representations are sent across the Atlantic to Madrid and Lisbon, requesting clarification of this impasse. Finally, generals Andonaegui and Freire de Andrade reconvene in March 1754 on Martín Vaz Island with orders to remove the Guaraní by force and complete the territorial realignment. The Portuguese general therefore sends a small contingent of Río Grande Dragoons up the Jacuí River from Porto Alegre to erect a small advance base named Jesus Maria José at São Lourenço Pass as a springboard for Freire de Andrade's main army. However, this outpost is taken by guile on April 29 by Sepé Tiarayú, effectively dooming the planned Portuguese offensive.

The Spanish general fares no better, marshalling 1,500 troops at Rincón de las Gallinas by May, only to struggle over impassable terrain toward the remote Guaraní ranching hamlet of Yapeyú. Torrential rains, the loss of most of his animals, and constant ambushes by the subchieftain Paracatú compel Andonaegui to turn back on August 10. Freire de Andrade manages to stagger into São Lourenço Pass by September 7, yet his exhausted army advances no further, reversing course downriver on November 18.

A renewed Hispano-Portuguese effort is not mounted until December 1755, when Freire de Andrade leads 1,200 soldiers from Río Grande to Forte São Gonçalo on the Piratini River, being joined by 1,820 Spanish troops under Andonaegui and Gov. Joaquín Viana of Montevideo for a push inland over the better-known route toward Santa

Tecla. Within less than two months, their combined army enters Guaraní territory, and Sepé Tiarayú is killed by chance at Sanga da Bica (modern São Gabriel) during a nocturnal skirmish on February 7, 1756, when he is knocked from his horse by a Portuguese lancer of Col. Luiz Osório's regiment and then shot on the ground by Governor Viana.

The native leader is succeeded by the less charismatic Nicolás Ñeenguirú, *corregidor* of the town of Concepción. Three days afterward the invaders confront the bulk of the Guaraní rebels atop Caiboaté Hill in the mountainous country south of the Jacuí River. After giving Ñeenguirú but an hour to surrender, they advance at 2:00 p.m. to slaughter 1,511 poorly armed Indians and capture 154 in 70 minutes of lopsided fighting, during which only 3 Spaniards and 1 Portuguese are killed and 30 are wounded. The last sparks of Guaraní resistance are pitilessly annihilated at Chumieby near San Miguel on March 19, after which the army enters the empty and burning town three days later. Andonaegui begins rounding up and deporting Guaraní survivors over to the western side of the Uruguay River until June 8, when he officially cedes control of the territory to Freire de Andrade and withdraws.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1754.

A Spanish privateering expedition under José Antonio de Palma attacks the English logwood establishments at Belize, seizing numerous prizes and captives as well as burning many properties.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR (1754–1763)

As early as 1752, the century-and-a-half-long rivalry between French and English interests in North America provokes renewed fighting around Pickawillany on the upper Great Miami River, followed by a sweep through the upper Ohio Valley by French Canadians and their native allies, capturing or killing every English-speaking trader that they can find. Consternation grips Pennsylvania and Virginia, whose citizens consider this wilderness vital to their expansion inland from the Tidewater region—especially when it is subsequently learned that the French are building forts at the headwaters of the Allegheny River to contain any future English encroachments.

On October 31, 1753, a 21-year-old Virginia militia major named George Washington is dispatched to Fort Le Boeuf (near modern Waterford, Pennsylvania) by Gov. Robert Dinwiddie to demand that its French garrison evacuate the territory. This is refused, and Virginia retaliates by obtaining a special grant from the English Crown to build a rival fort at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers (modern Pittsburgh). But as English workmen are completing this emplacement in the spring of 1754, 500 French troops descend the Allegheny and occupy it, renaming the site Fort Duquesne. Virginia appeals to London for assistance and prepares to dispatch troops into the interior.

Although war is not yet officially declared back in Europe, this North American friction is symptomatic of other disputes developing between the French and British empires throughout the world. Hostilities soon begin to escalate, gradually evolving into a “great war for empire,” and two years later becomes intermingled with the Seven Years’ War, a separate conflict that erupted in central Germany in 1756 over completely unrelated issues.

MAY 1754. Recently promoted to lieutenant colonel and having returned up the Allegheny with 350 Virginia militiamen and backwoodsmen, Washington erects a temporary log stronghold dubbed Fort Necessity at Great Meadows (near Farmington or Confluence, Pennsylvania), 40 miles south of the French citadel of Fort Duquesne. From this advance base, the young officer presses northward with 40 men and at dawn of May 28 surprises a 30-man French outfit, killing its commander—35-year-old Ens. Joseph Coulon de Villiers de Jumonville—along with 9 others, while capturing all but one of the remainder before withdrawing.

JUNE 26, 1754. Jumonville’s older brother, 43-year-old Louis Coulon de Villiers, reaches Fort Duquesne with 600 French Canadian troops and 100 native allies to learn of his sibling’s death. Two days later, the garrison commander, Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, delegates Coulon de Villiers to a retaliatory strike against Washington’s position.

JULY 3, 1754. Coulon de Villiers’s expedition drives Washington’s troops—now reinforced by two independent companies under Captain McKay—back inside Fort Necessity, which proves to be in a poorly sited defensive position. After a nine-hour siege in heavy rain, the 400 defenders surrender at nightfall and are obliged to withdraw into their own country, promising not to build another fort upon the Ohio for another year. French casualties are 3 killed and 17 wounded.

FEBRUARY 1755. The 59-year-old, Scottish-born Edward Braddock—recently promoted to major general—arrives in Hampton Roads (Virginia) from England with a convoy escorted by the 50-gun *Centurion* of Capt. Augustus Keppel and *Norwich* of Samuel Barrington, which bears 1,000 infantrymen of the 44th and 48th regiments.

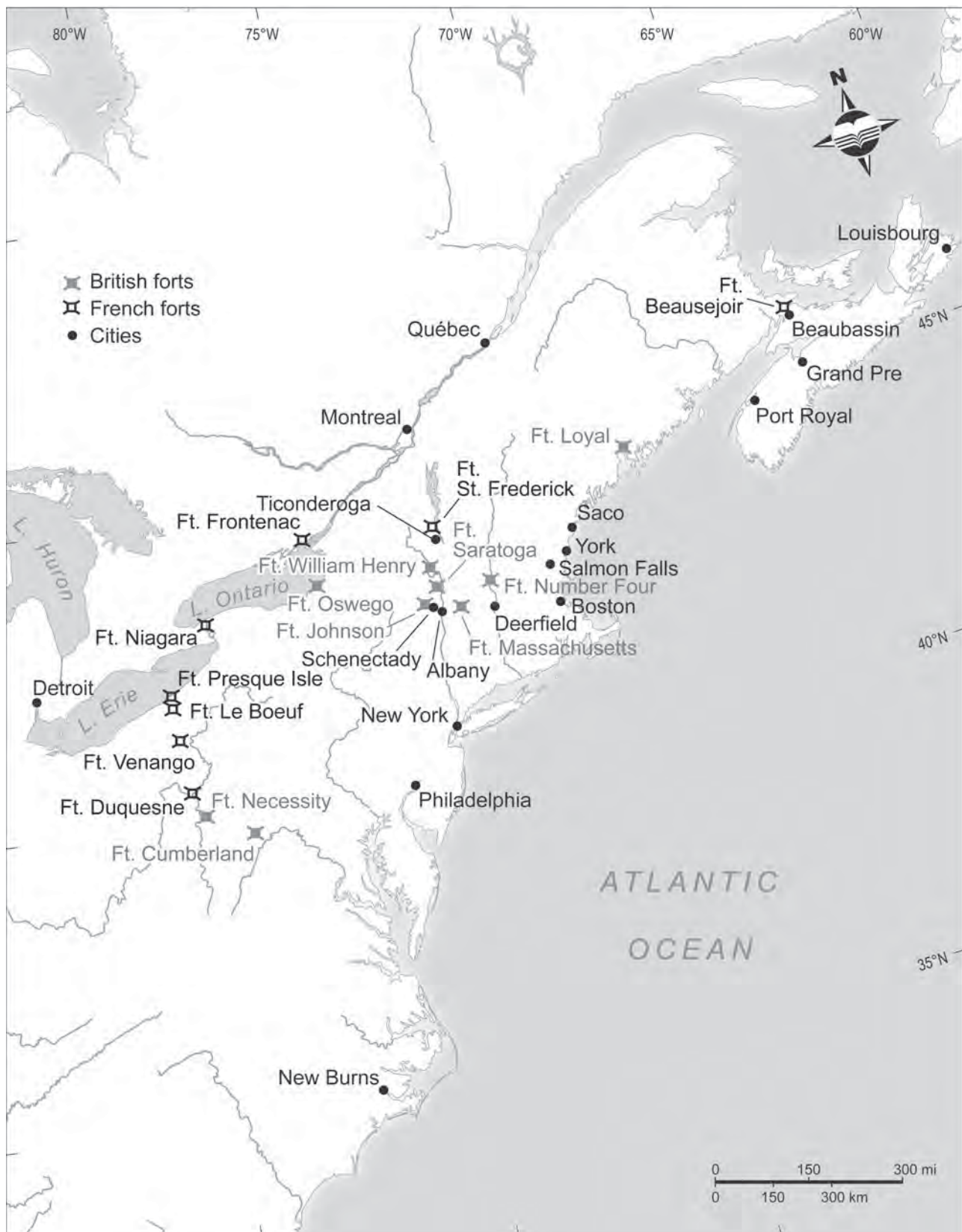
APRIL 14, 1755. The British decide upon a four-pronged offensive against the French in North America: Braddock’s regulars are to march inland

and recapture Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh); Governor Shirley of Massachusetts is to reoccupy Oswego with colonial forces, then drive toward Niagara; Commissioner William Johnson is to advance up the Hudson and take Crown Point; while Brig. Gen. Robert Monckton is to invade French Acadia (modern Nova Scotia and New Brunswick).

MAY 1755. Braddock reaches Fort Cumberland near Wills Creek with his two brigades: Lt. Col. Sir Peter Halkett commanding the 44th Foot—now 700 strong—plus 230 Virginia, New York, and Maryland Rangers, and a New York independent company; and Col. Thomas Dunbar leading 650 men of his 48th Regiment, 230 Rangers from Virginia and the Carolinas, and another New York independent company. Both units have 14 fieldpieces and 15 mortars.

JUNE 3, 1755. *Bay of Fundy Campaign.* After sailing northeast from Massachusetts, 2,000 Anglo-American colonials under brevet Brig. Gen. Robert Monckton and Col. John Winslow disembark under cover of Fort Lawrence (near modern Amherst, Nova Scotia) to advance across the Missaguash River and attack the principal French stronghold for the Acadia region: Fort Beauséjour (near modern Sackville, New Brunswick). Its defenders total 160 regulars under the corrupt and unpopular governor, 41-year-old captain Louis du Pont Duchambon de Vergor, Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, plus 1,200–1,500 reluctant militiamen scattered throughout the district.

Neither side is eager for battle; the British gingerly approach Fort Beauséjour and seize a nearby ridge by June 13, before opening fire with mortars into its crowded interior. The defenders’ morale soon collapses, and—faced with an Acadian mutiny—Duchambon de Vergor is compelled to capitulate to the invaders by June 16. His subordinate Benjamin Rouer de Villeray surrenders smaller Fort Gaspereau (near modern Port Elgin, New Brunswick) without a fight shortly thereafter. Determined to forever eradicate French influence from this disputed border



French and Indian War, 1754–1763.

region, the victors detain most of the Acadians over the next few weeks who have not escaped into the wilderness north of the Isthmus of Chignecto and expel them down the Atlantic Seaboard as far as Louisiana.

JUNE 6, 1755. In a further escalation of hostilities, 11 English ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop under 43-year-old vice admiral Edward Boscawen sight 4 French ships of the line groping past fog-shrouded Newfoundland with 3,000 reinforcements for Quebec. The chase is resumed two days later, and on June 10–11, the 74-gun French *Alcide* of Captain Hocquart and *Lys* of Captain de Lorgeril—the latter's armament reduced to only 22 guns to accommodate more troops—are overtaken. HMS *Torbay* of the flag captain Charles Colby and HMS *Dunkirk* of Richard Howe subdue the former, while the *Defiance* under Thomas Andrews and the *Fougueux* of Richard Spry capture the latter.

Still, the transport *Dauphin Royal* eludes Boscawen's cruisers and along with another dozen ships from a scattered French convoy reaches its destination 11 days later, protected by 72-year-old rear admiral Dubois de la Motte's 74-gun flagship *Entrepreneur* and the *Bizarre*. They deposit several battalions of regulars, plus the 54-year-old, Saxon-born major general Jean Armand, Baron de Dieskau, who is to assume overall command of Canada's defenses. The English admiral meanwhile retires into Halifax by July 9 after detaching Rear Adm. Francis Holburne to blockade Louisbourg, his fleet being very sickly. (By the time Boscawen regains Britain in early November, almost 2,000 of his sailors and marines are dead.)

JUNE 25, 1755. Braddock's weary army begins reaching Little Meadows, deciding after a brief stop-over to advance upon Fort Duquesne with a 1,200-man vanguard, leaving Dunbar behind to guard the baggage train.

JULY 8, 1755. Contrecoeur, commander of the 1,600 French and Indians holding Fort Duquesne, delegates Capt. Daniel Hyacinthe Marie Liénard de Beaujeu to sortie with 250 French irregulars and 650 Indians to ambush Braddock's approaching army eight miles away at the Monongahela River crossing.

JULY 9, 1755. *Braddock's Defeat.* Lt. Col. Thomas Gage leads the British advance guard across the Monongahela, followed closely by Braddock with his redcoats in two columns, grenadiers on the flanks,

and Virginia provincials (including Washington) bringing up the rear. Suddenly, Captain de Beaujeu rises from a nearby woods, waving his hat as a signal for his men to open fire. The French officer is killed almost instantly by the opening volleys, and many of his Canadian followers take to their heels, but the native contingent under captains Dumas and Charles Laglande fire steadily into the British ranks from their hiding places. The bewildered redcoats attempt to maintain battlefield formation, paying heavily as 63 of Braddock's 86 officers are killed or wounded, the commander himself finally falling, pierced through an arm and lung—after having five horses shot from beneath him. Out of 1,200–1,300 men, 914 become casualties, as opposed to 44 killed or wounded among the French and Indians.

Washington leads Braddock's survivors back to Gist's Plantation, where Dunbar orders the supply train destroyed to facilitate his army's retirement toward Fort Cumberland. Braddock dies of his wound on July 13 during this retreat and is buried at Great Meadows (near modern Confluence, Pennsylvania). His baggage falls into French hands, including all the plans for British offensives throughout North America.

AUGUST 8, 1755. A Franco-Indian war party ambushes a contingent of Anglo-American troops near Fort Edward (New York).

AUGUST 15, 1755. Dubois de la Motte's fleet departs Canada, eluding the British blockaders by daringly sailing through the Belle Isle Strait, thereby regaining France without mishap.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1755. When the acting Maj. Gen. William Johnson marches north from Albany with 3,000 Anglo-American colonials and 300 Mohawks (mostly from Caughnawaga, Quebec, under their elderly chieftain Theyanoguin), threatening to ally himself with native friends throughout this region and destroy Fort Saint Frédéric and ravage Franco-Canadian settlements as far as Montreal, Dieskau is sent to check him. The French general leaves part of his army in Fort Frontenac and travels down the Richelieu River, marshalling 1,500 regulars, 1,000 Canadian militiamen, and 500 Indians near the head of Lake George (the future site of Fort Carillon; today's Ticonderoga, New York).

At Johnson's base on Lac du Saint Sacrament (Fort Edward) at the southern end of the portage to the Hudson River, the English commander learns

of Dieskau's deployment so decides to send a contingent 14 miles northwest to construct a fort to contain this French concentration. Dieskau learns of this countermove on September 3 and furthermore believes—mistakenly—that Johnson is left with only 500 men at Fort Edward, so he advances to engage the colonials' camp with a select corps of 200 French regulars, 600 Canadian militiamen, and about 700 Indians. But when Dieskau reaches Wood Creek on the Hudson by September 7, he learns his native allies will not storm Fort Edward's ramparts. He thus diverts his attack toward the contingent at the head of Lake George.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1755. *Crown Point.* Dieskau's small army advances toward this English concentration, his regulars marching along a wagon road while his militia and Indians serve as flank guards in the woods. Nearing their objective, the French learn that Johnson has detached 1,000 men under Col. Ephraim Williams and the Mohawk chieftain Theyanoguin (alias Hendrick) to hurry back and relieve Fort Edward, which the English commander in chief fears will be assaulted during his absence.

Dieskau draws his regulars up in the road and places his militia and natives in ambush along both flanks in the forest. His trap is sprung prematurely, yet nevertheless sends Williams's column reeling back toward the main English army. The colonel is killed, and 75-year-old, corpulent Theyanoguin has his horse shot out from under him, subsequently being easily run down, stabbed, and scalped. The defeated Anglo-Americans suffer 200 killed and stream back to the safety of Johnson's army, while Dieskau pursues.

But once the principal English position is confronted, French fortunes falter. Despite bravely assaulting Johnson's extemporized barricade of carts, tree trunks, overturned boats, and cannon for several hours, the battle ends in a stalemate. Dieskau is wounded three times in his legs and left propped up against a tree by his second-in-command Pierre-André de Montreuil, falling prisoner once the French retreat. Johnson claims a major victory, but in fact his thrust against Canada is halted, the invaders being left to erect Fort William Henry near this spot—to which the French counter by constructing Fort Carillon.

FEBRUARY 1756. Some 360 Canadians and Indians under Gaspard Joseph Chaussegros de Léry are sent to harass English communications between Fort Oswego on eastern Lake Ontario and Schenectady. On March 27, these raiders take Fort Bull on Oneida

Lake, massacring its garrison, levelling its walls, and destroying a vast amount of stores, while maintaining steady pressure on isolated Oswego throughout the spring and early summer.

MARCH 11, 1756. At daybreak, the 60-gun HMS *Warwick* of Capt. Molyneux Shuldham is pursued off Martinique by the 74-gun *Prudent* of 58-year-old Capt. Charles Alexandre de Morell, Comte d'Aubigny. The latter ship is fresh out of France and further accompanied by the 34-gun frigate *Atalante* of 48-year-old Capt. Louis Charles, Comte Duchaffault de Besné, plus the frigate *Zéphyr*. With fewer than 300 crew members fit for duty, Shuldham attempts to flee in heavy seas, only to be overtaken and engaged off his weather quarter by the *Atalante*.

The *Warwick's* rigging is soon so cut up that, when the wind suddenly veers in a hard squall, the English warship is half swamped and the *Prudent* allowed to overhaul. After a half hour of one-sided shooting, Shuldham hauls down his flag. Duchaffault eventually sails the *Warwick* back across the Atlantic to Brest, where Shuldham is incarcerated for the next two years before being released, court-martialed in England, and exonerated for the loss of his ship.

MAY 8, 1756. The French warships *Héros* and *Sirène* of Commo. Louis Joseph Beaussier de l'Isle, Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, arrive in the Saint Lawrence Seaway from Brest in France with the 44-year-old major general Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm and Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, plus two battalions (1,200 men) of the La Sarre and Royal Roussillon regiments aboard four transports. Montcalm's second-in-command is the 36-year-old brigadier general François Gaston, Chevalier (later Duc) de Lévis, and other aides include colonels Louis Antoine de Bougainville and François Charles de Bourlamaque.

After disembarking from his transport *Licorne* at Cap Tourmente and traveling overland into Quebec City by May 13, Montcalm proceeds toward Montreal one week later to report to his superior, the Canadian-born governor general Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil.

MAY 18, 1756. Great Britain officially declares war against France after learning of the French invasion of Britain's Mediterranean base at Minorca.

JULY 2, 1756. Near Matina, the interim Costa Rican governor Francisco Fernández de la Pastora and his lieutenant are surprised on its beach by Zamboes,



Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm. (National Archives of Canada)

who carry him off to Moin and San Andrés Island to be executed.

JULY 23, 1756. The Scottish-born James Campbell, 4th Earl of Loudoun, reaches New York City to replace Shirley as commander in chief of the British forces in North America, accompanied by the 35th and 42nd Infantry regiments. The new commander dismisses Shirley for incompetence and orders him to England, then proceeds to Albany. Some 7,000 colonial troops have been mustered there.

JULY 26, 1756. Commo. Charles Holmes, commanding the Royal Navy squadron in Nova Scotia, begins cruising off Louisbourg with HMSS *Grafton*, *Nottingham*, *Hornet*, and *Jamaica*, skirmishing over the next couple of weeks against smaller enemy flotillas under Beaussier de l'Isle.

JULY 29, 1756. *Oswego.* A dubious Montcalm joins 3,000 men already massed at Fort Frontenac (modern Kingston, Ontario), leading them southward against the frontline English outpost at Oswego (New York). Despite his doubts, a few minor attacks are easily

Montcalm

Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, was born into a military family on February 28, 1712, at Candiac (France). He was taught by tutors, who found the young boy to be headstrong and opinionated. At the age of nine, he was given a commission as ensign in the d'Hainaut Regiment on August 16, 1721. A captaincy followed eight years later, by purchase.

Montcalm did not begin active service until the War of the Polish Succession in 1732. He served under Marshal de Saxe and the Duke of Berwick in the Rhineland. In October 1736, he married the well-connected Angélique Talon de Boulay, which helped his career. At the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, he was wounded at the siege of Prague, then fought bravely in the retreat from Bohemia. He was allowed to buy the colonelcy of the Auxerrois Regiment on March 6, 1743, and was made a knight of the Order of Saint Louis in April 1744. His regiment was decimated, and Montcalm himself severely wounded and captured, by the Austrians at the disaster at Piacenza in June 1746. Exchanged, he was promoted to the temporary rank of brigadier general on March 20, 1747, before being wounded again at the Assiette defeat.

When hostilities ended in 1748, the remnants of his Auxerrois Regiment were merged into the Flanders Regiment. To compensate for his lost command, Montcalm was allowed to raise a cavalry regiment. Seven years of peace ensued, during which he lived as a rural nobleman, occasionally inspecting his troopers. When war with Britain loomed in the summer of 1755, many French officers did not wish to leave for a colonial backwater such as Canada. Montcalm therefore was selected after several others and was appointed on March 11, 1756, as major general for all regular forces in Canada. Small, vain, and determined to have his way in everything, his orders were strictly written. The governor general was to have precedence, while Montcalm had to obey his orders and remain on good terms.

Never having campaigned outside Europe, he found the vast wilderness ill-suited to his set-piece training. He scorned the guerrilla tactics used by the rugged French Canadian militiamen and their native allies and began sending a stream of complaints to Paris. Despite winning a few early victories, he also quarreled with the governor general and undermined morale with his bleak outlook. Surprised by Wolfe's ascent to the Plains of Abraham, he rushed impulsively into battle and died bravely.

brushed off as the French drive a road for their artillery, otherwise encountering little resistance from Oswego's isolated, unpaid, ill-supplied, and demoralized defenders.

After the French invest the garrison on August 10 and inaugurate a siege bombardment, pressing close up to its ramparts with the Canadian and Indian irregulars under François-Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil (governor of Montreal and brother of New France's governor general), the Anglo-American defenders under Lt. Col. James Mercer capitulate (on August 14). French casualties total 40 men, and the English suffer 50 casualties, although 1,700 prisoners are taken along with several ships and more than 100 guns, plus plenty of stores. Oswego is stripped bare and burned to the ground.

MARCH 1757. François de Rigaud de Vaudreuil leads 1,200 French Canadian troops and native allies on a successful series of raids near the British base of Fort William Henry on Lake George (New York).

MARCH 16, 1757. The 50-gun HMS *Greenwich* of Capt. Robert Roddam is cruising off Cape Cabrón near Samaná Bay (Dominican Republic) when it sights eight large sail approaching to windward. This is a squadron coming out from France under 42-year-old commodore Joseph de Bauffremont, Prince de Listenois and Knight of the Order of Malta, his flag flying aboard the *Tonnant*. The *Greenwich* is pursued and eventually overhauled two days later by the 74-gun *Diadème*, 64-gun *Eveillée* or "Alert," and a frigate. Outnumbered and outgunned, Roddam surrenders, being carried into Saint Domingue (Haiti).

MAY 25, 1757. In New York, 3,500 English colonials go aboard 90 transports under the Earl of Loudoun to travel north to Halifax for a joint assault against the French fortress of Louisbourg. They are to be escorted by the 50-gun privateer *Sutherland* (flag) of Capt. Edward Falkingham, the 20-gun *Nightingale* of James Campbell and *Kennington* of Dudley Digges, the 16-gun *Vulture* of Sampson Salt, plus the 14-gun sloop *Ferret* of Arthur Upton—all under the command of the governor and rear admiral Sir Charles Hardy. Departure is delayed by rumors of five French ships of the line and a frigate off Halifax, which compel Hardy to send two sloops ahead to reconnoiter.

JUNE 5, 1757. At Louisbourg, five French ships of the line and a frigate enter from Saint Domingue (Haiti) under Commodore de Bauffremont to help bolster the garrison's defenses. Inside he finds four ships of the line and two frigates already arrived from Toulon, under Joseph-François de Noble Du Revest.

That same day, Loudonn and Hardy—reassured that there is no French squadron hovering off Nova

Scotia—quit New York City with their troop convoy, reaching Halifax a few days later and disembarking their forces to unite with three infantry regiments and one artillery company already exercising ashore. English numbers total approximately 11,000 men.

JUNE 19, 1757. The 74-year-old French admiral Dubois de La Motte reaches Louisbourg with nine ships of the line and two frigates from Brest, bearing reinforcements, which raise its garrison to 7,000 effectives. Naval strength on this station is now 18 ships of the line and 5 frigates, but despite such powerful forces, Dubois de La Motte does not sortie to fall upon the weaker English squadrons at Halifax; instead, he obeys his instructions to hold Louisbourg at all costs, without hazarding any sea engagements.

JULY 7, 1757. After lengthy delays, Vice Adm. Francis Holburne reaches Halifax with 15 warships from Cork (Ireland), escorting a troop convoy intended to participate in the forthcoming campaign against Louisbourg.

JULY 13, 1757. On the Spanish half of Hispaniola, 180 members of Santo Domingo's garrison run riot, protesting their 28 months' arrears in pay.

AUGUST 2, 1757. After detaching the 20-gun *Winchelsea* of veteran captain John Rous and other frigates to reconnoiter the French concentration at Louisbourg, Admiral Holburne and Lord Loudonn load their forces aboard ship to proceed toward Gabarus Bay, six miles west of Louisbourg, and initiate their offensive.

En route, the English learn the true strength of French preparations so decide to abandon this project. Some troops are left in Halifax, others deposited in the Bay of Fundy to reinforce Fort Cumberland and Annapolis Royal, while the rest return into New York City with Loudonn—against whom there is a great public outcry for this retreat.

AUGUST 3, 1757. *Siege of Fort William Henry.* At the southern tip of Lake George (New York), 6,200 French regulars and Canadian militiamen under General Montcalm, backed by 1,800 Indian allies, arrive to besiege Lt. Col. George Monro's 2,500 men within 44-gun Fort William Henry (also called Fort George). After his initial call for capitulation is rebuffed, Montcalm institutes formal siege proceedings by digging a road, entrenchments, and gun emplacements. Eight French cannon open fire by August 6, and Monro requests terms three days later.

This surrender is quickly consummated; the English are allowed to retire with honors of war and their baggage (agreeing not to serve again for another 18 months), while all French prisoners in Anglo-American hands are to be restored to Canada.

But when Fort William Henry is evacuated, the British are attacked by the Indians, who kill at least 80 and drag 500–600 off to their camps. Montcalm and his officers attempt to intervene and succeed in recovering about 400; Governor General Vaudreuil later ransoms most of the rest, but not before several score are killed or otherwise mistreated. Because of this violation, the English generals Daniel Webb and Lord Loudoun refuse to recognize the articles of capitulation, thus Fort William Henry's survivors soon return to English service and no French prisoners are sent to Canada. Montcalm furthermore fails to follow up his victory by attacking the 1,200-man garrison under Webb at Fort Edward, 15 miles farther south, despite having orders to do so.

AUGUST 16, 1757. Admiral Holburne quits Halifax with part of his fleet and four days later appears off Louisbourg to probe its defenses. Admiral Dubois de La Motte signals his larger fleet to unmoor, at which the English ships bear away, disappearing by nightfall.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1757. Having returned to blockade Louisbourg with 19 ships of the line, two 50-gunners, and several frigates, Holburne's fleet is suddenly struck by a southeasterly gale toward evening. The next midday, the 60-gun *Tilbury* of Capt. Henry Barnsley and 14-gun sloop *Ferret* of Cmdr. Arthur Upton are lost, while Commodore Holmes's 70-gun *Grafton* is lucky to survive striking some rocks, and more than a dozen other vessels lie dismasted. The French save 280 of the *Tilbury's* 400 crewmen, imprisoning them, but under fair treatment.

Detaching the most damaged vessels directly toward England under Sir Charles Hardy and Holmes, Holburne leads his remaining ships back into Halifax. Eventually, he follows his first contingent across the Atlantic, leaving 40-year-old commodore Alexander, Baron Colville of Culross, to winter on this station with the 70-gun *Northumberland* and a handful of other vessels. The French admiral Dubois de La Motte also quits Louisbourg by October 30, escorting a large convoy home to Brest, arriving on November 23 with 5,000 men sick of typhus.

OCTOBER 21, 1757. This morning, Commo. Arthur Forrest appears off northern Saint Domingue

(Haiti) with his 60-ton, 1,100-ton flagship *Augusta* and *Dreanought* of Maurice Suckling, as well as the 64-gun, 1,285-ton *Edinburgh* of William Langdon, having been detached from Jamaica by Rear Adm. Thomas Cotes to intercept a homeward-bound French convoy. The French under Kersaint, having recently been reinforced, exit Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) to offer battle with the 70-gun flagship *Intrépide* and *Sceptre* of Captain Clavel (its armament having been reduced to act as a transport), the 64-gun *Opiniâtre* under Captain Molliou, the 50-gun *Greenwich* (recently captured from the English by Bauffremont; see "March 16, 1757" entry) under Captain Foucault, the 44-gun *Outarde*, as well as the 32-gun frigates *Sauvage* and *Licorne*.

Despite their inferior strength, the English decide to accept this challenge and steer into action with Suckling in the van, Forrest in the center, and Langdon bringing up the rear. Fighting erupts about 3:20 p.m., lasting two and a half hours until Kersaint signals one of his frigates to tow his damaged *Intrépide* out of the line. Other French ships thereupon begin to quit the engagement, their whole squadron eventually making off. The English suffer 23 killed and 89 wounded, although without securing any prizes, and are obliged to retire toward Jamaica. Kersaint, despite being wounded, is allowed to conduct his convoy toward France—although at the very end of his voyage the vessels *Opiniâtre*, *Greenwich*, and *Outarde* are driven ashore by a storm and wrecked.

MARCH 22, 1758. Admiral Hardy returns into Halifax from New York, assuming command of this station from Commodore Colville.

APRIL 5, 1758. Hardy's squadron sails from Halifax to blockade Louisbourg.

MAY 12, 1758. Admiral Boscawen reaches Halifax with a large convoy from England, drilling these troops ashore while waiting for 41-year-old major general Jeffery Amherst to arrive from New York with another large contingent of colonials.

MAY 29, 1758. Boscawen puts to sea from Halifax to launch an initial strike against Louisbourg, sighting HMS *Dublin* (which is bringing Amherst) while still clearing the harbor. After a brief shipboard conference, both New England and British contingents unite, their land forces now totalling 13,000 regulars divided into 14 infantry regiments, plus 4 American Ranger companies and a large siege train. Amherst's brigadier generals are 64-year-old Edward

Whitmore, colonel of the 22nd Foot and veteran of Walker's failed effort (see "August 24, 1711 [O.S.]" entry in "Queen Anne's War"), who directs the 17th, 47th, 48th, and 58th regiments, 1st Royals, and Third Battalion of the 60th (Royal Americans); 49-year-old Nova Scotia governor Charles Lawrence, who commands the 13th, 22nd, 35th, and 45th Foot, plus the Second Battalion of the Royal Americans; and 31-year-old James Wolfe, who leads the grenadiers and light infantry plus the 42nd "Black Watch" Regiment. Boscawen's fleet consists of 23 ships of the line, 16 lesser warships, and 118 transports or auxiliaries, manned by 14,000 sailors and marines.

Simultaneously, another large Anglo-American army is to advance up Lake Champlain under Maj. Gen. James Abercromby, while Brig. Gen. John Forbes is to lead another 6,000 men against Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh).



Soldier of the British 58th Regiment. (Parks Canada)

JUNE 2, 1758. *Fall of Louisbourg.* Lawrence's and Wolfe's divisions reach Gabarus Bay, reconnoiter its shore with Amherst, and decide to disembark on the western rather than eastern side of this French stronghold. Bad weather sets in, however, postponing any further action until Whitmore's division can also stagger into the bay by June 6.

The wind dies down on June 7, allowing Amherst to land one regiment under cover of Royal Navy bombardment and send it east around Black Point to establish a small base at Lorembec. At 2:00 a.m. of June 8, the main British force heads inshore to disembark in the teeth of strong French opposition, for Louisbourg's governor—the 56-year-old naval officer Augustine de Boschenry de Drucour, Knight of the Order of Saint Louis—has sortied with 2,000 soldiers to oppose any landing. (His garrison totals 3,500 troops divided into four regiments of regulars and 24 companies of marines, 4,000 sailors and militiamen, plus 4,000 civilians.) Under covering fire from the frigate *Kennington* and snow *Halifax*, Wolfe's division moves toward Anse à la Coromandière (modern Kennington Cove), followed by Lawrence and Whitmore. The first boats are repelled, but three others slip behind a rocky headland, their men gaining shore in Freshwater Cove. Lawrence's division distracts the defenders by making a feint farther east at Simon's Point, while Whitmore leads a pretended approach even closer to the town.

Wolfe's division is already marching around the French left by the time Lawrence and Whitmore move to Anse à la Coromandière and disembark. Drucour's columns therefore retreat inside Louisbourg, pursued by three British regiments who take 70 prisoners until halted by artillery fire from its ramparts. By June 11, Amherst is able to bring his light artillery ashore (mainly 6-pounders at Lorembec), although the seas continue too high to manhandle 24- or 32-pounders. Boscawen blockades Island Battery at the harbor entrance, while Amherst takes 1,200 of Wolfe's light troops and some fieldpieces on a long march around its inner shoreline, occupying Lighthouse Point at the far end. Meanwhile, Whitmore directs the siege works, which proceed mostly at night to avoid drawing French fire. Good weather returns by June 16, when Amherst lands and begins installing his heavy artillery. Inside the citadel, Drucour persuades his naval counterpart Jean-Antoine Charry Desgouttes to scuttle four of his ships to block the channel, leaving only five French ships of the line and a frigate afloat.

Over the next few weeks, the invaders patiently labor on their siege lines, driving them ever closer



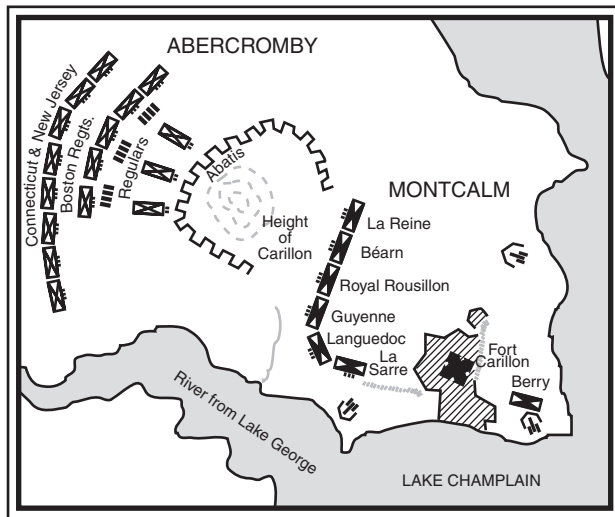
As the grounded Prudent erupts in flames, British boarding parties sail the Bienfaisant out of the harbor at Louisbourg. (Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library, J. Ross Robertson Collection, MTL 2653)

to the walls. A sortie by 725 French troops briefly overruns Black Point, killing an English officer and capturing 34 men but otherwise fails to halt the siege's progress. At noon of July 21, a heated ball from one of Amherst's batteries strikes Desgouttes's 74-gun flagship *Entreprenant*, igniting its magazine. The resultant explosion spreads fire to the *Capricieux* and *Célèbre* nearby, both being consumed by 4:00 p.m. During the night of July 25, the British send 50 small boats loaded with troops into the harbor, occupying the devastated Island Battery, then steal upon the 74-gun *Prudent*. Finding it hard aground, the boarders set it ablaze, then cut out the 64-gun *Bienfaisant* despite the presence of 152 crewmen still aboard. This operation only costs the English 7 killed and 9 wounded, and next morning Drucour requests terms. The actual surrender is effected on July 27, Boscawen transporting the 5,000 prisoners toward England, while Amherst repairs Louisbourg and installs Whitmore as its governor with a sizable garrison before departing for New York.

JULY 5, 1758. Fort Carillon. While Amherst has been subduing Louisbourg, a second powerful British force is threatening French Canada from the

south. At the bottom of Lake George (New York), 52-year-old major general Abercromby marches north with 6,000 British regulars and 9,000 colonials. His aim is to capture Fort Carillon, or Ticonderoga as the English call it, thus opening up a passage to the Saint Lawrence and Montreal. Montcalm, Carillon's commander, feverishly strengthens its defenses, even contemplating blowing it up and retreating into Fort Saint Frédéric (Crown Point). But the English advance is delayed when the popular and able brigadier general George Augustus Howe, Abercromby's second-in-command, is killed in a skirmish on July 6 at a portage. This setback allows Montcalm more time for construction, and on the evening of the 7th, he is joined by his subordinate Lévis, who brings in 400 troops, thus augmenting Carillon's strength to over 3,600 men—mostly French regulars.

When Abercromby arrives the next day, he is under the mistaken belief that another 3,000-man relief column is about to reach Montcalm, so he launches a precipitate frontal assault without waiting for his guns to come up nor noticing that Carillon can be more easily assaulted from its rear. Shortly after noon of July 8, his regulars form up into four columns, with colonial skirmishers in



Assault on Fort Carillon.

between, and the attack commences. The English formations quickly disintegrate as they scramble through felled trees and then are shot to pieces by steady French musket fire from behind an abatis. The British bravely re-form and attack throughout the afternoon, finally giving up by 7:00 p.m. At this point, the French vault over their log barricades and drive off the remaining colonial skirmishers. The Anglo-American army disintegrates and flees into the night in wild disorder, abandoning their arms, equipment, and wounded, having suffered 1,944 casualties—1,610 of them regulars—as opposed to 377 among the French.

AUGUST 14, 1758. *Fort Frontenac.* The 44-year-old, Nova Scotia-born lieutenant colonel John Bradstreet sets out from Fort Stanwix (modern Rome, New York) with 157 regulars of the 60th Foot or Royal Americans, 2,100 colonials and native scouts, plus 200 New Englanders to man his flotilla of boats. After pausing at Oswego on August 21 for more craft, Bradstreet's expedition strikes north across Lake Ontario, disembarking west of Fort Frontenac (modern Kingston, Ontario) by the 25th.

That same night, the 30-year-old French commodore René-Hypolite Pépin—better known as La Force—warns Fort Frontenac's 68-year-old, infirm governor, Pierre-Jacques Payen de Noyan et de Chavoy, that redcoats and their Indian allies are ashore. Next day, Bradstreet's gunners build a battery overlooking this fort from the west and open fire at dusk. On Sunday morning, August 27, La Force attempts to escape with his flagship *Marquise de Vaudreuil*, snow *Montcalm* (ex-British *Halifax*), and brig-

antine *Georges* (ex-British *London*). They run aground and are abandoned, being lost to the British along with another six smaller vessels in the harbor when de Noyan capitulates to Bradstreet. The French governor is allowed to retire to Montreal with the non-combatants, but his garrison of 50 regulars and 60 militiamen are marched to Albany as prisoners of war and Fort Frontenac is destroyed. Although La Force and his men have rowed to La Présentation (modern Ogdensburg, New York), communication between Quebec and Louisiana is effectively severed, control over Lake Ontario now passing to the British.

SEPTEMBER 1758. Brig. Gen. John Forbes—a Scottish-born soldier in his sixties and colonel of the 17th Foot—advances upon Fort Duquesne with 1,600 men (including Montgomery's Highlanders, a battalion of Royal Americans under Swiss-born Henri Bouquet, numerous Virginians under Washington, plus other provincials and Indians). Conditions prove difficult, a road having to be tediously cut through the woods and Forbes himself falling ill from dysentery.

Upon approaching their objective in early November, Maj. James Grant—commanding 800 Highlanders and Virginians—gets permission from Bouquet to attempt a nocturnal assault against Fort Duquesne. Within a mile of this place, the attackers become lost and suffer 300 casualties from a French countersally. Driven back into Bouquet's camp, the Anglo-Americans endure cold and rain for a couple of weeks before learning that the 200-man French garrison is retiring. On November 25, Forbes occupies its abandoned remains, renaming this place "Pittsborough" and installing Bouquet as governor before returning to Philadelphia (where Forbes dies shortly afterward).

SEPTEMBER 2, 1758. This morning off Port-au-Prince, the 60-gun HMS *Dreadnought* of Capt. Maurice Suckling and 50-gun *Assistance* of Robert Wellingford chance upon the 74-gun French *Palmier*, which has previously taken the 10-gun English *Stork*. When the Royal Navy pair closes in, the wind dies away, leaving the *Dreadnought* engaged alone against the *Palmier*, which disables Suckling's ship before escaping.

OCTOBER 20, 1758. Montcalm is promoted to lieutenant general, thus gaining seniority over his former superior, Canada's Governor General Vaudreuil.

NOVEMBER 3, 1758. This afternoon, the 70-gun HMS *Buckingham* of Capt. Richard Tyrrell and 14-

gun *Weazel* encounter a French convoy off Sint Eustatius, being escorted homeward from Martinique by the 74-gun *Florissant*, 38-gun frigate *Aigrette*, and 28-gun frigate *Atalante*. The two ships of the line fight each other from 3:00 p.m. until nightfall, both becoming disabled. The *Buckingham* suffers 7 killed and 46 wounded, including Tyrrell, who is thus powerless to prevent the Frenchmen's escape.

JANUARY 3, 1759. Eight English ships of the line, a frigate, and four bomb ketches reach Barbados under Commo. Robert Hughes, bringing total naval strength on this station—headed by 40-year-old commodore John Moore—up to: the 80-gun, 667-man flagship *Cambridge* of Capt. Thomas Burnett; the 90-gun, 750-man *Saint George* of Clarke Gayton; the 74-gun, 600-man *Norfolk* of Robert Hughes; the 70-gun, 520-man *Buckingham* of Richard Tyrrell (later Lachlin Leslie) and *Burford* of James Gambier; the 64-gun, 480-man *Berwick* of William Harman; the 60-gun, 400-man *Lion* of Sir William Trelawney, *Rippon* of Edward Jekyll, and *Panther* of Molyneux Shuldham; the 50-gun, 350-man *Winchester* of Edward Le Cras and *Bristol* of Lachlin Leslie (later Peter Parker); the 44-gun frigates *Woolwich* of Peter Parker (later Daniel Dering) and *Roebuck* of Thomas Lynn, the 40-gun *Ludlow Castle* of Edward Clarke; the 32-gun *Renown* of George Mackenzie; the 26-gun *Amazon* of William Norton; the 20-gun *Rye* of Daniel Dering; the 14-gun sloop *Bonetta* of Richard King and *Weazel* of John Boles; the 13-gun *Antigua* of Weston Varlo; the 10-gun *Spy* of William Bayne; as well as the 8-gun bomb vessels *Kingfisher* of Sabine Deacon, *Falcon* of Mark Robinson, *Grenado* of Samuel Uvedale, and *Infernal* of James Mackenzie. (The 66-gun HMS *Lancaster* of Capt. Robert Mann joins later, along with the 28-gun frigates *Emerald* and *Griffin*.)

Hughes's squadron is convoying 60 troop transports bearing 3,700–3,800 men of the following regiments under Maj. Gen. Peregrine Thomas Hopson: the 3rd Old Buffs (East Kent or Howard's) Regiment under Lt. Col. (brevetted Brig. Gen.) Cyrus Trapaud; the 4th (Royal Lancashire or Durore's) of Lt. Col. Byam Crump; the 61st (Elliott's) of Lt. Col. John Barlow; the 63rd (Manchester or Watson's) of Lt. Col. Peter Debrissay; the 64th (North Staffordshire or Barrington's) of Maj. Thomas Ball; and the 65th (York and Lancaster, or Armiger's) of Col. Robert Armiger. The Second Battalion of the 42nd "Black Watch" Regiment is also to join, plus units from the 38rd (South Staffordshire or "Ross's") Regiment, already serving at Antigua. Their intended tar-

get is to be Martinique, which Moore and Hopson set sail to attack on the morning of January 13.

JANUARY 15, 1759. *Defense of Martinique.* After passing between Saint Lucia and Martinique, the 100-ship English expedition of Moore and Hopson arrives off the southern coast of the latter island this afternoon and attacks the French batteries at 7:30 the next morning. HMSS *Bristol* and *Rippon* silence and briefly occupy a fort on Negro Point, while the *Winchester*, *Woolwich*, and *Roebuck* cannonade the batteries in Cas des Navires Bay, in anticipation of a disembarkation. This is effected starting at about 4:00 p.m. within Cas des Navires Bay, so that by the morning of the 17th almost 4,400 British troops are ashore. However, their numbers are apparently insufficient against the sizable militia concentrations marshalling under the French governor general, François de Beaumont, Comte de Beauharnois. The British are also too far away from any significant strongpoint, without food or water, so can only toil ineffectually through the dense underbrush while being galled by sniper fire.

This slow progression prompts the aged and infirm Hopson to ask Moore whether a combined attack might be attempted closer in to the capital of Fort Royal (modern Fort de France), but such a notion is rejected after a hasty conference among the naval officers. Hopson therefore orders a stealthy reembarkation, ordering his sappers to continue digging trenches until nightfall of January 17 to deceive the French into believing he is staying, after which his redcoats are extricated by moonlight in only a few hours. This abortive landing has cost them 22 killed, 49 wounded, 4 prisoners, and 1 Irish deserter. In point of fact, the French defenses are much weaker than Hopson realizes, with Beauharnois having slightly less than 600 regulars to defend Fort Royal, morale on his island being particularly low.

JANUARY 18, 1759. After withdrawing, Moore and Hopson's expedition probes northwest into the vicinity of Martinique's principal harbor of Saint Pierre. At dawn on the 19th, HMS *Panther* is sent in to sound its entrance, while the *Rippon* and two Royal Navy bomb vessels provide covering fire. They engage the batteries until 6:30 p.m., but the British fleet then stands away one and a half hours later without attempting a disembarkation, its commanders preferring to instead steer toward Guadeloupe.

JANUARY 21, 1759. Beauharnois sends two large privateer vessels, crammed with 400 Martinican

volunteers, to warn his compatriots on Guadeloupe of the approach of Moore and Hopson's expedition.

JANUARY 22, 1759. *Capture of Guadeloupe.* At noon, the British fleet comes within sight of the southwestern tip of this island and spends the rest of this day reconnoitering its capital Basse-Terre. Between 9:00 and 10:00 a.m. the next morning, HMSS *Lion*, *Saint George*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, *Panther*, *Burford*, *Berwick*, and *Rippon* bear down upon diverse French batteries and open fire, while Moore directs the action from aboard the frigate *Woolwich* and bomb vessels prepare to lob shells from farther out at sea. In a day-long exchange, the Royal Navy succeeds in silencing most of the defenders' guns, only the *Rippon* suffering extensive damage from French counterfire after running aground.

At 5:00 p.m., Moore directs his landing craft to board the troops, but Hopson countermands this order, feeling the day too far advanced. Basse-Terre—largely abandoned by its inhabitants—burns to the ground overnight, and at 11:00 a.m. of January 24 the British fleet anchors in its roadstead, setting men ashore just north of the smoldering ruins early that afternoon. The French, with only 100 regulars and a horde of undisciplined militia under Gov. Charles-François-Emmanuel Nadau du Treil, have all fled north to Dos d'Âne after haphazardly spiking their guns and failing to blow their citadel. The invaders occupy Basse-Terre, but then begin succumbing to disease, 1,500 falling sick by January 30. After vainly calling upon du Treil to surrender, the British venture inland, fighting a major skirmish four miles northeast of Basse-Terre on February 4 at Madame Ducharmey's plantation, which she defends tenaciously with her retainers, inflicting a dozen deaths and 30 wounded among Maj. Robert Melville's column before it retires.

On February 14, after six hours' bombardment by HMSS *Berwick* and *Panther*, frigates *Roebuck*, *Renown*, and *Woolwich*, plus the bomb vessel *Bonetta* and other lesser consorts, a force of Royal Marines and Highlanders under Colonel Rycout is set ashore on the eastern part of Guadeloupe (Grande Terre). Moore has detached this contingent with naval Captain Harman to establish another British foothold, being accomplished when Fort Louis's wall is breached, then overrun at bayonet point, wresting it from its French garrison under Joseph de Beaulés. Moore visits this captured bastion on February 22, returning to the main British camp three days later.

Hopson dies of disease at 1:00 a.m. of February 27 and is succeeded in command of the land forces by Maj. Gen. John Barrington. With only 2,796 soldiers left fit for duty, Basse-Terre laid waste, and French forces dug in at a strong defensive position at Dos d'Âne, the new commander decides to shift operations to the Fort Louis foothold. British casualties thus far have totaled 55 killed, 140 wounded, and 1,649 sick, plus several hundred more evacuated earlier toward Antigua. Early on March 6, after installing 500 men under Colonel Debrissay to hold Basse-Terre—supported by HMSS *Saint George* and *Buckingham* out in its roadstead—Barrington leads the remainder aboard the transports and straggles (due to difficult winds) into Fort Louis from March 7 to 12.

Moore then learns of the arrival at Martinique on March 8 of a squadron of eight French ships of the line (flag, *Défenseur*) and three frigates under 60-year-old commodore Maximin de Bompar—former governor general of the French West Indies—plus troop reinforcements. The British commodore therefore sails the bulk of his squadron toward Prince Rupert's Bay on the north coast of Dominica on March 14, arriving two days later to keep Bompar in check, while leaving only the *Woolwich* at Fort Louis to guard Barrington's transports. The latter meanwhile sends a flotilla of boats east on Guadeloupe to attack the towns of Sainte Anne and Saint François on March 25, disembarking between them with 600 men under lieutenant colonels Crump and Barlow. This assault not only succeeds in overrunning both places at the cost of only 1 British dead and 2 wounded, it furthermore draws off a 300-man French relief column from Gosier (two miles east of Fort Louis). Barrington avails himself of this weakness to send Maj. Charles Teesdale with 300 men to raid this latter place from the sea, destroying it on March 30. Teesdale thereupon advances upon the rear of the French besiegers surrounding Fort Louis, while Barrington simultaneously leads a sally. Between them, these two columns scatter the last organized French resistance upon the eastern half of Guadeloupe.

After Barrington falls ill, Brig. Gen. John Clavering begins the process of subduing the island's west-central portion when he disembarks 1,450 men near Arnoville on April 12, under the *Woolwich's* covering fire. The French fall back behind their Coin River defenses, only to have the invaders fight their way across at the cost of 14 dead and 54 wounded, seizing 70 prisoners and six guns. The French retreat pell-mell through the fortified town of Petit Bourg,



Fort Royal, Guadeloupe, under British occupation during the spring of 1759, by Archibald Campbell of the Royal Engineers. (Author's Collection)

which the British occupy on April 14. Next day, Clavering sends Crump north with 700 men to destroy the vital French supply port of Baie Mahault, while another contingent of 100 redcoats marches southward to eradicate the seven-gun battery at Goyave. On April 20, Clavering leaves a 250-man garrison in Petit Bourg and resumes his advance, pressing the French into the island's southernmost corner. Next day, the islanders request terms and surrender on May 1. A relief force of 600 volunteers from Martinique under Governor General Beauharnois, aboard 18 coasters escorted by 2 of Bompar's frigates, reaches Sainte Anne on April 27—too late to affect the outcome. It thus withdraws two days later.

EARLY MAY 1759. Twenty French supply ships reach Quebec, bearing 350 recruits under Bougainville.

MAY 14, 1759. HMSS *Berwick*, *Bristol*, *Ludlow Castle*, and two bomb vessels set sail from Guadeloupe to subdue its neighboring island of Marie-Galante. The French inhabitants surrender without a fight, and Major Ball of the 64th Regiment is installed as governor.

JUNE 6, 1759. Wolfe (recently promoted to major general) and Vice Adm. Sir Charles Saunders set sail from Louisbourg with 8,500 soldiers of the 15th, 28th, 35th, 43rd, 47th, 48th, and 58th regiments—as well as Fraser's Battalion of Highlanders (the 78th) and the Second and Third battalions of the 60th (Royal Americans)—traveling aboard 119 transports, to invade the French within Quebec City. Wolfe's brigadier generals are Robert Monckton, George Murray, and George Townshend, while his quartermaster-general is Guy Carleton and chief engineer is Patrick Mackellar—once held prisoner at Quebec. Although without cavalry, the British expedition boasts three artillery companies and six American Ranger companies.

JUNE 23, 1759. A troop convoy sails from Guadeloupe toward New York, escorted by HMS *Rye* and bearing 693 men of the 3rd, 61st, and 64th regiments, plus 507 Highlanders, for Wolfe's army.

JUNE 26, 1759. *Plains of Abraham.* Wolfe's expedition reaches Île d'Orléans, four miles below Quebec City, immediately detaching Brigadier General Monckton to occupy Point Lévis on the southeastern

banks of the Saint Lawrence River as an advance base. Two days later, the French send fireships downstream in an attempt to scatter Saunders's fleet, but this attack proves ineffectual, the vessels being lit too soon. The British therefore anchor safely in the lee of Point Lévis, installing artillery a few days later two miles west of this position to bombard Quebec's citadel.

On July 9, Wolfe probes east of Montmorenci Falls with a column of troops, vainly trying to lure Montcalm's garrison out from behind its defenses. On July 27, the French make a second fireship attack, which also proves unsuccessful. On July 31, Wolfe launches a combined assault directly against Montcalm's main position: the Beauport lines stretching eight miles east of the city. The disembarkation is hampered by a hidden rocky ledge close inshore, which slows up the pace of the landing so that the redcoats storm into battle piecemeal rather than as a single wave. The British grenadiers, in particular, suffer heavy casualties while climbing up the slope beyond, until eventually a downpour soaks the ammunition on both sides and Wolfe orders a withdrawal. British losses total some 500 officers and men.

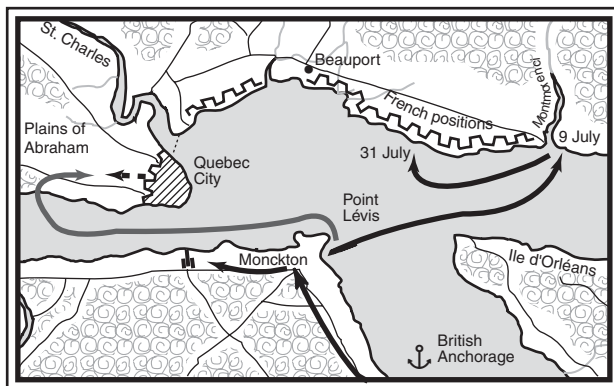
The besiegers consequently attempt to break the defenders' morale by firing all nearby settlements and sending troops upstream to sever communications with Montreal. A lengthy stalemate nonetheless ensues, punctuated by occasional bombardments or sallies. Wolfe falls ill in late August and by early September decides to land a column of troops at a cove called Anse au Foulon above Quebec City to surprise Montcalm from the rear. News that French provision ships will soon attempt to bring relief to the beleaguered garrison prompts the British general to act, so at 1:00 a.m. of September 13, he sets

forth with 1,700 troops aboard 30 boats. Once ashore, they are to be followed by a second wave of 1,900, while the first scales the 175-foot-high cliffs and secures passage out onto the Plains of Abraham beyond. A diversionary attack by British warships in the meantime diverts Montcalm's attention in the direction of Beauport.

At 4:00 a.m., Wolfe's vanguard under Capt. William Howe disembarks, picking its way up a darkened path and overwhelming the sentry post above. Having achieved this breakout, the British continue to ferry troops across the river during the next couple of hours until Wolfe has 4,500 redcoats arrayed for battle. Montcalm initially believes only a small party has landed, but upon galloping across to view the scene at 6:30 a.m., he realizes he is confronted by the main British thrust and summons out his own forces. Within three hours, he has massed 4,250 troops, the Béarn and La Sarre regiments on the right and the Guyenne and Languedoc regiments on the left.

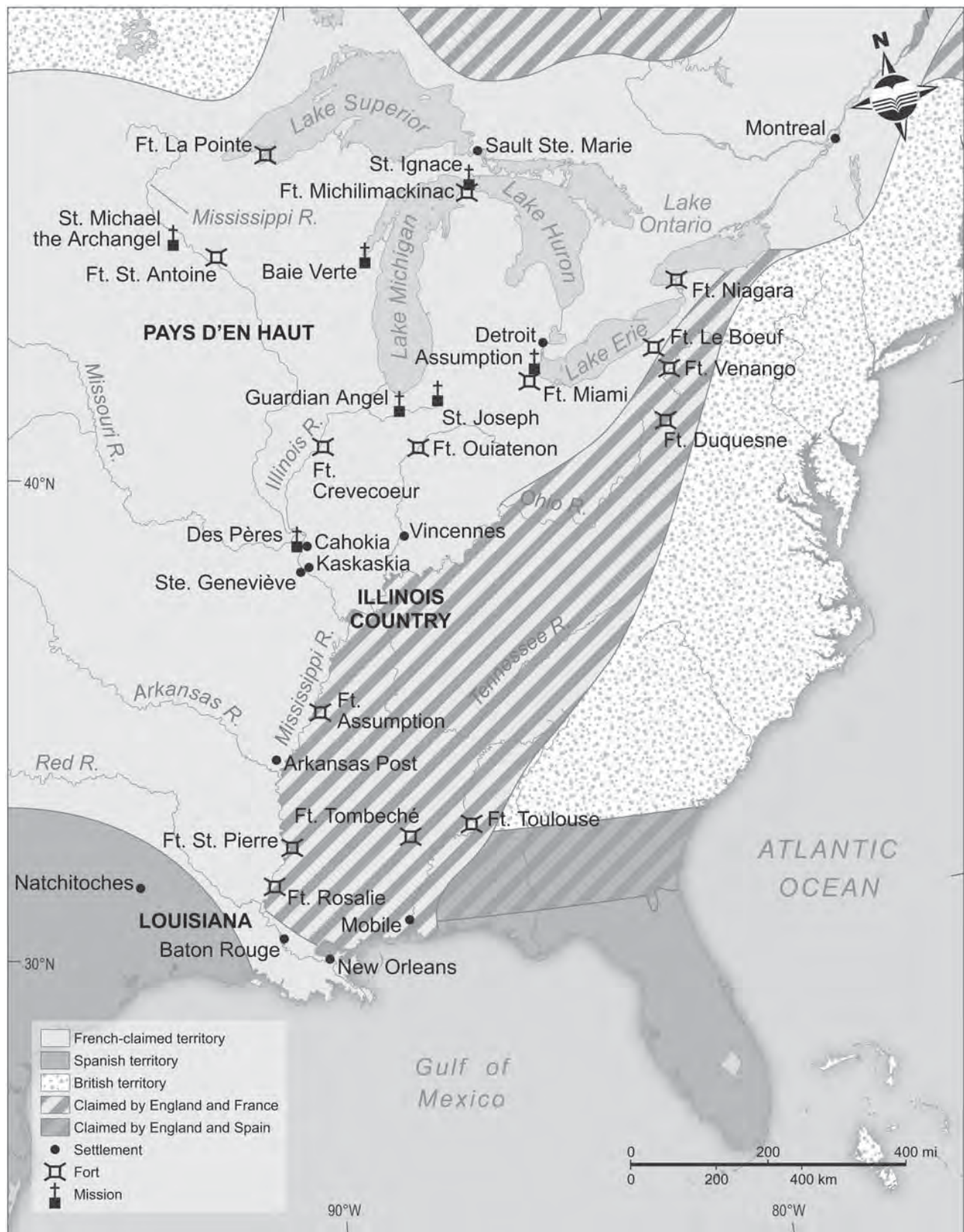
Montcalm attacks at 10 a.m., without waiting for the arrival of further reinforcements approaching out of the west under Bougainville. The French general underestimates the discipline of this British disembarkment, believing that he can dislodge Wolfe before the latter becomes too firmly entrenched. Instead, the French charge is greeted by long lines of redcoats rising out of the grass where they have been lying prone to avoid the galling fire from Indian and French Canadian skirmishers. British artillery also opens fire, having been hoisted up to the clifftops by hard-working naval parties. At 40 yards, the French assault is stopped dead in its tracks by a crashing volley, then rolled up by a redcoat counterattack with bayonets. Montcalm's army disintegrates and suffers 500 killed along with 350 captured before it scatters back into Quebec City and the surrounding countryside. British losses total 58 men—including the commander in chief himself, who receives three wounds—plus 600 injured.

Too late, Bougainville appears upon the battlefield, retiring west toward Montreal after witnessing the French flight. Montcalm is carried back into Quebec City, where he expires from his own wound on September 14. Townshend assumes overall command of the British land forces, continues the siege, and accepts the final capitulation of Quebec City on September 18.



Battle of the Plains of Abraham.

JULY 9, 1759. Colonel Johnson—having succeeded the deceased British general Prideaux—arrives with



French North America from 1663 to 1763.

an Anglo-American army to besiege the French garrison under 47-year-old François Pouchot inside Fort Niagara (New York). On July 24, the British and their native allies crush a French relief column approaching out of Ohio in the so-called Battle of La Belle Famille, prompting Pouchot's demoralized survivors to capitulate the next day.

AUGUST 1759. A joint expedition of Zamboes and English baymen—the latter aboard three sloops—are ambushed near Matina (Costa Rica) by Spanish lieutenant José Galiano, who kills 60 of the invaders and scatters the rest.

FEBRUARY 1760. A small French force attempts to recapture Pointe-Lévis opposite British-held Quebec City, but General Murray sends troops out of their winter billets across the frozen Saint Lawrence to drive them away.

APRIL 26, 1760. Ice on the Saint Lawrence River having broken, General Lévis travels downstream from Montreal with six frigates, assembling 7,000 troops at Saint Augustin to march upon the British captors of Quebec City, 15 miles distant.

APRIL 28, 1760. *Lévis's Countersiege.* Murray exits Quebec City with 2,500 redcoats to erect defensive works on the Plains of Abraham against Lévis's anticipated arrival. Before these can be completed, however, the first French troops appear on the road from Sainte-Foy. The British immediately attack, driving back the surprised French, who then regroup and press their outnumbered opponents back inside Quebec City, abandoning 20 British fieldpieces.

Lévis institutes a formal siege, shelling the ruined city, while both sides anxiously maintain watch northeastward—up the Saint Lawrence toward the open ocean—to see whether British or French ships are the first to arrive from across the Atlantic and bring relief from Europe after the debilitating Canadian winter. On May 9, the frigate HMS *Lowestoft* appears, cheering Murray's beleaguered garrison. The French redouble their bombardment, but by the 15th the first of Commodore Colville's five ships of the line appears below Île d'Orléans, bearing two fresh British regiments from Louisbourg. Next day, two more English frigates arrive, sailing upstream and driving Lévis's six smaller ones aground. Faced with this rapidly worsening situation, the French have no choice but to lift their siege and retreat toward Montreal.

Quiberon

As the third year of the French and Indian War drew to a close, strategists in Paris found their situation growing increasingly difficult. Guadeloupe had been taken in the West Indies, with other islands soon to follow. Louisbourg and Quebec City had both fallen, leaving Canada exposed. Clive had won a string of victories in India. Even the planned invasion of England, for which an army of 20,000 French troops had been gathered all summer at Vannes in southeastern Brittany, was crippled when the Mediterranean fleet out of Toulon was scattered by Admiral Boscawen on August 18, 1759, off Lagos (Portugal).

Still, France's chief minister, Etienne François, Duc de Choiseul, hoped to use the Brest fleet for one last desperate try late in the year. On October 14, 1759, Admiral Conflans was ordered to prepare his ships to escape for the Loire estuary. Once inside Quiberon Bay, they were to escort the troop transports out of the landlocked waters of the Morbihan and across to Scotland. An opportunity presented itself in the first week of November, after heavy westerly gales drove the blockading fleet of 54-year-old rear admiral Sir Edward Hawke to seek shelter in Torbay, on the south coast of England.

When the winds veered around to the east, Conflans emerged from Brest with 21 ships of the line and 3 frigates on November 14, 1759. Hawke left Torbay that same evening with 23 of the line and 2 frigates. Informed at sea of the French destination, the British fleet hurried in pursuit. At 8:30 a.m. on November 20, they sighted their foes preparing to enter the rocky, reef-lined entrance of Quiberon Bay. Despite rising gales and churning seas, Hawke ordered his ships to rush in after them.

Confident in the seamanship of his crews, honed by many months of blockade duty, the British admiral knew that his ships could follow the French in, even amid a rising storm. The first Royal Navy vessels opened fire around 2:00 p.m. as the French rear was rounding Les Cardinaux rocks. A fierce battle ensued inside the bay until nightfall. Hawke's fleet anchored overnight, and the next morning the English discovered that seven French ships were sunk or captured. Another six had squeezed over the shallow bar into the Vilaine River estuary, where they would remain for more than a year. Only eight escaped into Rochefort.

This spectacular victory broke France's naval power for the rest of this war. Not only did the threatened invasion of England evaporate, but so did major French expeditions overseas. Instead, it was the Royal Navy that, in the words of the historian Alfred T. Mahan, was "free to act against the colonies of France, and later of Spain, on a grander scale than ever before."

JUNE 18, 1760. The brand-new, 18-gun Spanish privateer xebecs *San Pedro* and *San Pablo* arrive from Los Pasajes at Pampatar (Venezuela) to bolster the Biscayan Company's efforts against foreign smugglers.

JULY 8, 1760. After a lengthy pursuit, five British men-of-war under Capt. John Byron capture the French frigate *Machault* of Lt. François Chenard de la Giraudais and four cargo vessels off Restigouche (Quebec).

JULY 14, 1760. Murray departs Quebec City with 2,500 redcoats to advance up the Saint Lawrence and bottle Lévis's army at Montreal in conjunction with two other British offensives: Amherst, who will approach Canada out of the west via Hudson–Mohawk–Oswego–Lake Ontario with 10,000 men; and Lt. Col. William Haviland leading 3,400 troops north from Crown Point (New York) up Lake Champlain.

AUGUST 7, 1760. Murray's army circles past the French battery at Trois Rivières (Quebec), his boats hugging the south shore of the Saint Lawrence River.

This same day farther southwest, Amherst's vanguard—Capt. Joshua Loring's snows *Mohawk* and *Onondaga*—quit Oswego, chasing away some French scout vessels near Lost Channel in the Thousand Islands.

AUGUST 10, 1760. Amherst's main flotilla—more than 900 armed galleys and whaleboats bearing 10,000 men and 100 siege-guns—departs Oswego (New York) to proceed down the Saint Lawrence River.

AUGUST 16, 1760. This evening, Amherst's expedition approaches deserted Pointe au Baril (modern Maitland, Ontario) to erect a battery ashore. Next day, the 13-gun, brigantine-rigged corvette *Outaouaise* (“Ottawan”) of Capt. Pierre Boucher de Labroquerie fires a signal-gun to warn Gov. Pierre Pouchot at nearby La Présentation (today Ogdensburg, New York), then weighs anchor to engage the enemy. Col. George Williamson's five armed galleys meet this challenge, hammering *Outaouaise* into submission after a three-hour struggle.

AUGUST 20, 1760. After marshalling his strength, Amherst resumes his advance up both banks of the Saint Lawrence against the French stronghold of

Fort Lévis on Île Royal (today Chimney Island, New York). This log fort is defended by 200 French militiamen and five guns under Capt. Pierre Bouchot, plus the 12-gun, 160-ton, 100-man corvette *Iroquoise* of Commo. René La Force, beached offshore. The English bombard this place for three days, losing their prize *Outaouaise* (pressed into service as *Williamson*) and the snows *Onondaga* and *Mohawk* to Bouchot's counterfire. Finally, the French ammunition is exhausted by August 24, a wounded Bouchot being obliged to surrender the next day.

AUGUST 27, 1760. Murray's army reaches Valrennes, close to the east end of Île de Montreal, digging in to await the arrival of Amherst's and Haviland's contingents. Many disheartened French Canadian militiamen surrender to his forces, reducing Lévis's strength within Montreal to 2,500 men.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1760. Haviland's army arrives on the south shore of the Saint Lawrence, opposite Montreal.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1760. *Surrender of Montreal.* Amherst's 6,500-man army appears nine miles west of Montreal, bringing total British strength to 17,000 men, thus collapsing the morale of its outnumbered and beleaguered French garrison. Lévis requests terms and capitulates two days later; he surrenders on September 9 and is transported to New York along with his regulars as prisoners of war. The remaining portions of Canada quickly pass under English control.

OCTOBER 10, 1760. Commodore Colville's squadron sails toward its winter quarters at Halifax, arriving by October 24.

OCTOBER 17, 1760. At dawn, the 50-gun HMS *Hampshire* of Capt. Coningsby Norbury, 28-gun frigate *Boreas* of Samuel Uvedale, and 20-gun sloop *Lively* of Frederick Lewis Maitland intercept a French merchant convoy one day out of Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien)—the latter escorted by the 32-gun frigates *Duc de Choiseul*, *Prince Edward*, *Fleur de Lys*, and 20-gun sloop *Valeur*. Due to faint breezes, the British pursuit is hampered until evening, when the wind freshens.

At midnight, the *Boreas* engages the *Sirène* but is damaged aloft and forced to fall astern until 2:00 p.m. of October 18, when the French frigate is once more overhauled off the eastern tip of Cuba. The *Sirène*

strikes 2 hours and 40 minutes later, having suffered 80 casualties, as opposed to 1 killed and another wounded aboard its Royal Navy opponent. The *Lively* has meanwhile used its sweeps to get alongside the *Valeur* this same daybreak, pounding it into submission after an hour and a half, with 38 killed and 25 injured aboard the French sloop. The *Hampshire* gets between the *Duc de Choiseul* and *Prince Edward* around 3:30 p.m., forcing the latter to be run aground and burned by its crew. The *Duc de Choiseul* escapes into Port au Paix, but the *Fleur de Lys* is found in an unprotected bay to leeward of this place on October 19. It is scuttled rather than be captured by the *Hampshire* and the *Lively*.

FEBRUARY 12, 1761. Charles III issues the “Pardo Declaration” whereby he rejects the Treaty of Permuta’s redrawn boundaries between the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence in South America (see “January 13, 1750” entry in “Spanish American Disturbances”). Shortly thereafter, Brazilian colonists begin settling in the Viamont and Yacuy territories.

MARCH 1761. Indian raiders destroy Cabagna (Costa Rica).

JUNE 3, 1761. *Dominica.* Having been scattered by stormy weather during their month-long passage from New York, the transports bearing four battalions of regulars, several companies of American Rangers, and an artillery train under 57-year-old Scottish-born lieutenant colonel (brevet Brigadier General) Andrew, Lord Rollo—escorted by the 64-gun *Stirling Castle* of Michael Everitt; the 50-gun *Norwich* of William McCleverty, *Falkland* of Francis Samuel Drake, and *Sutherland* of Julian Legge; the 44-gun frigate *Penzance* of Acting Capt. John Boyd, the 32-gun *Repulse* of John Carter Allen, plus the 28-gun *Lizard* of James Doake—fail to appear together at Guadeloupe.

Undaunted, the English commander decides to launch an immediate strike against the French garrison on Dominica with his early arrivals, before the enemy should learn of his presence. Having been reinforced by 300 West Indian militiamen under Colonel Melville, the expedition departs Basseterre by June 4, accompanied by Commo. Sir James Douglas’s *Dublin* (flag), *Belliqueux*, *Montague*, and *Sutherland*, plus a few frigates.

Two days later, they materialize three miles off Dominica’s principal town of Roseau and send a pair of emissaries ashore at noon to call upon the 2,000 island residents to surrender. After some con-

Fall of Pondicherry

On the far side of the Pacific, the last French stronghold in India surrendered on January 15, 1761. Pondicherry was the second foothold gained by the Compagnie des Indes Orientales along the Coromandel Coast as long ago as 1674, after it suffered a setback against the Dutch. A town was created there nine years later, which was captured by the Dutch in 1693. When they returned it four years later as part of the peace settlement, its fortifications were much improved. Trade then surged as of the 1720s and 1730s. Bolstered by this prosperity, the French East India Company further strengthened Pondicherry’s defenses and raised local Sepoy regiments.

These regiments campaigned very effectively on behalf of their Indian allies, as well as against British East India Company interests during King George’s War. When hostilities between England and France resumed in 1757, the aggressive lieutenant general, Thomas Arthur, Baron de Lally and Comte de Tollendal, was sent out as the new governor of French India. He disembarked in April 1758 and initiated a vigorous offensive, which soon ran out of steam. A hot-tempered man of Irish descent, he alienated many French colonial officials and local rulers.

The British meanwhile launched a campaign under the famed lieutenant general Robert Clive to impose their rule over all of India. Gradually, French detachments were defeated, and their outposts eliminated. The veteran colonel Eyre Coote at last began to close in on Pondicherry in early September 1760 with 4,500 British troops and sailors, plus 10,000 native auxiliaries, backed by 16 warships. Lally was pressed back inside, with only 1,000 men and a crowd of civilians.

The siege of Pondicherry tightened as of November 27, 1760, and the British batteries opened fire on December 6. Even though nine blockading warships were lost in a typhoon on New Year’s Day 1761, Coote persisted. The sick and starved French defenders finally offered to capitulate two weeks later. Their main gates were occupied on January 16, and the town itself was entered the next day. The victors evacuated their foes, then leveled the fortifications and burned the town. Although it was their hope that Pondicherry would never be reoccupied, the ruined town was returned to France two years later. Although rebuilt, it never again posed a threat to Britain’s monopoly over India.



Rollo and Douglas's expedition anchored off captive Roseau, Dominica, by Archibald Campbell of the Royal Engineers. (Author's Collection)

fusion, the French governor de Longprie prepares to resist but is powerless to prevent an English disembarkation at 5:00 p.m. Melville quickly outflanks the defenses with the grenadier companies of the 4th and 22nd regiments, while Rollo leads the main English force against de Longprie's headquarters, snuffing out all resistance by nightfall. The invaders' losses total 8 killed and wounded.

JUNE 5, 1761. The 74-gun *Centauro* of Capt. Arthur Forrest captures the armed French merchantman *Sainte Anne*, pierced for 64 guns but only mounting 40.

AUGUST 15, 1761. Spain signs a secret "family compact" with France whereby they agree to join the war against Great Britain by spring 1762.

NOVEMBER 19, 1761. At the town of Cisteil (Yucatán, Mexico), an Indian baker known as "Jacinto" to the Spaniards—but Canek among his own people—leads a native uprising. When troops from the nearby Sotuta garrison under Capt. Tiburcio Cosgaya attempt to put down this rebellion, they are defeated, and half their number is slaughtered.

The provincial governor José Crespo y Honorato is obliged to send a sizable contingent under Cristóbal Calderón de Helguera to deal with this situation. The Spaniards fight their way into Cisteil, but Canek wins free, eventually being captured at the

Huntulchac Hacienda. He is conducted into Mérida de Yucatán and broken alive upon a wheel in its main square on December 7.

NOVEMBER 22, 1761. Rear Admiral Rodney arrives alone at Carlisle Bay (Barbados), his squadron having been scattered during his transatlantic crossing. He is to assume command of the Leeward Islands's station from Douglas and marshal an expedition against Martinique. Immediately upon arriving, Rodney detaches Douglas's ships to blockade Saint Pierre (Martinique) and bombard its batteries.

DECEMBER 9, 1761. Rodney's three missing ships of the line, two frigates, and three bomb vessels reach Barbados.

DECEMBER 14, 1761. A convoy of British transports arrives at Barbados from Belleisle (France), escorted by HMS *Téméraire* and a frigate, bearing a large contingent of troops.

DECEMBER 24, 1761. Maj. Gen. Robert Monckton reaches Barbados with a troop convoy from British North America, escorted by three ships of the line and a 40-gun frigate.

JANUARY 5, 1762. *Martinique Overrun.* Rodney and Monckton set sail from Barbados with 13,000 troops and 1,000 auxiliaries, escorted by the 70-gun

flagship *Marlborough* under the flag captain John Hollwell and Commo. Sir James Douglas's 74-gun vice-flagship *Dublin* under the flag captain Edward Gascoigne. The rest of the fleet is comprised of the 84-gun *Foudroyant* of Robert Duff; the 74-gun *Dragon* of Augustus John Hervey and *Téméraire* of Matthew Barton; the 70-gun *Temple* of Lucius O'Brien and *Vanguard* of Robert Swanton; the 64-gun *Modeste* of Robert Boyle Walsingham, *Stirling Castle* of Michael Everitt, *Devonshire* of George Darby, *Raisonné* of Molyneux Shuldham, and *Alcide* of Thomas Hankerson; the 60-gun *Nottingham* of Samuel Marshall; and the 50-gun *Rochester* of Thomas Burnett, *Sutherland* of Julian Legge, *Norwich* of William McCleverty, and *Falkland* of Francis Samuel Drake.

They are accompanied by the 44-gun frigates *Woolwich* of William Bayne and *Penzance* of John Boyd; the 40-gun *Dover* of Chaloner Ogle; the 32-gun *Echo* of John Laforey, *Stag* of Henry Angell, and *Repulse* of John Carter Allen; the 28-gun *Actaeon* of Paul Henry Ourry, *Crescent* of Thomas Collingwood, *Lizard* of James Doake, *Levant* of William Tucker, and *Nightingale* of James Campbell; the 20-gun sloops *Fowey* of Joseph Mead, *Greyhound* of Thomas Francis, and *Rose* of Francis Banks; the 16-gun *Ferret* of Cmdr. James Alms; the 12-gun *Virgin* and *Zephyr* of Cmdr. John Botterell; the 10-gun *Antigua* of John Neale Pleydell Nott and *Barbados* of Cmdr. Stair Douglas; plus the 8-gun bomb vessels *Basilisk* of Cmdr. Robert Brice, *Thunder* of Lt. Robert Haswell, *Grenado* of Lt. James Hawker, and *Infernal* of Cmdr. James Mackenzie.

This expedition joins Douglas's advance squadron off Martinique two days later, anchoring in Saint Pierre's Bay by January 8. From here, a unit is detached under Commodore Swanton to reconnoiter Petite Anse d'Arlet farther south, near Fort Royal (modern Fort de France), while another of five frigates makes a feint against La Trinité. Masked by these distractions, the initial British disembarkation takes place at Saint Luce in Sainte Anne's Bay on January 10 under covering fire from Douglas's squadron (which has earlier lost the 64-gun *Raisonné* on a reef). The distance to the island capital proves too great and difficult, however, so the British army blows up Sainte Anne's works and reembarks, proceeding by sea toward Fort Royal on January 14.

Early on the morning of January 16, the Royal Navy ships enter adjacent Cas des Navires Bay and open fire against its French batteries, silencing them by noon and thus allowing the troops to be landed. By sunset, two-thirds of the army are ashore, followed next day by the rest, plus 900 marines. The

invaders establish a fortified camp, while the blue-jackets land artillery to clear the nearest French heights, Morne-Tartenson and Morne-Garnier.

By January 24, the British have their fieldpieces in place and launch a dawn assault against the former height. Col. William Rufane's brigade and the marines on the right, supported by 1,000 seamen in boats offshore, overrun battery after battery. Meanwhile, the massed grenadier companies, plus Lord Rollo's Brigade, slowly drive back the defenders in the center thanks to a flanking maneuver by Scott's Light Infantry. The Morne-Tortenson heights are won by 9:00 a.m., the British then coming up against still-higher Morne-Garnier. Brig. Gen. William Haviland secures a foothold on its left but, while digging in his batteries, is struck by a counterattack on the evening of January 27. His troops not only repulse it but, in turn, capture all the French batteries on the lower slopes of Morne-Garnier, even stealing to its summit by midnight. Defeated, the French governor general Louis Charles Le Vassor de La Touche leaves 1,000 men to hold Fort Royal while retiring with the bulk of his forces toward Saint Pierre.

The invaders drive on through difficult terrain, establishing a new battery atop Morne-Capuchin, which compels Fort Royal's citadel to beat for terms by the evening of February 3. Next day, 800 defenders surrender along with 170 guns, while Ramiers Island and 14 privateer vessels capitulate to Rodney out in its harbor. Fort Royal is renamed "Fort Edward." Hervey is thereupon dispatched with a small squadron to support the frigates off La Trinité, disembarking 500 seamen and marines, which seize that port. By February 16, the remaining portions of Martinique capitulate, this campaign having cost the British 500 casualties. Capt. George Darby of the *Devonshire* and Maj. Horatio Gates (later an American Revolutionary War hero) are delegated to convey dispatches announcing this victory to London, where each is rewarded with £500 from the king.

FEBRUARY 24, 1762. After the fall of Martinique, Hervey is detached to blockade Saint Lucia with the vessels *Dragon*, *Norwich*, *Penzance*, *Dover*, and *Basilisk*. He calls upon its French governor de Longueville to surrender and, after being rebuffed, attacks the next day. Seeing the warships approaching the harbor mouth, the outnumbered defenders capitulate.

MARCH 3, 1762. Commodore Swanton's blockading squadron is joined off Grenada by an expedition of British troops comprised of Brig. Gen. Hunt-

ington Walsh's 5th Brigade and a light-infantry corps under Lieutenant Colonel Scott. After the small garrison of regulars and numerous privateersmen refuse to capitulate, Walsh disembarks the next morning with the Grenadiers Light Infantry and the 27th Regiment. The governor agrees to surrender this island and the adjoining Grenadines by March 5. The British 95th Regiment is then sent to occupy St. Vincent, whose 1,100 inhabitants offer no resistance.

MARCH 7, 1762. This Sunday afternoon, the French rear admiral Charles, Comte de Blénac Courbon (grandson to the 17th-century West Indian governor general; see "October 3, 1677" entry in "Third Anglo-Dutch War and Franco-Spanish War") arrives from Brest off southeastern Martinique with his 80-gun, 1,800-ton flagship *Duc de Bourgogne*; the 74-gun, 1,500-ton ships *Hector* of Louis de Chatillon, Comte de Sanzay, *Diadème* of the Chevalier Fouquet, and *Défenseur* of Louis Armand Constantin, Prince de Rohan Montbazoin; the 64-gun, 1,100-ton *Protée* of Pierre-Claude Hocdenau, Comte de Breugnon, *Dragon* of the Chevalier des Roches, and the *Brillant* of Etienne Pierre, Vicomte de Rochechouart; the 32-gun, 550-ton frigate *Opale* of the Chevalier Doisy; the 28-gun, 425-ton frigates *Diligente* of Bory, and *Zéphyr* of the Chevalier de Grasse de Barre (perhaps François-Joseph, Comte de Grasse Tilly?); plus the 16-gun, 200-ton corvette *Calypso* of Duchilleau. They are furthermore bearing 3,000 regulars from the Juercy, Foix, and Boulognois regiments to bolster France's Caribbean garrisons.

Next evening, Blénac bears down upon Presqu'Île de la Caravelle and detaches *Calypso* to reconnoiter its coastal town of La Trinité, learning that Martinique is entirely in English hands. At 8:00 a.m. on the morning of March 9, his squadron briefly pursues the 44-gun English frigate *Woolwich* and 28-gun *Aquilon*, which flee northward to advise Rodney. On March 10, Blénac continues northwest toward Saint Domingue (Haiti), standing in to Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) one week later; the *Dragon* strikes a hidden reef while entering and goes down with 50 hands that same March 17.

APRIL 4, 1762. This evening, the French corvette *Calypso* enters Havana, Captain Duchilleau presenting dispatches from Admiral de Blénac next day to the Spanish governor Juan de Prado proposing a joint operation against Jamaica. The Spaniard demurs, preferring to husband his resources for other

duties, and Duchilleau departs the Cuban capital on April 10 to begin the two-week beat back into Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien).

APRIL 20, 1762. Pocock and Albemarle's expedition reaches Carlisle Bay (Barbados) from England with four regiments for the forthcoming campaign against Havana. Three days later, this fleet sails for Cas des Navires Bay on Martinique, arriving by April 26 to be further augmented by Rodney and Monckton's victorious forces.

On Thursday, May 6, Pocock and Albemarle get underway once more, heading northwest and being joined next day by a trade convoy out of Saint Kitts. They plan to rendezvous with other English contingents off Cape Saint Nicholas Mole (Cap du Môle, Haiti).

MAY 3, 1762. In Europe, a Spanish division crosses the Portuguese frontier after several weeks of diplomatic threats—yet without officially declaring war—because of the latter country's friendliness toward England, thus dragging another belligerent into the hostilities. Britain supports Lisbon with an expeditionary force.

MAY 27, 1762. Having been further reinforced by a squadron from Jamaica under Commo. Sir James Douglas, Pocock and Albemarle's expedition clears Cape Saint Nicholas Mole.

POCOCK ENGLISH EXPEDITION FORCES

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Commander</i>
Advance Scouts		
<i>Trent</i> (frigate)	28	John Lindsay
<i>Bonetta</i> (sloop)	16	Lancelot Holmes
<i>Lurcher</i> (cutter)	8	James Walker
First division		
<i>Namur</i> (flag)	90	(flag captain) John Harrison
<i>Dragon</i>	74	Augustus Hervey
<i>Nottingham</i>	60	Thomas Collingwood
<i>Sutherland</i>	50	Michael Everett
<i>Dover</i> (frigate)	44	Chaloner Ogle
<i>Alarm</i> (frigate)	38	James Alms
<i>Mercury</i> (frigate)	22	Samuel Granston Goodall
Second division		
<i>Valiant</i> (vice-flag)	74	Adam Duncan
<i>Edgar</i>	60	Francis William Drake
<i>Richmond</i> (frigate)	32	John Elphinston
<i>Grenado</i> (bomb vessel)	?	Stair Douglas
Third division		
<i>Belleisle</i>	64	Joseph Knight
<i>Orford</i>	66	Marriot Arbuthnot
<i>Rippon</i>	60	Edward Jekyll
<i>Pembroke</i>	60	John Wheelock
<i>Cygnet</i> (sloop)	18	Charles Napier

<i>Ships</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Commander</i>
Fourth division		
<i>Téméraire</i>	74	Matthew Barton
<i>Deptford</i>	50	Dudley Digges
<i>Penzance</i> (frigate)	40	Philip Boteler
<i>Glasgow</i> (frigate)	20	Richard Carteret
<i>Thunder</i> (bomb vessel)	10	Robert Haswell
Fifth division		
<i>Culloden</i>	74	John Barker
<i>Cerberus</i> (frigate)	28	Charles Webber
<i>Ferret</i> (sloop)	14	Peter Clarke
<i>Viper</i> (sloop)	14	Nathaniel Davies
Sixth division		
<i>Cambridge</i>	80	William Goostrey
<i>Dublin</i>	74	Edward Gascoigne
<i>Devonshire</i>	66	Samuel Marshall
<i>Echo</i> (frigate)	22	John Lendrick
<i>Rose</i>	20	John N. P. Nott
<i>Basilisk</i> (bomb vessel)	?	William Lowfield
Seventh division		
<i>Marlborough</i>	68	Thomas Burnett
<i>Temple</i>	70	Julian Legge
<i>Hampton Court</i>	64	Alexander Innes
<i>Stirling Castle</i>	64	James Campbell
<i>Defiance</i>	60	George Mackenzie
<i>Hampshire</i>	50	Arthur Usher
<i>Port Mahon</i>	20	Richard Bickerton

Their warships are manned by slightly more than 14,000 officers and men, plus another 3,000 hired sailors working the 160 transports, victuallers, ordnance ships, and hospital ships accompanying them to convey Albemarle's army. The latter force constitutes another 12,000 men.

ALBEMARLE GROUND TROOPS

<i>Regiment Number</i>	<i>Commander</i>	<i>Men</i>
1st	Saint Clair's	314
4th	Duroure's	229
9th	Whitmore's	952
15th	Amherst's	416
17th	Monckton's	519
22nd	[vacant]	579
27th	Warburton's	522
28th	Townshend's	464
32nd	Lord Cavendish's	957
35th	Otway's	454
40th	Armiger's	362
42nd	Lord John Murray's Highlanders	558
42nd	Highlanders (the "Black Watch," later 43 Highlanders; second battalion only)	562
43rd	Talbot's	357
48th	Webb's	518
56th	Keppel's	960
60th	(third battalion)	591
65th	Lord Malpas's	101
72nd	Duke of Richmond's	959
77th	Colonel Montgomery's Highlanders	587
90th	Lieutenant Colonel Morgan	422
95th	Colonel Burton	618
—	Major Freron's corps	218

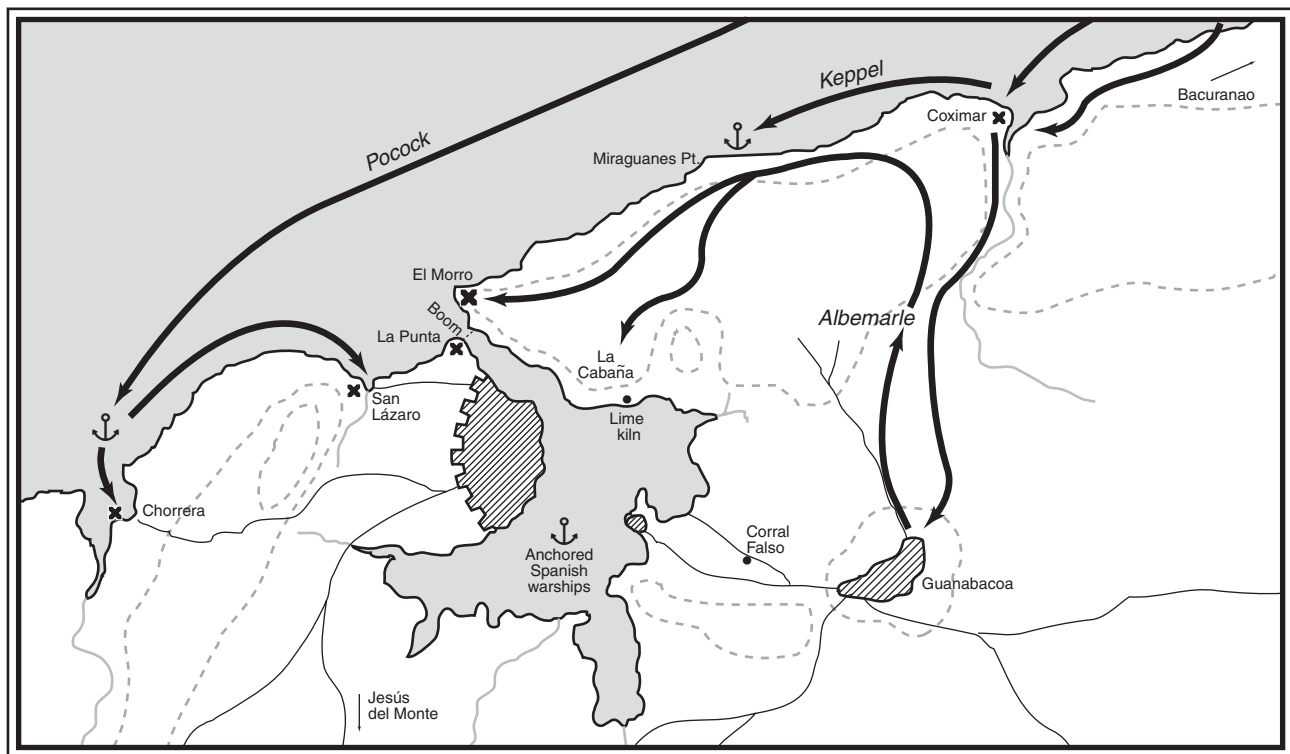
In addition, there are 380 members in the British artillery train and more than 600 black slave laborers.

JUNE 1762. Zamboes raid the Matina Valley (Costa Rica).

JUNE 2, 1762. At 9:00 a.m., the 22-gun frigate *Mercury*—advance scout of Pocock's expedition—spots five unidentified sail approaching out of the west. They prove to be the 22-gun Spanish frigate *Tétis* and 18-gun armed store-ship *Fénix*, escorting a hired Spanish brig and two private schooners from Havana sailing toward Sagua to pick up a cargo of timber. Despite faint winds, the 38-gun frigate *Alarm* chases these two Spanish men-of-war into the shallows by 2:00 p.m., engaging them in a one-hour gun duel before compelling both to strike. The other three Spanish craft seek refuge closer inshore, thus allowing the British fleet to press on toward Havana without any warning being carried into the Cuban capital.

JUNE 6, 1762. *Siege of Havana.* At dawn, lookouts atop Havana's harbor castle or *morro* espy a huge mass of ships 20 miles to the east and by 8:00 a.m. sound the alarm. After a perfunctory telescopic examination by Governor de Prado, the sails are dismissed as an England-bound Jamaican convoy, so the garrison stands down. It is not until 1:00 p.m.—after the English expedition has drawn considerably nearer—that the Spaniards are at last fully aroused, their strength consisting of 2,500 infantrymen of the Havana, Aragón, and España regiments, 1,000 city militiamen, 100 Havana and 200 Edimburgo Dragoons (the latter without mounts), and 70 gunners. Another four militia regiments—2,800 men, 700 of them being poorly trained and equipped lancers—can be raised from outlying districts.

A further 1,000 marines and 4,000 seamen are serving aboard the Marqués del Real Transporte's anchored 70-gun flagship *Tigre* (official name, *San Lorenzo*) under the flag captain Juan Ignacio de Madariaga, *Aquilón* (officially called *San Damaso*) of Vicente González y Bassecourt, Marqués González, *Infante* (also named *San Luis Gonzaga*) of Francisco de Medina, *Neptuno* (official name, *San Justo*) of Pedro Ignacio Bermúdez, *Reina* of Luis Vicente de Velasco, and *Soberano* (officially designated *San Gregorio*) of Juan García del Postigo; the 60-gun *América* (official name, *Nuestra Señora de Belén*) of Juan Antonio de la Colina, *Asia* of Juan Francisco Garganta, and



British siege of Havana.

Europa (official name, *Nuestra Señora del Pilar*) of José Díaz de San Vicente; plus the 58-gun *Conquistador* of Pedro Castejón. The newly launched *San Antonio* and *San Genaro* have not yet been commissioned.

Unprepared, the Spaniards react frantically, not even having their log boom in place. By 2:00 p.m., the English expedition has drawn within six miles of Havana's entrance, at which time Albemarle transfers aboard his younger brother Augustus Keppel's *Valiant* to stand in toward shore, searching for a suitable disembarkation point. Pocock presses on west of the city with most of the other warships and nontransports as a feint. Before the invaders can surge ashore, however, a storm breaks, obliging the British to defer their landing.

The Spanish spend that ensuing night dispatching their best soldiers—the grenadier companies and pickets of the Aragón, España, and Havana regiments plus 200 marines—to meet Pocock's threat, but they fail to reinforce the tiny outposts at Bacuranao and Coximar where Albemarle actually intends coming ashore. The storm blows itself out, and redcoats begin boarding their landing craft at 6:00 a.m. the next morning, to stand in toward Bacuranao three hours later under covering fire from the frigates *Mercury*, *Richmond*, and *Trent*, sloop *Bonetta*, and bomb vessel *Basilisk*. The redoubt's few defenders

flee, and by 10:30 a.m. the first British troops wade ashore. Albemarle joins them, and by 3:00 p.m. he has amassed several thousand troops, who subsequently march upon the square, 10-gun, stone fortress of Coximar, where some Spanish companies have rallied. The *Dragon*, along with the *Bonetta*, plus the bomb vessels *Basilisk* and *Thunder*, work close inshore to provide support fire, again putting the Spaniards to flight. At this point, the *Dragon* sends across its marines to secure this abandoned fortress, until Albemarle's regulars can arrive overland.

The English army thereupon encamps for the night and on the morning of June 8 strikes directly south toward Guanabacoa in three columns, believing the Spanish to be concentrating here. Yet only 600 troops (with 120 hastily acquired mounts) confront them under Col. Carlos Caro of the Edimburgo Regiment, the Spanish high command's attention still being distracted by Pocock's feint farther west. Caro confronts Col. Guy Carleton's leading column a half mile north of Guanabacoa, but his rattled troops break and flee after a half-hour's long-range skirmishing.

Albemarle and his staff therefore enter this town at noon and, by 4:00 p.m., witness the scuttling of the Spanish *Neptuno* in Havana's channel as a block ship. At 8:00 p.m., the untried defenders holding

La Cabaña heights begin firing at shadows, drawing heavy artillery fire from their own ships, the *Aquilón* and *Conquistador*, out in the harbor. This confused two-hour exchange not only results in 20 Spanish casualties—no English soldiers being anywhere near—but more importantly convinces Governor de Prado to order this high ground abandoned without a fight.

At 8:00 a.m. of June 9, the Spanish scuttle *Asia* astern of the *Neptuno* (despite the fact that Havana's log boom is at last installed). The English land commander meanwhile changes his line of advance, choosing to veer northwestward against Havana's eastern headland and El Morro, notwithstanding its imposing natural obstacles plus indications that a quick strike might carry the less well-defended city. Col. William Howe's scouts report that El Morro's promontory is set upon solid rock, making it impossible to dig approach trenches, while also protected by a trench 100 feet wide and 60 feet deep, invisible from out at sea.

Albemarle nevertheless leaves a flank guard in Guanabacoa under his second-in-command George Elliott, then retraces his steps into Coximar with the main body to march along the shoreline toward La Cabaña and El Morro. This maneuver allows the Spaniards time to recuperate from their initial shock and bolster El Morro's defenses. The *Reina's* 51-year-old captain Luis de Velasco is sent across with 400 seamen as artillerymen—thus raising the garrison's strength to more than 1,000 men—while on the night of June 9–10, the *Europa* is furthermore scuttled out in the channel.

Pocock meanwhile anchors off Chorrera Inlet, three miles west of Havana, while Albemarle establishes his supply beachhead at Miraguanes Point, two miles east of El Morro. Mounted Cuban irregulars under Capt. Diego Ruiz clash on the afternoon of June 10 with Elliott's advance guard at Corral Falso, killing and capturing a few redcoats before being driven off by an English counterattack, which claims Ruiz's life. Toward evening, Pocock sends the 64-gun *Belleisle* inshore (backed by the vessels *Cerberus*, *Echo*, *Bonetta*, and *Lurcher*) to bombard the ancient six-gun Spanish redoubt at Chorrera as a feint to distract the defenders from Colonel Carleton's stealthy advance through the eastern underbrush to occupy La Cabaña heights.

At 1:00 on Friday morning, June 11, the colonel's men overrun this Spanish position just as a rain-storm bursts, the *Tigre*, *Aquilón*, *Soberano*, and *Conquistador* opening up a desultory counterfire from

out in the harbor. At dawn, the commandeered 30-gun private merchantman *Perla* is also warped into its channel by naval lieutenant Francisco del Corral to shoot at the English atop La Cabaña from closer range. Pocock meanwhile resumes his bombardment of La Chorrera, with such intensity that Col. Luis de Aguiar's militia defenders abandon this outpost by 11:00 a.m., allowing it to fall to a Royal Marine landing party around noon. Pocock then shifts his bomb vessels *Basilisk* and *Thunder* toward the San Lázaro Inlet to commence a galling fire against Havana's walls.

Albemarle's sappers and sailors struggle amid torrential downpours to drag his siege train into position atop the eastern headland, while Cuban guerrillas cut off several score English foragers and seriously alarm the invaders' encampments—where disease is also beginning to spread. It is not until June 22 that the first British siege mortars open fire against El Morro (killing 43 and wounding 243 of its garrison over the next week). At dawn of the 23rd, a pair of English howitzers also opens up from La Cabaña, obliging the Spanish ships *Infante*, *Soberano*, *Tigre*, and *Aquilón* to withdraw deeper into the harbor two days later. On Sunday the 27th, Pocock detaches the *Defiance* and the *Hampton Court* with nine lesser craft to probe westward along the coast in search of a suitable anchorage, in case of storms. Next dawn, they fight their way in past two scuttled ships blocking the mouth of Mariel, 25 miles west of Havana, seizing the 24-gun Spanish frigate *Venganza* of Capt. Diego Argote and the 18-gun store-ship *Marte* or "Mars" of Domingo Bonachea, plus occupying this port.

During the night of June 28–29, 720 troops under Col. Alejandro de Arroyo slip out of Havana aboard darkened boats, gliding across to El Cabresante from where they ascend El Morro's eastern headland to fall upon Albemarle's main siege works. Another 500 men under Lt. Col. Ignacio Moreno support this attack with a flanking maneuver, while 400 men under naval lieutenants Francisco del Corral and Juan de Lombardón advance upon an English battery being installed at an abandoned lime kiln at the foot of La Cabaña. All these contingents attack at sunrise of June 29 but encounter stiff resistance; Arroyo's and Moreno's forces suffer 38 killed, 70 wounded, and more than 100 captured (as opposed to 10 British casualties and 17 prisoners). Del Corral's sally is beaten off with 37 casualties and a large number of captives, and the naval lieutenant himself is badly wounded.



British assault columns pouring through the breach in El Morro's northeastern bastion on the afternoon of July 30, 1762. (Author's Collection)

The besiegers now hope to panic El Morro's demoralized garrison by simultaneously bombarding its eastern ramparts with two recently completed batteries of a dozen 24-pounders and four 13-inch mortars and its seaward face with a Royal Navy squadron. At first light on Thursday, July 1, the new batteries open fire, and at 8:00 a.m. HMSS *Dragon*, *Cambridge*, *Marlborough*, and *Stirling Castle* bear down to join in, accompanied by the frigate *Trent*. The *Stirling Castle* refuses to close, but the other three ships of the line drop anchor a couple of hundred yards off El Morro's northern face between 9:00 and 9:30 a.m. and pound it for the next five hours. But de Velasco's defenders refuse to yield, and the battered English men-of-war eventually withdraw, having suffered 44 dead and 148 wounded. El Morro endures 130 casualties and numerous dismounted guns, yet it remains unbowed.

Over the ensuing fortnight, almost 500 Spaniards are killed or injured within this citadel by continuous English shelling, although replaced every night from Havana, while the besiegers' sick lists soar to more than 3,500 men. On Sunday, July 11, Commo. Sir James Douglas's 50-gun *Centurion* appears out of the west, escorting a 160-ship Jamaican convoy to-

ward London. Pocock and Albemarle commandeer cotton bales out of these merchantmen, dragging them onto El Morro's stark headland to be extemporized into fascines. Eliott also retreats from his flanking position at Guanabacoa, adding his contingent to Albemarle's dwindling ranks.

Before dawn of July 18, Pocock's San Lázaro battery is overrun by 300 Cuban militiamen, who make off with 18 English prisoners after spiking three of its guns. That same afternoon, Douglas's Jamaican convoy departs, yet within the next two days its bales allow the siege engineers to drive their lines to the very edge of El Morro's moat, from where a party of sappers dart across its northern walkway to begin mining the northeastern corner. To retard this operation, 1,500 Cuban militiamen slip out of Havana and assault the English encampments before sunrise of July 22, their initial approach being checked by 30 men of the 90th Regiment under Lt. Col. James Stuart. The green Cuban recruits do not press home their attack and are driven off within the hour by the Third Battalion of the 60th Foot (Royal Americans), who pursue these attackers down to the water's edge, killing, wounding, or capturing 250—as opposed to 50 English casualties.

Another 60 Spaniards are also slain or injured within El Morro while trying to support this sally. El Morro appears doomed, so on July 24, de Velasco—who a fortnight earlier has been taken wounded into Havana to convalesce—returns, relieving the *Infante*'s Francisco de Medina.

At first light of July 28, 7 transports materialize out of the east bearing 1,700 troops from New York. They disembark at Chorrera by evening to begin recuperating from their voyage. They represent the first portion of a much larger contingent that has quit New York in two units. Sixteen transports were sent out on June 9, escorted by the 60-gun *Intrepid* of Capt. John Hale and smaller *Chesterfield*, with 668 men of the 46th Regiment of Foot and 335 of the New York City Independent Companies, plus 222 New Jersey, 217 Rhode Island, 90 New York, and 904 Connecticut provincials. Another 14 transports departed on June 30, escorted by the 40-gun frigate *Enterprise* of Capt. John Houlton, 28-gun frigate *Lizard* of Francis Banks, and 16-gun sloop *Porcupine* of Harry Harmood, bearing 590 soldiers of the 58th Regiment of Foot and 253 of Gorham's Rangers, as well as 477 New York provincials.

On the morning of July 21, the transports *Juno* and *Masquerade* of this first convoy run aground north of Cuba, only the latter being refloated (although all of the *Juno*'s complement are later saved). That same afternoon, the second convoy blunders into the Chevalier de Fouquet's 74-gun *Diadème*, 64-gun *Brillant*, and 36-gun frigate *Opale* near the Caicos, having its transports *Britannia*, *Pelling*, *Betsy and Sally*, *Nathaniel and John*, and *Hopewell* seized with 488 soldiers aboard. Before dawn of July 24, Hale's first convoy again comes to grief when his consort *Chesterfield* and transports *Industry*, *Smiling Nancy*, *Swallow*, and *Masquerade* run aground on Cayo Confites, near Cayo Romano. The surviving passengers and crews remain behind, until Hale can send craft from Havana to their rescue.

During the night of July 29–30, a pair of Spanish schooners tow a floating battery out of Havana's harbor and around El Morro headland to open fire upon the English sappers. They suffer few casualties, the Spanish vessels being driven off. At sunrise, de Velasco's beleaguered garrison prepares to repel an English assault, retiring into its subterranean quarters at midday to eat and rest. At 1:00 that same afternoon, July 30, English charges are detonated, and El Morro's northeastern bastion explodes. Col. William Keppel and military engineer Lt. Col. Patrick Mackellar send the 1st Royal Regiment of Foot

(later the Royal Scots) scrambling into this breach, followed by the 90th and 35th Foot. Although only numbering 650 men, this assault force overwhelms the 800 stunned Spaniards inside El Morro: both de Velasco and his 40-year-old second-in-command, the *Aquilón*'s Marqués González, fall mortally wounded, along with another 341 defenders. Another 37 are wounded and 326 captured, slightly more than 100 Spaniards reaching Havana alive.

Artillery fire now rains down upon the city from both La Cabaña and El Morro, while 2,000 New Englanders advance from their San Lázaro encampment to occupy Jesús del Monte. On August 2, the frigate *Echo* brings in seven more transports from the second New York convoy (which have escaped de Fouquet's squadron). After transferring the bulk of his troops to the eastern peninsula and installing more batteries to encircle Havana, Albemarle sends a message to Governor de Prado on August 10, calling for surrender. Rebuffed, the English general orders his artillery to pound the city the next day, prompting La Punta's panic-stricken garrison to abandon their fortress. De Prado requests terms that same afternoon, which are agreed upon by the 13th; 936 Spanish regulars march out of Havana the next day to capitulate, along with a large naval contingent. Another 2,000 Spaniards remain injured or sick within the hospital, 3,800 having died during the siege. The British report 2,764 casualties due to death, wounds, desertion, or capture, many others still being diseased. The surrender of Governor de Prado's command not only includes the city but also the western third of Cuba from Cape San Antonio to Sagua, 160 miles farther east. Detachments of redcoats are therefore sent out to occupy these towns.

JUNE 12, 1762. Spain officially declares war against Portugal, more than a month after invading that country (see "May 3, 1762" entry).

JUNE 23, 1762. *Newfoundland Campaign.* The 39-year-old French commodore Charles Henri Louis d'Arsac, Chevalier de Ternay, materializes from Brest off Bay Bulls with his 74-gun flagship *Robuste* under the Chevalier de Ternay; the 64-gun *Éveillé* under François Aymar, Baron de Monteil; the 30-gun frigate *Licorne* of de Sillart de Surville; as well as the 26-gun transports *Biche* of Dupuy and *Garonne* of "Clonard" (actually, an Irishman named Sutton). This expedition is carrying 600 troops under the marine colonel Joseph-Louis-Bernard de Cléron,

the Comte d'Haussonville, plus 160 Irish Catholics led by Sutton who are intended to spearhead a revolt of their fellow countrymen against English rule.

On June 24, this landing force marches on Saint John's, twenty miles farther to the north, and takes the town three days later. A systematic destruction of all English fisheries ensues, some 460 vessels being seized or destroyed. Capt. Thomas Graves—the British governor for Newfoundland, who is lying at Placentia with his 50-gun *Antelope* and 24-gun *Siren*—immediately requests aid from Commodore Colville at Halifax. The latter sets sail on August 10 with his 70-gun flagship *Northumberland*, John Jervis's 40-gun frigate *Gosport*, and the 20-gun Massachusetts sloop *King George*. By August 25, both contingents are blockading de Ternay within Saint John's harbor.

On September 11, 1,300 New York troops arrive via Louisbourg under Lt. Col. William Amherst and are disembarked two days later at Torbay, its French occupiers being easily driven back; yet, on the foggy night of September 15–16, de Ternay's squadron slips its cables and escapes out into the Atlantic. D'Haussonville's garrison is consequently compelled to surrender by September 18.

JULY 26, 1762. Up the San Juan River in Nicaragua, a British expedition from Jamaica and Miskito allies approach Fort de la Imaculada Concepción at 11:00 a.m. aboard seven large boats and numerous lesser craft, disgorging along both banks and closing in by 3:00 p.m. The Spanish garrison commander, Capt. José Herrera y Sotomayor, has died unexpectedly 11 days previously, so Lt. Juan de Aguilar y Santa Cruz commands the defenders during 6 days of resistance, inspired by the heroic examples of the dead captain's 19-year-old daughter, Rafaela Herrera. Diseased and discouraged, the British finally lift their siege and retreat on August 3.

JULY 27, 1762. Having been notified three months earlier by the royal frigate *Victoria* of Spain's impending declaration of war against Portugal, the River Plate's 47-year-old governor Pedro Antonio de Cevallos Cortés y Calderón (also spelled "Ceballos") has been secretly marshalling an expedition. Getting wind of these preparations on July 27, the Portuguese authorities at Colônia do Sacramento in Uruguay (see "October 2, 1704" entry in "Queen Anne's War") brace to receive an assault.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1762. A Spanish force sets sail from Buenos Aires under Governor de Cevallos, consist-

ing of the 26-gun royal frigate *Victoria* of Lt. Carlos José de Sarria; the private merchantman *Santa Cruz* of the Mendineata Company; 3 dispatch vessels; 12 gunboats; and 15 troop transports bearing 700 regular infantry troops, 200 dragoons, 1,800 militiamen, and numerous native laborers. Another 1,200 Jesuit-led Indians depart the mission district around that same time, while a 113-wagon Spanish siege train travels overland from Montevideo.

Starting as of September 7, de Cevallos's expedition takes a week to disembark in Uruguay. From this advance staging area, it is his intent to attack the nearby Portuguese settlement of Colônia do Sacramento as soon as he receives final authorization from Madrid. On September 28, a tartan arrives from Cadiz with word that war has officially been declared as of June 12 (see "May 3, 1762" entry), so de Cevallos's host advances on October 1.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1762. French admiral de Blénac sails from Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) with five ships of the line and two frigates, bearing 600 regulars of the Murcia and Granada Infantry regiments, who have marched across this island from Santo Domingo as belated reinforcements for Cuba. Two days later, de Blénac deposits them at Santiago de Cuba and learns that Havana surrendered four weeks previously, after which he proceeds into the Bight of Léogâne to rendezvous with a homeward-bound French merchant convoy. He eventually wins his way clear of the Caribbean, although losing one merchantman in the Windward Passage to the 22-gun English frigate *Echo* of Capt. John Kendrick and another pair to privateers operating out of New Providence (modern Nassau, Bahamas).

SEPTEMBER 10, 1762. On orders from the Portuguese general Freire de Andrade (ennobled four years previously as Conde de Bobadela), his regional subordinate colonel, Thomáz Luíz Osório, arrives at Castilhos on the shores of Merín Lagoon with 400 men of the Dragoon Regiment of Rio Pardo, 10 small artillery pieces, plus a work column, to commence construction a month afterward of a border keep to be called Fort Santa Tereza in honor of Bobadela's personal patron saint.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1762. The 400 Portuguese infantrymen, 40 troopers, 32 gunners, 230 militiamen, and assorted crewmembers of 10 small vessels defending Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay) are reinforced from Rio de Janeiro by a 10-ship convoy

Siege of Manila

In a single blow, a British expedition sailed from Madras in India to attack the most far-flung corner of Spain's empire. On the afternoon of September 23, 1762, look-outs at the entrance to Manila Bay were astonished when this fleet rose out of the South China Sea. Rather than halt to await the pilot boat, the 13 ships swept past, leadsmen working in their chains. None of the men-of-war, fully half being heavy two-deckers, displayed any flag or fired a salute. They simply disappeared into the enormous harbor.

At its far end, residents panicked when these unknown warships dropped anchor near the naval base of Cavite, 10 miles short of Manila. The 870 Spanish defenders were roused from their peacetime lethargy. Next morning, a boat visited the silent and menacing squadron with a message from the acting governor of the city, Archbishop Dr. Manuel Antonio Roxo. The reply was that England and Spain had been at war for almost nine months, shocking news that had not yet reached the Philippines.

As a result, Rear Adm. Samuel Cornish had brought an 1,800-man army under Brig. Gen. William Draper to conquer the city and its islands. The boat returned into Manila with a call for its immediate surrender, which was rejected by that afternoon. British frigates then bore down on the sleepy hamlet of Malate, about a mile southeast of the capital, and opened fire so that Draper's army were able to disembark overnight. His troops were joined by more than 1,000 Royal Marines and sailors from Cornish's warships, as well as several hundred Indian porters.

By dawn of September 25, the invaders had probed north into the very outskirts of Manila, and a siege began. Sallies and countersallies ensued for 10 days, during which the redcoats were infuriated by the Filipinos' practice of beheading British bodies. When the besiegers finally burst through a breach at dawn of October 6, they butchered every defender they could find. Hundreds leaped into the Pasig River to escape, where more than 300 drowned.

escorted by the frigate *Nossa Senhora da Estrêla* of Capt. João da Costa de Ataíde and the brigantine *São Pedro e São Paulo*. Although conveying only 65 soldiers, this expedition nonetheless brings in abundant ammunition and supplies.

OCTOBER 1, 1762. *Sacramento.* De Cevallos's expedition appears a mile and a half outside Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay), proclaiming their inten-

tion to attack this Portuguese outpost, while simultaneously erecting a siege camp. Saplines are begun, the garrison shooting their first defensive rounds on October 5 after the attackers draw close to its walls. The Spaniards respond by firing heated rounds into the settlement, then calling upon its defenders to surrender on October 6, a proposal that is rejected. The besiegers maintain only a poor naval blockade, however, and de Sarria's squadron allows Portuguese vessels to slip in and out with resupplies. Nevertheless, two batteries of 24- and 18-pounders commence battering a breach by October 11, while mortars drop shells behind the Portuguese ramparts.

A pair of gaps appear by October 20, but de Cevallos prefers to renew negotiations one week later with the wounded garrison commander—Brig. Gen. Vicente da Silva da Fonseca—rather than storm the walls; they finally hammer out capitulation terms by October 30. Three days later, the gates swing open and 2,355 Portuguese soldiers and sailors surrender with full honors of war, along with 1,600 civilians. Spanish casualties during this campaign total 12 dead and 200 wounded, while their booty includes 87 artillery pieces and 26 vessels anchored in the roadstead—mostly British ships.

NOVEMBER 2, 1762. *River Plate Campaign.* An Anglo-Portuguese expedition arrives at Rio de Janeiro, spearheaded by the private English vessels *Lord Clive* (former *Kingston*) of 50 guns and the 28-gun frigate *Ambuscade*. Both have been purchased from the Royal Navy by a group of London investors, to be sailed by captains John Macnamara—an ex-East India Company officer—and William Roberts in a surprise raid against the River Plate before word can precede them of the latest outbreak of war between Portugal and Spain. During a stopover at Lisbon, the two have furthermore been joined by a pair of Portuguese transports bearing 500 troops under Lt. Col. Vasco Fernandes Pinto Alpoim, plus five store ships, all nine setting sail on August 3, 1762, for Brazil.

Macnamara departs Rio for the River Plate on November 21, accompanied by the 38-gun Portuguese frigate *Glória*, and is disappointed upon arriving to find its Spanish defenders already alerted. He thus steers toward recently conquered Colônia do Sacramento in hopes of retaking it. On January 6, 1763, Macnamara anchors close offshore with his two English and one Portuguese man-of-war, while the transports wait farther out at sea. After a three-hour bombardment of the Spanish defenses, smoke can be seen rising from *Lord Clive*, which explodes

and takes 272 of its 350 crew members down with it—including Macnamara. The badly mauled *Ambuscade*, with 105 of its own dead and 40 wounded, subsequently leads this defeated expedition back into Rio de Janeiro.

JANUARY 1763. Having refurbished Sacramento, Governor de Cevallos leads two columns eastward in a coastal sweep through what is today northeastern Uruguay to eliminate other Portuguese outposts. East of Negra Lagoon, Fort Santa Tereza is taken with ease on February 19 as Colonel Osório has only 150 men remaining of his unpaid, demoralized garrison. Similarly, Fort San Miguel offers scant resistance at the Chuy Narrows, launching an unsuccessful 400-man sally before its defenders melt away, leaving only 25 officers and 280 troops to surrender to the 3,000 advancing Spaniards. The town of Río Grande (Brazil) is therefore abandoned by Gov. Eloy Madureira and occupied by the Spaniards

on April 24. It is there where de Cevallos is eventually informed of the cessation of hostilities in Europe as of April 8 and so concludes his campaign.

As of November 3, 1762, a triumphant England has also signed peace preliminaries with French and Spanish representatives at Fontainebleau, marking an effective end to their hostilities. By their terms, Britain will retain Canada and all of France's North American possessions east of the Mississippi (except the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon off Newfoundland), plus Spanish Florida, which Madrid agrees to cede in exchange for Havana's return. To compensate Spain for this loss, Louis agrees to give Louisiana to Charles III. In the Caribbean, Britain is to retain possession of Grenada, Dominica, Saint Vincent, and Tobago, while Martinique, Saint Lucia, Guadeloupe, and Marie-Galante are to be restored to French rule. Elsewhere, the victorious British also secure vast new territories in Africa and India, thus establishing their first global empire.

BOUNDARY DISPUTES (1763–1774)

The conclusion to the Seven Years' War finds Europe's powers spent, and a renewed conflict will not erupt for another generation. Nevertheless, minor frictions persist in the New World, some of them as a direct result of the recently realigned borders.

FEBRUARY 23, 1763. At Magdalenenburg Plantation on the Canje River in Berbice (Guyana), slaves revolt against their brutal Dutch masters, sparking a general uprising throughout this region. By March 8, Gov. Simon van Hoogenheim abandons Fort Nassau, sailing down the Berbice River with its terrified white populace crammed aboard three large merchantmen, the slaver *Adriana Petronella*, and a few sloops. Some 2,000 black rebels then take over the evacuated district under their leader Coffy.

On March 28, the hired English brigantine *Betsy* reaches van Hoogenheim's isolated refugee camp at Fort Andries, bringing 100 Dutch reinforcements from Suriname. After an initial probe up the Canje is repelled at Fredericksburg Plantation by black rebels under Fortuyn, the Dutch troops recapture Dageraad by March 31. On April 2, hundreds of blacks under Accara attack this outpost from different directions, suffering heavy losses.

After five weeks of uneasy negotiations, Coffy himself attempts another all-out assault on May 13, storming Dageraad's ramparts with three columns of 500–600 men apiece. They are decimated by accurate counterfire from the 10-gun Sint Eustatius bark *Zeven Provinciën* out in the river, plus the entrenched troops, so that after five hours' fighting the poorly armed rebels withdraw, having suffered considerable losses as opposed to a dozen Dutch dead and 10 wounded.

A stalemate thereafter ensues, until Capt. Maarten Haringman's warship *Sint Maartensdijk* arrives from Holland on October 28, bearing 150 soldiers—the first contingent of a much larger expedition organized by the States-General to restore order under Lt. Col. Jan Marius de Salve. By this time, the disgraced Coffy has already committed suicide, and the blacks have fallen out among themselves along tribal lines. On December 19, van Hoogenheim pushes upriver from Dageraad, encountering little

round his vital baggage train while his light forces, trailing behind, act as a mobile reserve. When the frustrated Indians attack Bouquet's encampment again the next morning, they are repulsed with heavy casualties, then broken when the British light forces catch them from the rear on August 6, producing a wholesale rout.

Both sides suffer comparatively heavy losses during this clash, yet Bouquet is able to march the remaining 150 miles and relieve Fort Pitt a week later. Native hopes that France might resume its former role in North America gradually fade, while the more conciliatory actions of Amherst's successor, Maj. Gen. Thomas Gage, win over a number of tribes and cause dissension among the rest. The rebellion loses momentum, and Pontiac lifts his siege of Detroit. He accepts British rule by spring 1765, but this change of heart makes him enemies among his own people, and he is murdered four years later by a Peoria warrior.

JUNE 1763. A band of Zamboes under chiefs Alamar and Quiantales raid the Matina Valley (Costa Rica).

NOVEMBER 29, 1763. The French officer Bougainville (see "May 8, 1756" entry in "French and Indian War") drops anchor between Santa Catarina Island and the Brazilian mainland with his brand-new, 300-ton frigate *Aigle* under Capt. Nicolas Pierre Duclos-Guyot. Although bearing a temporary commission as captain in France's Royal Navy, Bougainville is actually bringing a private expedition to establish a colony in the uninhabited archipelago 300 miles east of the Strait of Magellan, known as the Falklands or Malouines.

These 2 large and 200 small South Atlantic islands have been known to sailors since the late 16th century. When the English salvor John Strong sailed through in January 1690, he named them the "Falkland Islands" in honor of Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland (see "February 20, 1690" entry in "King William's War"). French sailors out of Saint Malo also came to know about this grouping, dubbing it the Malouines (see "June 24, 1699" entry in "The Darien Disaster"). This latter name will be transcribed later into Spanish as Maluinas, which will evolve into "Malvinas"—the "u" and "v" being interchangeable in 18th-century script.

After being welcomed ashore by the Portuguese governor Francisco Antônio Cardoso de Meneses y Sousa and refreshing provisions, Bougainville re-

sumes his voyage southwestward on December 14. He hopes to meet his slower consort, the 120-ton corvette *Sphinx* under Lt. François Chenard de La Giraudais, which has become separated.

DECEMBER 28, 1763. Bougainville's *Aigle* anchors off Montevideo, to a cool reception from its Spanish governor, José Joaquín de Viana. The French commander does not reveal his destination, but he obtains some supplies. Three days later, his consort *Sphinx* arrives.

The reunited vessels depart on January 14, 1764, steering south. The suspicious Spanish governor will dispatch a warning to Madrid.

JANUARY 31, 1764. Bougainville's expedition sights the Sebaldes or Jason Islands, steering east into the heart of the Falklands Archipelago. After exploring for 11 weeks, he will found his first formal establishment at Port Louis on the largest eastern island by April 5. The *Sphinx* immediately sets sail to carry word of this new foundation to Guadeloupe in the West Indies. Bougainville departs three days later with the *Aigle*, leaving behind 30 residents.

JUNE 1764. The newly appointed French governor general at Saint Domingue (Haiti)—34-year-old Vice Adm. Charles-Henri, Comte d'Estaing—lays claim to the Turks and Caicos islands, provoking heated diplomatic recriminations from London. Eventually, the French are obliged to retire, this grouping being annexed to Bahamian authority.

AUGUST 1764. Determined not to cede any more of Río Grande do Sul Province, its newly appointed Portuguese governor—Col. José Custódio Faria—completes the construction of a new border keep christened Fort São Caetano da Barranca do Estreito and installs a garrison of four companies of regulars under Capt. Francisco Pinto Bandeira, while simultaneously commencing work on Fort Tebiquari (modern Taquari).

JANUARY 1765. The 40-year-old English circumnavigator John Byron touches at the Falkland Islands with HMS *Dolphin* of 24 guns and 150 men and the 14-gun *Tamar* under Cmdr. Patrick Mowat, leaving a small party behind at Port Egmont on its main western or Saunders Island before striking out into the Pacific. He is unaware of any French settlement in the archipelago. Once he regains London in May 1766, Byron reports upon the strategic value

of this group, so the British government sends out Capt. John Macbride with the 32-gun frigate *Jason* and 100 settlers aboard three lesser consorts to maintain its claim upon this territory.

Meanwhile, the Spanish government has lodged a protest with Paris about Bougainville's original colony, which the French agree to withdraw on condition that this explorer be indemnified for his expenses. Bougainville duly makes a second voyage out to Buenos Aires, where he is joined by the Spanish naval captain Felipe Ruiz Puente, and continues on to Port Louis, which is renamed "Puerto de Nuestra Señora de la Soledad" and given over to Spanish rule on April 1, 1767. After the French depart, Ruiz begins corresponding with the English settlers at Port Egmont on the western island, insisting that they, too, must leave. Cmdr. Anthony Hunt therefore departs toward England for instructions aboard his 14-gun *Tamar*.

MAY 22, 1765. Embittered by the implementation of new taxes during a period of economic depression, a mob several thousand strong—summoned out of the poorer neighborhoods of Quito (Ecuador) by evening church bells and fireworks—demolishes the royal customs house in Santa Bárbara Square, plunging the city and its surrounding district into several weeks of anarchy.

When local authorities attempt to restore order a month later by arresting more than two-score ring-leaders, which they punish with public floggings and duckings in water, a second uprising erupts on the evening of June 24, quickly escalating into violence in which two or three people are slain. The audiencia palace and homes of prominent peninsular Spaniards are ransacked, and Crown rule effectively lapses and is replaced by a broad-based popular coalition of local Creoles, who attempt to contain subsequent outbursts (although some more radi-

Antonio de Ulloa

Antonio de Ulloa y de la Torre Guiral was born at Seville on January 12, 1716. The second son of the city mayor, who was also an economist of repute, both he and his brother showed great promise in mathematics at the Colegio Mayor de Santo Tomás. The elder Fernando was destined for the army and become a military engineer. The younger Antonio was sent to Cadiz by his parents at the age of 13 to enroll in the Royal Spanish Marine Academy. As there were no vacancies, he sailed in 1730 as a volunteer aboard the South American plate fleet of Adm. Manuel López Pintado. Over the next two years, he visited Cartagena, Portobelo, Havana, and Santo Domingo.

Upon returning to Spain, de Ulloa reapplied and was accepted to the Marine Academy on November 28, 1733. By then, though, he was aboard the royal warship *Santa Teresa*, escorting reinforcements from Barcelona to Italy for the campaign against the Austrians. Shortly after regaining Spain late in 1734, the 18-year-old was assigned to the "Geodesic Mission" because of his intellectual gifts.

This scientific expedition was organized by the French Academy of Sciences to take exact measurements at the equator in Peru, and de Ulloa's participation shaped the future course of his life. After reaching Cartagena the next summer with his 21-year-old Spanish colleague Jorge Juan y Santacilia and being joined by the French delegation, they proceeded into Peru by spring of 1736 (see "July 9, 1735" entry in "Interwar Years"). Eight years of stimulating research ensued. By the time the 28-year-old de Ulloa left Callao on October 22, 1744, aboard the French frigate *Délivrance*, he carried a wealth of observations. When two accompanying vessels were captured off the Azores by British warships, the *Délivrance* limped toward Louisbourg in Nova Scotia for repairs. Instead, it was seized in mid-August 1745, as this French stronghold was then in English hands.

Yet when de Ulloa reached England as a prisoner, he was befriended by men of science and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in April 1746. Freed with all his papers by July, he traveled through Lisbon to Madrid. De Ulloa and Juan were reunited and promoted to junior captains. They then wrote accounts of their trip. When published two years later, they both became famous and full captains as of October 24, 1748. They toured Europe, studying naval and scientific techniques.

Because of his work on natural platinum at the gold mines of Chocó (Colombia), de Ulloa was also appointed on July 11, 1754, as the new governor for the troubled royal mercury mines at Huancavelica (Peru). He did not actually assume this post until November 4, 1758. Five turbulent years ensued, during which time he bickered with the corrupt local parties. Despite failing to achieve reforms, he was promoted to rear admiral and received orders on July 13, 1764, to go to Havana, where he received a new assignment as governor of Louisiana. This position proved to be even more difficult, for he was chased out in less than two years.

cal elements even call for full independence from Spain).

Once passions cool, the numerous differences among the city's diverse ethnic and social groupings, plus fears of an Indian descent out of the hinterland, sap the coalition's unity and hasten calls for a peaceful restoration of royal control. When a column of viceregal troops finally enters Quito on September 1, 1766, under the conciliatory governor of Guayaquil, Antonio de Zelaya, they are enthusiastically received.

MARCH 5, 1766. The 50-year-old rear admiral Antonio de Ulloa arrives at New Orleans with 90 troops to assume office as Louisiana's first Spanish governor, after a difficult five-year tenure in a similar capacity at the mercury mines of Huanacavelica (Peru). Despite his fluency in the French language and customs, many local residents remain resentful of their transfer to Madrid's rule, and they complicate de Ulloa's task.

MAY 28–29, 1766. Overnight, a mixed force of Portuguese regulars under Col. Marcelino de Figueiredo from Fort São Caetano and local Brazilian irregulars attempt to surprise the Spanish garrison holding the town of Río Grande, failing when high winds disperse their flotilla of boats.

DECEMBER 25, 1766. After reoccupying Concepción (Chile) following a 40 years' truce with this district's Mapuche or Araucano Indians (see "Spring 1723" entry in "Turmoil"), the Spaniards are again subjected to a major native uprising when they attempt to resettle the Mapuches into three large towns. Their chieftain, Curiñancu, torches the churches and dwellings of the Spanish troops under *maestre de campo* Salvador Cabrito, who withdraw north of the Bío-Bío River.

MAY 14, 1767. *Jesuit Expulsion.* At dawn, a Spanish dispatch vessel sails into the harbor at Havana. Its captain presents Gov. Antonio de Bucareli with a sealed order from King Charles III, which is not to be opened until the night of June 15–16. A packet of similar secret letters is also to be forwarded by the Cuban governor to Crown officials in other Spanish territories.

Fearful that a war is about to be declared, Bucareli gathers his senior staff on the appointed evening and calls out his city garrison. Instead, the surprised officers read that they are to arrest every

Jesuit in Cuba and immediately deport them to Cadiz. By sunrise of June 16, bewildered clerics are being herded aboard a vessel.

Troops will be used to make similar mass arrests on June 25 in Mexico City, on July 12 in Argentina, on July 31 in Bogotá, on November 30 in California, and so on. More than 2,600 Jesuits are sped across the Atlantic to join another 3,400 already expelled from Spain. The king has allegedly done so because of the society's "constant meddling in politics," its challenges to royal authority, and its burning of Bishop Palafox's books in Mexico. But other reasons have also moved Charles, which he says are guarded "in my royal soul." One may be the suspicion of Jesuit involvement in the March 1766 food riots in Madrid, which obliged the king to briefly flee his capital and dismiss his chief minister. For all of this, the Society of Jesus has been dissolved and its vast Spanish American properties added to the Crown's lands.

OCTOBER 27, 1768. In New Orleans, a French mob—after two years' fruitless attempts to get Louisiana's transfer to Madrid rescinded—spike the city guns, then swarm through the streets the next afternoon, prompting the Spanish governor de Ulloa to seek refuge aboard the frigate *Volante* out in its harbor. De Ulloa sets sail for Havana on November 1, after which the Creole leaders offer allegiance to the English at nearby Pensacola and even contemplate independence.

AUGUST 17, 1769. *Spanish Louisiana.* The 45-year-old, Irish-born inspector general and a knight of the Order of Alcántara, Alejandro O'Reilly y McDowell, reaches New Orleans this afternoon from Havana with 2,000 Spanish troops aboard a frigate and 23 lesser consorts to reimpose Madrid's rule over the 5,500 inhabitants of this former French colony. O'Reilly proceeds mildly, Spanish rule is peaceably proclaimed on August 18, and the 12 ring-leaders of Creole independence are arrested at a breakfast three days later (half are later executed and the others transported to Cuba). O'Reilly departs early in March 1770, leaving Luis de Unzaga y Amézaga as interim governor of the pacified province.

DECEMBER 3, 1769. In Chile, a raiding party of Pehuenche Indians under Chief Lebián eradicate the Spanish settlements on La Laja Island, then defeat 30 soldiers under Cabrito, before overrunning the garrison at Santa Bárbara on December 9 and severing all communication with the fort at Purén.

JANUARY 1, 1770. The Spanish garrison holding Antuco (Chile) is struck by a surprise native attack, suffering 14 killed and 80 wounded.

JUNE 10, 1770. *The Falklands.* Capt. Juan Ignacio de Madariaga's frigates *Industria*, *Santa Bárbara*, *Santa Catalina*, and *Santa Rosa*, plus the xebec *Andaluz*, surprise the English settlement at Port Egmont. This squadron has been dispatched by Buenos Aires's governor Francisco Bucareli to expunge the British claim and bears 1,400 soldiers and a siege train under Col. Antonio Gutiérrez.

Although the English have erected a wooden blockhouse and an eight-gun battery of 12-pounders, these are no match against such a force. The Spaniards wade ashore, and after a token exchange of shot, Royal Navy commanders William Maltby and George Farmer sue for terms. They and other settlers are detained for the next 20 days, then permitted to sail for England aboard their sole remaining vessel, the 16-gun *Favourite*, while the new occupiers rename the town "Cruzada" and assume ownership.

When news of this seizure reaches Britain, it produces a heated public outcry. Paris refuses to back Madrid in its predicament, so the Spaniards are eventually obliged to back down on January 22, 1771, alleging that this act was done without Charles III's authorization. They offer to restore Port Egmont as it existed before being captured, and the 32-gun frigate *Juno* of Capt. John Stott arrives in April to resume British rule, accompanied by the 14-gun *Hound* and store-ship *Florida*.

(Three years later, Britain unilaterally abandons the Falklands because of the cost of maintaining such a remote garrison.)

SEPTEMBER 21, 1770. Spanish efforts to suffocate Mapuche resistance in southern Chile are dealt a severe blow when 200 troops marched across from Buenos Aires are attacked and decimated atop Marigüño Hill. Peace will not be fully restored until the 1784 Treaty of Santiago de Tapihuc.

MAY 16, 1771. *Regulator Revolt.* After prolonged resentment against southeastern residents of the Carolinas, who control its government and commerce, certain Scotch-Irish settlers in its northwestern corner—calling themselves Regulators—refuse in the spring of 1771 to have anything more to do with this province. Gov. William Tryon raises 1,018 militiamen and 30 light cavalymen to put down this rebellion, marching west and burning many farms and homes.

On May 16, his army confronts 2,000 half-armed Regulators at Alamance Creek (20 miles west of Hillsboro, North Carolina), defeating them in a two-hour battle in which he suffers 9 killed and 61 wounded. Some 20 Regulators die, 50 are injured, and a dozen captured—of whom 10 are later hanged, effectively ending this insurrection.

LATE DECEMBER 1772. Holland dispatches 800 soldiers—plus the gunboats *Charon* and *Cerberus*—to Suriname under Swiss-born colonel Louis-Henry Fourgeoud to subdue several thousand runaway slaves or "maroons" settled along its Upper Cottica River. Despite repeated campaigns over the next few years, the latter prove too elusive to be brought to battle.



Iroquois chief wearing a red blanket, white tunic, and blue leggings. (Parks Canada)

NOVEMBER 1773. After repeated complaints about Portuguese cross-border cattle raids out of Río Grande do Sul Province, the Spanish governor of Buenos Aires—Mexican-born Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo—leads more than 1,000 men northward from Montevideo to begin erecting early the next year the large, pentagonal Fort of Santa Tecla at the confluence of the Negro and Piraízinho rivers (near modern Bagé), intending to use it as an advance base against the Brazilian guerrillas.

The latter respond to this incursion when 100 local militiamen under Rafael Pinto Bandeira ambush a Spanish supply column at Santa Bárbara on January 2, 1774. Three days later, Vértiz scatters a 21-man Portuguese detachment from Piquiri, but he is defeated at Tabatingá on January 10 and is chased back to the occupied town of Río Grande.

OCTOBER 10, 1774. *Point Pleasant.* In Kentucky, the inland expansion of English settlers following the collapse of French influence produces a series of skirmishes with the local Shawnee, Delaware, Wyandotte, and Mingo (western Iroquois) natives—becoming known as “Lord Dunmore’s War” after Virginia’s governor John Murray, Earl of Dunmore.

In autumn, Dunmore links up with 1,100 Virginia militiamen under Col. Andrew Lewis at the confluence of the Kanawha and Ohio rivers. On the night of October 9, a Shawnee army under Chief Cornstalk crosses the Ohio and attacks the colonials at dawn. In a fierce day-long fight, the Virginians hold their position, and by evening the Indians withdraw, having suffered heavy casualties. The militiamen endure 50 killed and 100 wounded, but native power in the Ohio Valley is broken.

UNDECLARED HISPANO-PORTUGUESE CONFLICT (1775–1777)

In South America, the expansion of both Spanish and Portuguese territories creates competition, which eventually explodes into open hostility. Due to the reluctance of each belligerent’s European allies, these campaigns are never endorsed by any official declaration of war.

OCTOBER 1775. Along the undefined jungle border between Guyana, Venezuela, and Brazil, a Spanish expedition under Antonio López explores and claims the Parima district at the Orinoco headwaters, only to be ambushed while retiring into Venezuela’s plains by a sizable Portuguese contingent, which has recently founded a new settlement at the Mao River mouth.

OCTOBER 31, 1775. The Brazilian guerrilla chief-
tain Rafael Pinto Bandeira, with 200 riders, surprises and takes the 40-man Spanish garrison holding the border keep named Fort São Martinho.

FEBRUARY 19, 1776. The Spanish brig *Santiago*, the auxiliaries *Misericordia* and *San Francisco*, the schooner *Pastoriza*, and the corvette *Dolores*, anchored under Capt. Francisco Javier de Morales off the occupied town of Río Grande (Brazil), are suddenly attacked from out at sea by two Portuguese frigates, two store ships, a sloop, and four armed boats under Irish-born commodore William Robert MacDouall. Although expecting to be backed by

a simultaneous assault ashore by units from the reorganized, 4,500-man Portuguese army in the district under Lt. Gen. Johann Heinrich Böhm—an Austrian mercenary sent to Brazil almost nine years previously—MacDouall’s warships are in fact left unsupported. They thus suffer heavy losses and are repelled after a three-hour firefight during which the Spaniards suffer 15 killed and 25 wounded, while sinking the Portuguese sloop and burning another beached vessel the next day.

FEBRUARY 28, 1776. Pinto Bandeira and Maj. Patricio Correia Câmara of the Rio Pardo Dragoons attempt to surprise the 250-man Spanish garrison holding Fort Santa Tecla near Bagé after a stealthy approach with their 193 guerrilla riders, 366 dragoons, and 60 Indian chasseurs. The defenders resist, yet become besieged and finally surrender on March 25, marching off next day toward Montevideo, while the exultant Portuguese throw down the fort’s walls.

MARCH 5, 1776. *Lagoa dos Patos.* Despite MacDouall’s earlier repulse, the Portuguese army under

Böhm musters to evict the 1,500-man Spanish garrison holding the town of Río Grande (Brazil), laying siege to it for 27 days. Eventually, 200 grenadiers of the Royal Bragança and Moura regiments under Maj. José Manoel Carneiro de Figueiredo steal across the Lagoa dos Patos at 3:00 a.m. on April 1, seizing Fort Trinidad, despite being detected and fired upon by the anchored Spanish *Santa Matilde*. Another 200 grenadiers of the Royal Rio de Janeiro and Estremoz regiments under Maj. Manoel Soares Coimbra simultaneously take Fort Mosquito by 4:30 a.m., turning its artillery upon the Spanish warships. Böhm brings 1,100 more troops across the river by dawn, while MacDouall's squadron appears and bombards Forts Ladino and Novo.

The outlying Spanish batteries and outposts surrender by the morning of April 2, after which their surviving units withdraw from the town toward Fort Santa Tereza. The Spanish flagship *Santiago* and two lesser vessels escape out to sea, the other four having been beached and burned. When news of this unexpected Portuguese victory reaches Europe, it will bring a halt to the diplomatic negotiations between both governments, as Madrid prepares to retaliate on a grand scale.

JUNE 20, 1776. A sergeant and 12 Spanish soldiers sent into the Mao district along the Venezuela-Brazil border are attacked by 200 Portuguese troops and 500 native auxiliaries, which were rushed up the Amazon River from Belém by the governor of Pará.

OCTOBER 22, 1776. A popular uprising occurs in Urubamba (Peru), followed by disturbances in Arequipa, which are eventually put down by a series of executions in Cuzco.

FEBRUARY 6–7, 1777. A 116-ship, 19,000-man Spanish expedition appears off Brazil, spearheaded by the fleet of Vice Adm. Francisco Javier Everardo Tilly y Paredes, Marqués de Casa Tilly and Knight of the Order of Santiago, comprised of the 74-gun *Poderoso* of the flag captain Juan de Lángara, *San Dámaso* of Francisco de Borja, *Santiago la América* of Antonio Asorio y Herreras, *San José* of José Bauzes, and *Monarca* of Antonio Osorio y Funco; the 64-gun *Septentrión*; the frigates *Santa Ana*, *Santa Clara*, *Santa Florentina*, *Santa Teresa*, *Santa Margarita*, *Santa Rosa*, and *Liebre*; the *Chambequín Andaluz*; the bomb vessels *Santa Casilda* and *Santa Eulalia*; plus three lesser consorts. They intercept a trio of Portuguese

merchantmen bound from Rio de Janeiro toward Europe—although the Spanish formation's actual purpose is to retaliate on a much grander scale for recent clashes in South America. Some 8,600 infantrymen, 640 dragoons, and 150 gunners from 10 different regiments are aboard 96 transports under the veteran lieutenant general Pedro de Cevallos (*see* "September 3, 1762" entry in "French and Indian War"), Knight of the Orders of Santiago and San Genaro and now also viceroy designate for Buenos Aires.

Originally directed to assault the advance Portuguese outpost of Colônia do Sacramento (Uruguay), de Cevallos decides to assail Brazil's Santa Catarina Island in passing, over the objections of his naval counterpart, Admiral de Tilly. While coasting southwest toward this destination, the huge Spanish fleet brushes aside MacDouall's four Portuguese ships of the line, four frigates, and four auxiliaries, which it finds anchored at Garupas on February 17.

FEBRUARY 20, 1777. *Santa Catarina.* De Cevallos and Admiral de Tilly materialize outside this Brazilian base, filing into Canavieiras Bay at the northern end of the island to probe for a landing spot. The entrances on either side of Ratones Island are covered by Forts São José and Santa Cruz, so the attackers disembark at nearby São Francisco Beach on the night of February 22–23, without opposition.

It is de Cevallos's aim to take Fort São José from the rear, while simultaneously shelling it from out at sea with his 60-gun ship of the line *Septentrión*, the *Liebre*, and two bomb vessels; but the 2,900 unprepared Portuguese defenders under Gen. Antônio Carlos Furtado de Mendonça abandon all their citadels without a fight, most retreating over to the mainland by boat, then deserting en masse upon being marched to reinforce Río Grande. Both of Santa Catarina's forts therefore fall into Spanish hands by February 25, along with 195 artillery pieces, after which 3,816 surviving Portuguese troops and residents gradually give themselves up by March 5 rather than face starvation in the jungle.

MARCH 28, 1777. After installing a garrison on Santa Catarina Island under Irish-born colonel William Vaughan of the Hibernia Regiment, de Cevallos sails southward with the bulk of his forces, intending to disembark at Lagoa dos Patos—again, over Admiral de Tilly's protests—and attack the Portuguese concentration at Río Grande in conjunc-

tion with a northeasterly movement out of Uruguay by a Spanish army under Vértiz. Instead, his expedition encounters such heavy weather that de Cevallos is obliged to stagger into Maldonado by April 18, without seeing action. He then detaches his heavier ships of the line on May 10 to cruise in search of MacDouall's Portuguese squadron, while retaining his lighter craft to conduct his army on toward Sacramento.

APRIL 9, 1777. Antonio Barreto, newly designated governor of the "Upper Orinoco," departs Santo Tomé de Guayana (Venezuela) with 50 soldiers aboard nine small vessels to sail upriver. He gathers an additional 50 soldiers farther inland, then probes the Portuguese defenses along the Negro River.

APRIL 21, 1777. The 74-gun Spanish ship of the line *San Agustín* of Capt. José N. Zapiáin and the smaller auxiliary *Santa Ana* (having arrived too late from Europe to overtake de Cevallos and de Tilly's expedition, as well as becoming separated from their 74-gun consort *Serio* and frigate *Magdalena*) are captured near the mouth of the River Plate by MacDouall's Portuguese squadron.

MAY 22, 1777. *Sacramento.* *Mariscal de campo* Victorio de Navia Osorio disembarks the vanguard of de Cevallos's 4,500 troops at El Molino (three miles from this Portuguese outpost) and is joined the next day by the commander in chief, despite heavy rains. This expedition is further reinforced from Buenos Aires, then begins digging its first siege works by May 30, consisting of a mortar battery, another battery of eight-pounders to fire heated shot, plus a pair of heavy pieces and other lighter ones to protect the flanks. The surprised 700 Portuguese soldiers and 300 sailors under Col. Francisco José de Rocha—already half starved because of a prolonged Spanish blockade—quickly sue for terms and surrender by the afternoon of June 4. The Spaniards' booty includes 700 prisoners, 141 artillery pieces, and 2,300 muskets.

De Cevallos spends the next two months demolishing the fortifications at Sacramento and the twin batteries on adjacent San Gabriel Island with explosives, before finally scuttling blockships to close up the harbor's entrance. He then reembarks his troops to sail east toward Maldonado on August 4. It is his intent to launch another offensive against Río Grande, but this is cancelled when news reaches

Viceroyalty of the River Plate

Since the 16th century, Spain's American empire had been made up of three viceroyalties: that of New Spain, with its capital in Mexico City; the viceroyalty of Peru, with its capital in Lima; and New Granada, with its capital at Bogotá. South America's riches had for two centuries been shipped up the Pacific coast to Panama to meet the annual plate fleets arriving from Cadiz. But when their sheltered anchorage at Portobelo was razed by the British in 1739 and other Caribbean ports were menaced, Spain's ministers began searching for an alternate outlet.

The obvious choice was Buenos Aires. Large amounts of silver could be safely brought down out of the Andes from Potosí for shipment across the Atlantic. The seaport's population therefore doubled because of this shift in pattern, from 10,000 inhabitants in 1744 to more than 20,000 by 1763, making Buenos Aires the fastest-growing city in South America. But it was not until General de Cevallos was about to set sail with a huge expedition to contest Portuguese advances out of Brazil that Charles III finally decided to elevate the region into a fourth viceroyalty.

On giving the general his commission at San Ildefonso on August 1, 1776, the king also named him viceroy of a vast new jurisdiction. The "Viceroyalty of the River Plate" was to encompass modern Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay. (A good part of southern Brazil was included as well.) De Cevallos saw that his offensive against the Portuguese came to a successful end before reaching Buenos Aires to assume office as viceroy on October 15, 1777.

Twelve days later, Charles III issued another royal decree from Spain, formally constituting the new viceroyalty. Overland trade with Peru and Chile was liberalized as of November 6, 1777, as well as seaborne traffic the next year. Soon, dozens of transatlantic merchantmen were arriving at Buenos Aires every year with goods, slaves, and so on. Millions of pesos in bullion were also being exported, plus hundreds of thousands of hides, as cattle ranching boomed. A 20-year bonanza began, eventually leading to nationhood.

him on August 27 of the restoration of relations between Madrid and Lisbon back in Europe.

JULY 9, 1777. De Tilly sets sail from Santa Catarina Island with seven ships of the line and five frigates, steering toward Río Grande. However, bad weather hampers his progress, compelling him to stand into the River Plate by July 26. While

approaching harbor after nightfall, his frigate *Santa Clara* is wrecked on the Banco Inglés, going down with 120 hands.

The death of José I of Portugal on February 23, 1777, has produced a reversal in Lisbon's policies, as he has been succeeded by his Spanish-born queen, María Victoria, who brings an end to these disputes by a preliminary treaty signed at San Ildefonso on

October 1. The Portuguese give up all claims to Sacramento and Uruguay, further agreeing to restore the ship *San Agustín* to Spain. The latter returns Santa Catarina Island and agrees to recognize Río Grande as falling within Brazilian territory. This agreement is finalized at El Pardo on March 24, 1778, and one month later, de Tilly's expedition quits the River Plate for home.

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Independence (1775–1825)



Oh God! It is all over!

—Great Britain's Prime Minister Lord North, upon learning of the Yorktown defeat (1781)

AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775–1783)

With the collapse of France's New World empire, Britain's North American subjects no longer need protection from the home country. Long-simmering political, economic, and social grievances therefore come to the fore, leading to a transatlantic split. Tensions finally come to a boil in Virginia on March 23, 1775, when its provincial convention calls for a "posture of defense," prompting Gov. John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore, to retaliate by seizing the powder supply at Williamsburg.

On April 14, Lt. Gen. Sir Thomas Gage, the "martial law Royal Governor" or commander in chief at Boston—under mounting pressure to take action against the spreading American sedition—decides to destroy the military supplies stored at nearby Concord and arrest any delegates headed for the Second Continental Congress. Consequently, Lt. Col. Francis Smith of the 10th Regiment of Foot is delegated to march 800 men through Lexington—an incursion that the colonial militia vows to oppose.

Paul Revere and William Dawes carry warnings of this sortie a few days later, so that Samuel Adams and John Hancock—both staying in Lexington while en route to attend the Philadelphia Congress—escape on the night of April 18. Around midnight, the consumptive Lexington militia captain John Parker draws up his 130 "minutemen," dismissing them with instructions to assemble again upon the beat of a drum.

APRIL 19, 1775. *Lexington and Concord.* At dawn, Smith's vanguard—six companies of light infantrymen under Maj. John Pitcairn, 200 redcoats in all—reaches Lexington, six miles short of Concord. Parker's minutemen are summoned, but because of insufficient weapons, only 70 muster upon its green while the rest run to its arsenal. Pitcairn's regulars meanwhile advance in three lines intending to surround and disarm the Americans, who give way. Although both sides are under orders not to fire, a shot rings out in the gloom, and ragged shooting commences resulting in 8 American dead and 10 wounded. Only a single redcoat receives a leg wound, while Pitcairn's horse is struck twice; but this skirmish rouses American resistance so that, by the time Smith's regiment approaches Concord a few hours later, 150 minutemen are drawn up along a ridge behind the North Bridge under militia colonel James Barrett. British captain Walter Laurie advances with three companies, while Barrett's farm and Concord are searched for hidden war stores.

At this point, Laurie's men are driven back with some losses, until Smith can bring up reinforcements and eventually break off this engagement. Having accomplished their immediate objective, the redcoats begin their return march toward Boston around noon through countryside now in a fury. From Merriam's Corner a mile outside Concord, they are har-

rassed by sniper fire, unsuccessfully rallying at Fiske's Hill where Pitcairn loses his horse and pistols and Smith is wounded. Upon regaining Lexington, the British are reinforced by Brig. Gen. Lord Hugh Percy with 1,400 men and two 6-pounders, and they fight their way through until they reach the safety of naval guns at Charlestown Neck. Of the 3,765 Americans involved in these daylong clashes, 50 are killed, 40 wounded, and 5 missing. British casualties total 250 men plus 26 deserters.

APRIL 23, 1775. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Watertown authorizes the formation of various state regiments into a so-called Army of Observation. Still professing to be loyal subjects of the Crown, this force supposedly is intended only to "observe"—actually, to contain—the 3,000 redcoats crowded inside Boston under Gage.

Within a month, well over 12,000 colonial volunteers gather under the overall command of the sickly 47-year-old major general Artemas Ward. They are grouped into 24 Massachusetts regiments, as well as 3 each from Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. With that assembly, the Revolutionary War becomes fully joined.

MAY 2, 1775. In Virginia, the radical 38-year-old major Patrick Henry leads a rebel force to retrieve

the powder seized by Governor Dunmore at Williamsburg, who furthermore agrees to pay £330 by way of compensation.

MAY 3, 1775. To obtain military stores for the Patriot cause, 34-year-old major Benedict Arnold is temporarily promoted to colonel by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety and ordered to raise a few hundred men in the western counties to seize Fort Ticonderoga, an isolated British outpost on Lake Champlain. (It will never be clearly known whether this venture is Arnold's own plan or someone else's.) Four days later, a separate force of 175 mostly Green Mountain Boys under the 36-year-old acting colonel Ethan Allen reaches Castleton (Vermont) on a similar commission out of Connecticut. They stealthily reconnoiter the British fort and realize that its garrison is entirely unaware of the state of hostilities.

On May 9, Arnold reaches Castleton with his contingent and attempts to assume overall command. Allen and his rowdy followers refuse to comply, agreeing merely to act in concert. At 2:00 a.m. the next morning, 83 of the Green Mountain Boys pile into the only two boats available at Hand's Cove and set out across the lake with Allen and Arnold. Rather than wait until the entire joint force is ferried across, both commanders lead a charge into Fort Ticonderoga at dawn on May 10. Its garrison of 2 English officers and 46 soldiers—mostly invalids, along with two-dozen women and children—is taken completely by surprise, hence Capt. William Delaplace surrenders without resistance.

Allen's cousin and subordinate, Maj. Seth Warner, then marches a group 10 miles farther north and occupies Fort Crown Point, capturing another 9 Englishmen along with 10 women and children. In this fashion, the Revolutionaries obtain 78 guns, 6 mortars, 3 howitzers, thousands of cannonballs, and 30,000 flints. On May 12, Allen sends Fort Ticonderoga's captive garrison as prisoners to Gov. Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut.

MAY 18, 1775. Arnold sails northward from Skenesboro (New York) with 50 volunteers aboard a small schooner and several bateaux. They seize Fort St. Johns and the 70-ton sloop *Enterprise*, removing most supplies and torching the remainder before returning to Fort Crown Point. Allen and most of his Green Mountain Boys having departed for home, Arnold retains possession of both it and Fort Ticonderoga. However, these forts are soon

conceded to Connecticut, and a regiment is sent out under Col. Benjamin Hinman to garrison both with Arnold as his second-in-command. Arnold, however, declines and departs.

MAY 25, 1775. Gage's beleaguered garrison within Boston is joined by other contingents from England under major generals William Howe, John "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne, and Henry Clinton, bringing their combined strength to 6,500 men. These new arrivals also bring orders to impose martial law throughout rebellious Massachusetts. However, some 15,000 colonials are encamped defiantly outside Boston, although short on ammunition and accoutrements.

JUNE 2, 1775. Faced with rising rebel sentiment, North Carolina's unpopular royal governor, Josiah Martin, reaches Fort Johnston on lower Cape Fear, having abandoned the capital of New Bern.

JUNE 12, 1775. In Boston, Gage offers a royal pardon to all insurgents except Samuel Adams and John Hancock; this proposal is ignored by his American besiegers, who learn the next day that the British intend to launch a four-pronged sally on June 18 to occupy Dorchester Heights, Roxbury, Cambridge, and the Charlestown Peninsula. General Ward and the Massachusetts Committee of Safety boldly counter by sending 49-year-old colonel William Prescott with three regiments totaling 1,600 men across to Charlestown Peninsula at 9:00 p.m. on June 16 to dig in atop Breed's Hill (rather than the higher Bunker Hill) and to repel any British disembarkation.

JUNE 17, 1775. *Bunker Hill.* At dawn, the British inside Boston are surprised to see colonial forces entrenched on the nearby Charlestown Peninsula. The HMSS *Glasgow*, *Lively*, *Somerset*, and *Falcon* open fire against these new American redoubts, in anticipation of the English army's sally to destroy them and subsequently march toward Cambridge to scatter the Army of Observation.

At noon, General Howe lands at Moulton's Point and just north of Charlestown with 2,400 heavily burdened redcoats, who are twice repulsed as they attempt to advance upon the colonials' lines. A simultaneous disembarkation by British light infantry at the Mystic River beach to launch a flanking maneuver is also bloodily repelled by Col. John Stark's New Hampshire troops. Reinforced by an additional 400 troops under General Clinton and a battalion

of Royal Marines ferried across from Boston, Howe's third attack succeeds in driving the provincials—who are running low on ammunition—from their redoubts and eventually off Breed's and Bunker hills altogether.

However, although the Americans retreat toward Cambridge, Howe halts his pursuit at the neck of the Charlestown Peninsula. While the British have won the day and remain in possession of the battlefield, their casualties total 226 dead and 828 wounded, as opposed to 145 colonials killed and 304 wounded. More importantly, the naval bombardment of Charlestown generates much additional animosity against the Loyalist cause, such that Gage is obliged to abandon his plans for pushing inland.

JULY 2, 1775. George Washington arrives at Cambridge and the next day assumes command over the roughly 17,000 provincial troops surrounding Boston. Many of them have enlistments due to expire at the end of the year, thus necessitating the recruitment of a more professional Continental Army.

AUGUST 17, 1775. Because of a bout of rheumatic gout, 41-year-old American major general Philip John Schuyler temporarily cedes command of his 1,200 troops—gathering at Crown Point (New York) for a projected campaign against British Canada—to 39-year-old, Irish-born brigadier general Richard Montgomery. Learning that two 60-foot, 12-gun boats are nearing completion at the British base of Saint Jean 20 miles south of Montreal, Montgomery disembarks with 1,500 men at Île aux Noix on the Richelieu River by August 30, thereby preventing them from reaching Lake Champlain—an action Schuyler fully approves of upon reassuming command on September 4.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1775. *Invasion of Canada.* Schuyler's 1,400-man American army approaches the British base at Saint Jean (Quebec), which consists of a barracks fortified by two redoubts defended by 200 regulars and several cannon under Maj. Charles Preston, as well as an Indian contingent under Chief Sotsichouane, "the Grenadier." Disembarking from their flatboats and canoes a half mile from this stronghold, the invaders are ambushed by a 100-man Indian party under Sotsichouane and the Anglo-American Loyalist captain Gilbert Tice, suffering 16 killed. Schuyler thereupon judges Saint Jean too difficult to storm so returns to Île aux Noix with his force.

After being reinforced by another 500 New Yorkers under Col. Rudolph Ritzema, the Americans once again invade Saint Jean on September 10 and are repelled despite three assaults led by the colonel in person. Montgomery reassumes command over this American army six days later and receives a further 270 reinforcements. However, by this time British major general Sir Guy Carleton

Siege of Boston

On June 7, 1775, the Continental Congress at Philadelphia decided to raise an army for common defense. One week later, they voted to take over the temporary Army of Observation already operating in Massachusetts. Then on June 15, George Washington of Virginia was unanimously elected as commander in chief. He agreed to serve as lieutenant general without pay, only expenses. Under him would be four major generals and eight brigadier generals. A 50-article code of military conduct was also passed.

Washington reached Cambridge on July 2, 1775, with the aim of professionalizing Major General Ward's militia throng (whose enlistments were mostly due to expire by year's end). Ironically, the long stalemate with the British defenders inside Boston gave the American commander time to create three separate divisions and start drilling. He also had a chance to reorganize his Continental Army as of New Year's Day.

On January 24, 1776, Washington received 60 tons of artillery captured from Fort Ticonderoga. Henry Knox brought it across the frozen Connecticut River on sleds. At last ready to challenge the British garrison, who could not be starved into submission because the Royal Navy controlled Boston Bay, the American general suggested an assault the next month while the harbor was still frozen and boat movements would be hampered. But the Massachusetts Committee of Safety rejected this plan and instead proposed that Dorchester Heights be seized.

On the night of March 4, 1776, after a lengthy artillery duel, Washington sent several thousand Continental troops under Brig. Gen. John Thomas to scale these heights. By the next morning, they had dug in with prefabricated defenses and heavy cannon. Realizing that this sudden move atop Dorchester Heights could destroy the British ships anchored in Boston's Back Bay, critical to the garrison's survival, Howe agreed to evacuate the city. The last redcoats trooped aboard by March 17, and the last warships cleared the harbor 10 days later. Washington and his new Continental Army had won their first great victory.



Two-pronged American offensive into Canada.

has increased Saint Jean's garrison to 500 men, with another 90 stationed at nearby Chambly, frustrating the invaders' plans.

Farther east, though, Col. Benedict Arnold has set out from Cambridge (Massachusetts) on September 12 with an additional 1,100–1,200 American volunteers to advance up the Kennebec River, then down the Chaudière to attack the main British stronghold at Quebec City.

Saint Jean (Quebec), Col. Ethan Allen crosses the Saint Lawrence River this night, disembarking below Montreal with 110 men, while Col. John Brown is to lead another 200 ashore above it. The latter fails to appear, however, so at dawn on September 25, Allen's contingent is alone and faced by 35 British regulars and 200 Canadian volunteers under Carleton. Allen and 40 of his men surrender and are held prisoner for the next two and a half years.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1775. Having been detached from Montgomery's main American army before

OCTOBER 10, 1775. Gage is recalled to England, being succeeded as commander in chief of the Brit-

ish armed forces in North America by Maj. Gen. Sir William Howe.

OCTOBER 18, 1775. The British outpost at Chambly (Quebec) surrenders to Montgomery's army, heartening the Americans, who tighten the siege around the larger British base at nearby Saint Jean.

OCTOBER 24, 1775. In Virginia, the heavy-handed royal governor Lord Dunmore—upon learning of Gage's offer to pardon all except two insurgents (*see* "June 12, 1775" entry)—flees onto a British warship and sends Capt. John Squire with six tenders into Hampton Creek to bombard the town. When a party additionally lands to set fire to this place, they are driven back by American riflemen, and Col. William Woodford arrives overnight with 100 colonial militiamen to defend Hampton against a second attack.

At sunrise on October 25, the British open fire again and move in, only to be repelled once more by heavy counterfire. Two British sloops are beached and captured, five ships are sunk, and one is captured with seven sailors aboard. There are no Amer-

ican casualties, however—as at Boston—this Loyalist aggression has only stiffened the rebels' resolve.

OCTOBER 30, 1775. British general Carleton vainly tries to raise Montgomery's siege of Saint Jean (Quebec) by crossing at nearby Longueuil, only to be repelled. Three days later, on November 2, this isolated, half-starved forward outpost finally surrenders to the Americans, opening the road into Montreal.

NOVEMBER 11, 1775. Montgomery disembarks above Montreal with a strong American force, while Carleton only has 150 British regulars and a few militiamen left to defend the town. The next day, Carleton's garrison evacuates aboard 11 ships as the invaders enter Montreal.

While attempting to escape down the Saint Lawrence into Quebec City, the retreating British are further intercepted off Sorel, capitulating by November 19 (although Carleton and a few officers succeed in escaping ashore in a small boat).

NOVEMBER 13, 1775. *Quebec.* Having arrived four days previously at Point Lévis opposite Quebec

The Howe Brothers

It was well known that 49-year-old vice admiral Richard, Viscount Howe, and his 46-year-old brother, Maj. Gen. Sir William Howe, were sympathetic to the colonists' cause. Both had earlier seen extensive service in the Americas, and their eldest brother, George, had even died fighting at Ticonderoga in 1758. The two brothers' selection to command the British response against the American Revolutionary War was seen as a conciliatory gesture. They were men capable of using their friendships to craft a reunification rather than just conduct a military campaign.

Admiral Howe was born in London on March 8, 1726. When he was nine years old, his father died while serving as governor of Barbados. Distantly related to the royal family, the 14-year-old Richard shipped out on Commodore Anson's epic circumnavigation aboard HMS *Severn* in 1740, although his ship was forced to turn back. Howe then fought at the bombardment of La Guaira in February 1742, as well as aboard Admiral Knowles's flagship *Cornwall* off Havana in October 1748. Peacetime patrols off West Africa had ended when Howe, now a captain in command of HMS *Dunkirk*, helped start the French and Indian War by capturing the *Alcide* off Newfoundland in June 1755. He served off France for the next several years, a firm and skillful officer nicknamed "Black Dick" by his crews. After succeeding to his brother George's Irish peerage in 1758, he was elected to Parliament four years later. He then served on the Admiralty Board and as treasurer of the navy. He was promoted to rear admiral by 1770 and to vice admiral five years later.

William was born on August 10, 1729. At the age of 17, he bought a commission in the Duke of Cumberland's dragoons and fought in Flanders. He gained great distinction during the French and Indian War. First, his regiment forged ashore to help conquer Louisbourg in June 1758. He then led the crucial nocturnal ascent to the Plains of Abraham outside Quebec City, helping Wolfe win his last battle in September 1759. Promoted to brigadier general, William took part a year later in the capture of Montreal, before returning home to be elected to Parliament in 1761. He also served as adjutant general for the capture of Havana in 1762.

Both men were admired as fine and experienced officers, who often spoke in support of American grievances before the House of Commons. General Howe had even assured his Nottingham constituents in 1774 that he would resist active duty against the colonists. Despite all their talents and prowess, however, the course of the Revolution could not be diverted.



American ranger of Col. Daniel Morgan's regiment. (Parks Canada)

City with 600–650 half-starved survivors from his 230-mile wilderness trek from Massachusetts, American colonel Benedict Arnold crosses the Saint Lawrence River, then, from the Plains of Abraham, attempts to invade the British garrison of 50-year-old lieutenant colonel Allan MacLean of the Royal Highland Emigrants. Unable to breach the city fortifications without a siege train, the invaders must remain encamped outside until November 19, when they retire westward to Pointe aux Trembles to await the arrival of another American contingent from Montreal under Montgomery.

The latter appears by the evening of December 2, joined the next day by 600 of his troops with some artillery. The Americans still cannot fully besiege Quebec City's 1,700-man garrison (now under General Carleton), however, so instead decide to storm it from two directions in the early hours of December 31, their approach being muffled by a blizzard. Montgomery leads 500 men by a southerly route toward Près de Ville, reaching this point by 4:00 a.m.,

only to be suddenly killed—along with two dozen of his men—by a pair of British 3-pounders. His second-in-command, Col. Donald Campbell, quickly orders a retreat.

Arnold meanwhile approaches from Saint Roch with another 700 men by a northerly route, drawing fire, which wounds him in a knee. His second-in-command, six-foot, four-inch Kentucky colonel Daniel Morgan, pushes forward into the alerted lower town, only to become trapped in Sault au Matelot. He is obliged to surrender by 9:00 a.m. along with his 425 followers. Total American casualties are 30 killed and 42 wounded, compared to 5 dead and 13 injured among the defenders.

DECEMBER 9, 1775. Virginia's Royal Governor Lord Dunmore attempts to halt the advance upon Norfolk of Colonel Woodford's 390 rebels, choosing to make a stand nine miles outside the town at Great Bridge by fortifying one end of its causeway, which is otherwise surrounded by impenetrable swamps. Woodford arrives and builds a redoubt at the bridge's opposite end, leaving Lieutenant Travis with 90 men to hold this emplacement, while taking the remainder to a hill several hundred yards farther back.

Dunmore impetuously orders Captain Fordyce to charge across the 40-yard span, supported by Capt. Samuel Leslie's 230 men. Fordyce's first attack is driven back, so he brings up two cannon for a second attempt. The Americans deceive the British officer into thinking that their redoubt is abandoned by holding their fire until his assault column has advanced to within point-blank range. A ferocious volley kills Fordyce and sends his men reeling back in defeat. Although this whole action has taken only 25 minutes, the British suffer 62 casualties and lose both cannon, while only a single American is wounded in a hand. More importantly, the way into Norfolk now lies open.

JANUARY 10, 1776. Hoping to restore Crown rule in the Carolinas, from where he has been driven in July 1775, Governor Martin calls for Loyalists to help put down "a most daring, horrid, and unnatural rebellion." Volunteers are to gather at Cross Creek (modern Fayetteville, North Carolina), then march to the seaside town of Brunswick, below Wilmington, to be armed.

FEBRUARY 5, 1776. The Loyalist militia brigadier general Donald MacDonald and Lt. Col. Donald McLeod reach Cross Creek with a small British

contingent to begin a campaign aimed at restoring Royalist rule throughout the Carolinas. Although they raise 1,600 Highlanders and Loyalists into an extemporized force within 10 days, then start toward the coast on February 20 to be supplied by Governor Martin's British flotilla anchored off Brunswick, an American concentration under Col. James Moore of the 1st North Carolina Continentals bars their path at Rockfish Creek.

MacDonald and McLeod consequently veer eastward with their ill-equipped host, crossing Cape Fear ahead of another American militia force hastening from New Bern under Col. Richard Caswell. Outmaneuvered, Caswell decides to march his 850 men "to take possession of the bridge upon Widow Moore's Creek," 20 miles from Wilmington, which he knows the Loyalists must cross to reach the coast. Moore also detaches a 150-man contingent under Col. Alexander Lillington to this same spot, while himself hoping to overtake MacDonald from the rear.

FEBRUARY 18, 1776. This morning, the 57-year-old American commodore Esek Hopkins sets sail from Delaware with the 30-gun frigate *Alfred* (flag) and 24-gun *Columbus*, the 14-gun brigs *Andrew Doria* and *Cabot*, the 12-gun sloop *Providence*, the 10-gun sloop *Hornet*, and the 8-gun schooners *Wasp* and *Fly* to attack Lord Dunmore's Loyalist squadron in Chesapeake Bay, or any other target of convenience.

FEBRUARY 25, 1776. *Moore's Creek.* The Patriot colonel Lillington reaches the bridge at Moore's Creek, and his 150 men dig an earthwork on its eastern side. The next day, Caswell's 850 men also arrive and dig earthworks on its western bank. Both positions are highly defensible, the wide sluggish creek being otherwise surrounded by swampy terrain. MacDonald and McLeod's 1,600 Anglo-Loyalists, only half of whom bear arms, encamp for the night six miles farther west.

Knowing that their only hope is to win through to the coast, McLeod persuades his fellow officers to attempt a surprise dawn attack against Caswell's encampment on the western bank. The Loyalists therefore resume their march at 1:00 a.m. of February 27, Capt. John Campbell and 75–80 picked Scottish "broadswordsmen" leading in the vanguard. An hour before dawn, they reach the American camp, only to find it abandoned.

Having detected the Loyalist throng, Caswell has withdrawn overnight into Lillington's trenches on

the eastern side, furthermore removing the bridge's planks, greasing its girders, and deploying his artillery. The Loyalists nonetheless push bravely across at daybreak of February 27, only to break when Captain Campbell and 30 of his vanguard are easily shot down by the opening American volleys. Their retirement turns into a rout when the defenders cross Moore's Creek to pursue McLeod's main body. Loyalist losses are 30 killed, 40 wounded, and 850 captured over the next several days, including McLeod. American losses during this one-sided exchange total a single man killed and another wounded.

MARCH 3, 1776. *Bahamian Raid.* American commodore Hopkins bears down upon New Providence (modern Nassau) with his flagship *Alfred* under Capt. John Paul Jones, the *Columbus*, the *Andrew Doria*, the *Cabot*, the *Providence*, the *Wasp*, and two Bahamian sloops captured 50 miles away off Great Abaco Island. Notwithstanding the ample warnings given of a potential raid, the Bahamian governor, Montfort Browne, is taken completely aback, receiving the report clad in his nightshirt at the door of Government House. Shaken, he orders that warning guns be fired from Fort Nassau to muster New Providence's militia companies; these discharges also deter the American squadron from standing straight into the harbor (although two guns actually tumble from their decrepit mountings, and few volunteers gather).

Instead, Hopkins opts to circle through the Narrows into Montagu Bay, three miles from New Providence, where he disembarks 200 marines and 50 sailors under Capt. Samuel Nicholas at the mouth of Fox Hill Creek, a mile east of Fort Montagu. The British governor attempts to counter this landing by hastening two detachments overland, one to confront the invaders, the other to strengthen Fort Montagu; both, however, melt ignominiously back into their civilian homes, hence the Americans enter Nassau unopposed the next morning to receive Browne's surrender. Hopkins's squadron thereupon anchors in the roadstead and spends the next fortnight stripping the defenses of more than 100 cannon plus a considerable amount of other war matériel, before finally departing homeward with the governor and a dozen other prominent captives.

MARCH 17, 1776. The Americans' 11-month siege of Boston finally ends when General Howe orders Castle William blown up and evacuates the

John Paul Jones

America's first naval hero was born John Paul on July 6, 1747, the son of a gardener at Arbigland estate in Kirkcudbright, on the south coast of Scotland. At the age of 12, he shipped out of Whitehaven as an apprentice aboard the merchantman *Friendship*. He made several voyages to Virginia, where his brother had settled near Fredericksburg. By 1766, Paul was serving as the 19-year-old first mate of the slaver *Two Friends*. Disgusted by this cruel traffic, he abandoned his lucrative position two years later at Jamaica. Sailing home to Scotland, he became second mate of the brig *John*.

When its captain and first mate died of yellow fever during the 1768 voyage, Paul safely brought the *John* into port. The grateful Scottish owners appointed him to command, and Paul made two voyages into the West Indies. While at anchor off Tobago in 1770, he ordered a sailor flogged so severely that the man died a few weeks later. Charges were laid, obliging Paul to leave the *John*. While visiting Virginia, his brother suggested that he change his name to "John Paul Jones" to shed his tarnished reputation. When his brother died in 1773, Jones abandoned his maritime fortunes and moved to Fredericksburg to take over the estate.

Two years later, after the Revolutionary War erupted, he hurried to Philadelphia to seek a command in the new Continental Navy. Thanks to a recommendation from the influential Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, he was appointed on December 22, 1775, as first lieutenant of the 30-gun flagship USS *Alfred*. After participating in the Bahamian raid, he was given independent command on May 10, 1776, of the 12-gun, 90-man sloop USS *Providence*. Jones made several successful cruises along the Atlantic Seaboard as far north as Nova Scotia, capturing 16 prizes by early October. Promoted onto the larger *Alfred*, he set sail on November 2 to raid British supply routes in Canada, returning triumphantly into Boston by December 16.

Yet for all his tactical brilliance, Jones was vain and difficult. After quarrelling with Commodore Hopkins and his superiors, he was not assigned another ship until June 14, 1777. After preparing this brand-new, 18-gun, 140-man, 300-ton sloop USS *Ranger* for sea, he set sail for France on November 1. Jones was to deliver news of British general Burgoyne's surrender and to assist the commissioners Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Arthur Lee. He would never again fight in American waters. Shortly after France allied itself with the United States in February 1778, Jones began raiding the British Isles. His attacks culminated on September 23, 1779, when his 42-gun *Bonhomme Richard* and two French consorts defeated HMS *Serapis* and HMS *Countess of Scarborough* off the east coast of England.

Unemployed once hostilities ended, Jones took service briefly in 1788 as a Russian rear admiral. Back in Paris, he was appointed in June 1792 as U.S. consul to treat with the Bey of Algiers for the release of American captives. Jones, however, died in his apartment on July 18 and was buried in an unmarked grave. After six years of searching, his remains were found in 1905 by the U.S. ambassador to France and returned aboard USS *Brooklyn* to be reburied with highest honors at the Naval Academy at Annapolis (Maryland).

last of his 12,000 redcoats aboard 140 vessels for Halifax (Nova Scotia), planning to regroup and initiate a new campaign in New York. The colonials jubilantly occupy the city, retrieving 69 usable cannon and other valuable stores. Massachusetts will remain free of British forces for the remainder of this war.

MAY 6, 1776. The British ship *Surprise* reaches Quebec City with supplies, effectively putting an end to its winter-long siege by the survivors of Montgomery's and Arnold's expeditions. A sally shortly thereafter by its British garrison under Carleton and MacLean chases the demoralized Americans away.

MAY 20, 1776. An Anglo-Canadian force under Capt. George Forster descends the Saint Lawrence

from Fort Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg, New York), capturing 400 Americans at the nearby Cedars.

JUNE 1, 1776. British general Burgoyne and the 37-year-old Brunswick major general Friedrich Adolf Riedesel, Freiherr or "Baron" zu Eisenbach, reach Quebec City with an Anglo-German army. After disembarking the Prinz Ludwig Ernst Dragoon Regiment five days later, the remainder of this expedition proceeds upriver toward Trois Rivières on June 7.

JUNE 6, 1776. *Trois Rivières.* Mistakenly believing this advance Canadian outpost to be held by only 300 British troops, Patriot brigadier General William Thompson is sent forward by Maj. Gen. John Sullivan to occupy it with 2,000 Americans from Sorel (Quebec). Sailing up the Saint Lawrence,

Thompson disembarks seven miles above Trois Rivières at 3:00 a.m. on June 8, then strikes inland, leaving 250 men to guard his boats. His main body is comprised of the regiments of colonels Arthur St. Clair, William Irvine, William Maxwell, and “Mad Anthony” Wayne.

A Canadian guide deliberately leads the invaders into a swamp, so they do not confront the British until dawn and in much greater numbers than anticipated because Lt. Col. Simon Fraser has recently reinforced Trois Rivières with the British 24th Regiment plus four other fresh battalions. Wayne’s 200-man vanguard immediately attacks and is initially successful, although the defenders soon drive the Americans back into the swamp from their line of trenches, killing or wounding 400, plus taking another 236 prisoners—including Thompson. British losses are only 8 killed and 9 wounded.

The American survivors return into Sorel by June 11, much discouraged, and after being joined by Arnold’s garrison—which has been driven out of Montreal by the approach of Carleton and MacLean’s 4,000 redcoats—retreat into Fort Ticonderoga (New York) by late July.

JUNE 8, 1776. Three days after appearing off Sullivan’s Island (South Carolina), Commo. Peter Parker’s 55-vessel British fleet crosses its bar and deposits General Clinton’s army on Long Island, in anticipation of securing nearby Charles Town (modern-day Charleston) as a regional base of operations. American major general Charles Lee meanwhile feverishly fortifies the city, while Col. William Moultrie prepares Sullivan Island’s 25-gun, 1,200-man garrison to resist this British incursion. Parker and Clinton delay for almost three weeks before advancing, giving the Americans ample time to strengthen their defenses.

JUNE 10, 1776. British vice admiral Molyneux Shuldham quits Halifax (Nova Scotia) with his 50-gun, 370-man flagship HMS *Chatham*, leading another 7 warships, which are to escort General Howe’s army aboard 120 transports into New York Harbor 19 days later. En route, they are joined by the 32-gun, 220-man frigate HMS *Flora* under Capt. John Brisbane, with an additional 28 transports bearing almost 3,000 Highlanders of the 42nd and 71st regiments from Scotland.

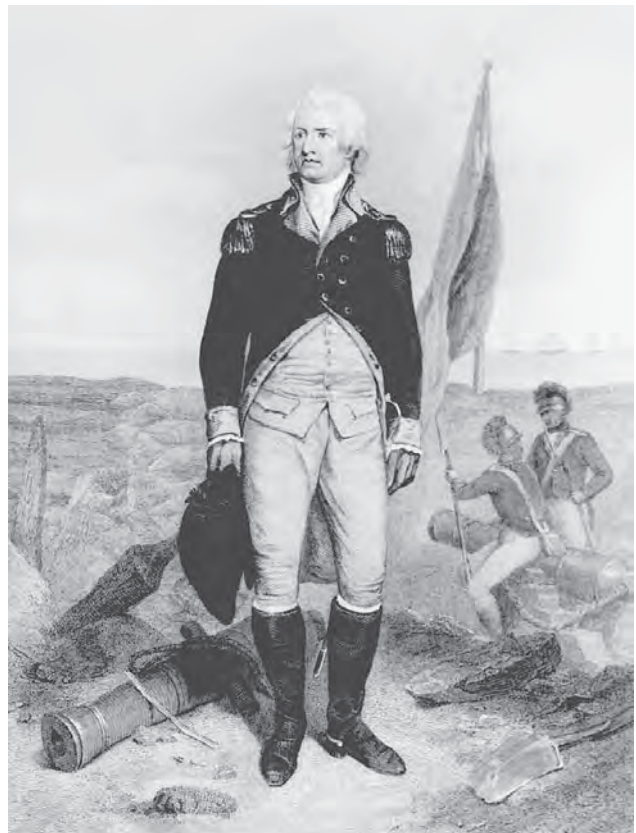
JUNE 14, 1776. Carleton reaches Trois Rivières (Quebec) with Burgoyne’s and Riedesel’s expedi-

tionary force, creating a British concentration of 8,000 troops.

JUNE 17, 1776. Carleton’s army reoccupies Montreal.

JUNE 28, 1776. *Sullivan’s Island.* This morning, Parker’s Royal Navy warships bear down to bombard the earth and palmetto-log ramparts of the American fort on Sullivan’s Island (South Carolina), in anticipation of General Clinton’s expedition then pressing up-channel against Charles Town. The British simultaneously launch a 100-man diversionary attack from nearby Long Island, which is quickly repelled by Colonel Moultrie’s defenders, leaving the bulk of the subsequent fighting to Parker’s men-of-war.

The British bomb-vessel *Thunder* opens fire from a range of a mile and a half, while the 50-gun HMS *Bristol* and HMS *Experiment* cover the approach to within 400 yards of the frigates *Active* and *Solebay*, plus the smaller consorts *Syren*, *Actaeon*, and *Sphinx*. A ferocious, daylong exchange ensues, with the attackers suffering heavy casualties while being totally



William Moultrie. (U.S. National Archives)

unable to discomfit the well-protected Americans. During the afternoon, the *Actaeon* and the *Sphinx* collide, then run aground along with the *Syren*. By 9:30 p.m., Parker draws off in defeat, his vessels having suffered 420 casualties as opposed to negligible

Continental Congresses

Seeking a place to express colonial grievances, as Benjamin Franklin had proposed in 1773, the First Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia's Carpenters Hall on September 5, 1774. Twelve of the thirteen colonies sent delegates, Georgia being the sole exception, as it still needed British regulars to contain Creek border raids. Among the 55 members attending were George Washington, Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, John Jay, and so on. They did not want outright independence; rather, they hoped to send a unified message to King George III instead of to Parliament. Upon adjourning in late October, they agreed to reconvene the next spring if their complaints were not addressed.

The Second Continental Congress opened in the Philadelphia State House on May 10, 1775, presided over by John Hancock. Amid growing tensions, its delegates agreed five weeks later to appoint Washington as commander in chief of a new Continental Army. But no rupture with Britain had as yet been authorized, and the so-called Olive Branch Petition was passed on July 5, asking the king to halt the war and try to reconcile. George III refused to even receive it, instead declaring his American colonies to be in rebellion on August 23 and urging that "the traitors [be brought] to justice."

As hostilities deepened, Congress struggled to raise money, its paper currency devaluing rapidly while its nonbinding resolutions were often ignored. Many delegates also shrank from breaking altogether with England, fearful that it would lead to social anarchy. However, more radical members—swayed by impassioned Philadelphian opinion makers such as the author of *Common Sense*, Thomas Paine—gradually adopted a series of resolutions that tended toward ever-greater autonomy.

But it was not until the British garrison was expelled from Boston in March 1776 that the crucial moment finally arrived. That same June, the last hesitant delegates were removed, and Congress voted a "Declaration of Independence" by July 4. When the "Liberty Bell" pealed four days later announcing the reading of this historic document to a jubilant throng assembled on the State House steps, the royal crest was torn from above the door and thrown into a bonfire. The path toward American freedom had been taken.

losses among the defenders. The British abandon their project of capturing Charles Town and retire north to join General Howe's forces investing New York.

AUGUST 12, 1776. This morning, British commodore William Hotham's 50-gun, 365-man flagship HMS *Preston* and seven lesser consorts appear off Sandy Hook (New York), escorting more than 130 transports bringing almost 8,900 Hessian troops out from England. This army, known as "Von Heister's Division," is comprised of eight regiments—Lieb Guards, Erbprinz or "Hereditary Prince," Prinz Carl, Dittfurt, Donop, Lossberg, Knyphausen, and Trümbach—as well as the Linsing, Block, and Minnigerode Grenadier battalions. They will disembark on Staten Island over the next few days, joining General Howe's main British army for an assault against New York City.

AUGUST 22, 1776. An American outpost on Long Island (New York) reports signs of heightened activity in General Howe's massive British concentration on adjacent Staten Island in anticipation of crossing from this marshalling area and attacking New York City. A few days later, this Anglo-Hessian army strikes across—covered by the fleet of Howe's brother, Adm. Richard Howe—then moves north toward the Brooklyn defenses, with Colonel Grant commanding 5,000 redcoats on the left, Gen. Leopold Philipp von Heister leading 5,000 of his Hessians in the center, plus generals Howe, Clinton, and Charles Cornwallis, 1st Marquess Cornwallis, bringing up another 10,000 British troops on the right. Awaiting them are 6,500 American defenders along the Brooklyn defenses under Maj. Gen. Israel Putnam, with another 3,500 out in front holding the Guian Heights.

AUGUST 24, 1776. Following his withdrawal from Canada, Benedict Arnold realizes that naval control over Lake Champlain will become important, so he departs Crown Point (New York) for Windmill Point, near the Canadian border, with a small flotilla.

AUGUST 27, 1776. *Long Island.* Howe's 20,000-man army bears down upon the ridge called Guian Heights, whose four passes are strongly held by 3,500 American defenders. At 9:00 a.m., the British general orders a frontal assault by his 5,000 Hessians in the center, followed shortly thereafter by an advance by Colonel Grant's 5,000 redcoats on the left.

It is Howe's aim to draw General Putnam's American reserves over to the left, then outflank all the defenses with a massive movement by his right wing.

Grant encounters stiff opposition and is killed, his left wing having to be reinforced by 2,000 more British troops from Staten Island. Nevertheless, this effort draws away the American reserves, allowing Howe to then move his remaining 10,000 men—supported by 28 guns—around behind the American left. The defenders' line along Guian Heights finally disintegrates, American major general John Sullivan being routed and captured in the center, while Brig. Gen. William Alexander fights a brave delaying action before eventually surrendering to Heister, thus allowing 2,000 Patriot survivors to safely retreat behind the Brooklyn defenses. Still, American losses total more than 1,400 killed, wounded, or captured, compared to 380 British and Hessian casualties.

Howe then presses on against the Brooklyn defenses, which the Americans abandon on the night of August 29–30. Consequently, New York City becomes closely besieged.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1776. In an attempt to blow up the 64-gun HMS *Eagle*, flagship of Admiral Howe's blockading fleet off New York, a one-man American submersible called the *Turtle* (designed by David Bushnell of Westbrook, Connecticut) is released after dark by two whaleboats. Its sole crew member, Sgt. Ezra Lee, eventually reaches his target by patiently turning his hand-crank, but he cannot then attach his "torpedo"—a cask filled with 150 pounds of powder, plus a timer—against its barnacle-encrusted hull. At daybreak, he narrowly avoids capture while retiring behind Governors Island, his mine exploding harmlessly in the water.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1776. *Fall of New York.* After a two-week wait, Howe resumes his drive to capture New York City, despite the relief efforts being organized by the American commander in chief, George Washington. This morning, five British warships take up station 200 yards off Kip's Bay and are followed at 10:00 a.m. by a fleet of transports bearing 4,000 redcoats out of Newton Creek (Long Island). The Royal Navy's bombardment commences at 11:00 a.m., and the British troops disembark on both sides of Kip's Bay by 1:00 p.m., as its defenders flee without offering opposition.

American major general Putnam, realizing that the invaders cannot be contained in their new bridge-

head, gallops south to bring as many troops and artillery out of doomed New York City as possible. Leading them north along Post Road (now Lexington Avenue), he succeeds in evading the rapidly closing British, who have now been joined atop Onclenberg (Murray) Hill by a further 4,000 redcoats under Clinton. General Howe arrives by 2:00 p.m. and has his entire main army ashore three hours later, advancing south and west toward the Hudson River and northwest toward Harlem Heights. Washington extemporizes a three-line defense at this latter place, while the British penetrate three-quarters of a mile from their landing point by evening, establishing their own line from Horn's Hook to Bloomingdale (East 90th Street).

The next morning, a 150-man reconnaissance company under American lieutenant colonel Archibald Cray contacts the advance British troops—two infantry battalions and some men of the Black Watch, under Brig. Gen. Alexander Leslie—near present-day East 105th Street, fighting a sharp engagement that soon attracts further attention. The British are driven back when Lt. Col. Thomas Knowlton and Maj. Andrew Leitch attempt to encircle them from the right with 230 American Rangers, although both American lieutenant colonels are slain along with 28 of their men plus 100 wounded or missing, compared to 14 dead and 150 injured among the British ranks. Eventually, the British return at 2:00 p.m. with 5,000 redcoats, effectively ending all resistance around New York, as Washington draws off with his army. Nevertheless, Howe has failed to destroy the American force, thus having to spend the next month fortifying New York to secure it as his base of operations.

OCTOBER 11, 1776. After withdrawing into the half-mile channel between Valcour Island and Cumberland Head in the northwestern corner of Lake Champlain (New York), Benedict Arnold's American flotilla is attacked by a superior British force advancing down from Saint Jean under Carleton. The 12-gun British schooner *Carleton* leads the charge, a general engagement erupting shortly after noon. Although the attackers withdraw by dusk, most of the American ships have nonetheless been crippled, so they attempt to escape into the lake that same night.

At dawn the next day, Carleton sails in pursuit and overtakes the Americans by 11:00 a.m. of October 13 off Split Rock—28 miles short of their base at Crown Point, New York. The 110-man *Washington*

of Brigadier General Waterbury surrenders and the *Lee* runs ashore, while Arnold's other vessels are beached on the Vermont shore and set ablaze. Of 15 original American ships, only the *Trumbull*, the *Enterprise*, the *Revenge*, and the *Liberty* reach Crown Point safely. The British therefore temporarily retain control over all of Lake Champlain.

OCTOBER 13, 1776. After four weeks spent fortifying New York, General Howe traverses to the mainland at Pell's Point with 13,000 redcoats to hunt for Washington's 6,000-man American army. A fortnight later, the American commander in chief falls back upon White Plains to await his enemy.

OCTOBER 28, 1776. *White Plains.* At dawn, Howe's army bears down upon his outnumbered American foes, bringing them into position to outflank them. Belatedly recognizing his danger, Washington immediately fortifies 180-foot Chatterton's Hill on his right with 1,600 men and two guns under Brig. Gen. Alexander McDougall, while sending out Maj. Gen. Joseph Spencer to fight a delaying action. The latter skirmishes with the approaching redcoats for an hour before finally retreating to rejoin the main body at 9:30 a.m. to avoid being entirely cut off.

Three Hessian regiments under Maj. Gen. Wilhelm, Freiherr or "Baron" zu Innhausen und Knyphausen, are meanwhile building a bridge over the Hudson, while Brigadier General Leslie also fords the river farther south with two regiments. Eventually, the bulk of Howe's 13,000-man army works its way across and engages Washington's main body. The Massachusetts militiamen facing the British dragoons on the American right are the first to flee, then Washington's center gradually gives way after stubborn resistance. The defenders' casualties total 150, compared to the 310 suffered among the British and Hessians.

Howe thereupon prepares to finish off the 6,000-man American army the next morning, but he is prevented by a heavy storm. Washington escapes with his main force once more, this time into Connecticut.

NOVEMBER 15, 1776. Howe's British army closes in on Fort Washington—a crude, pentagonal earthwork atop 200-foot Mount Washington (modern-day Harlem Heights at the northern tip of Manhattan Island, New York)—calling on its garrison to surrender this afternoon. When that offer is rejected, 7,000 British and Hessian troops prepare a three-

pronged assault for the next day, while the American major generals Putnam and Nathanael Greene visit its 2,900 defenders under Col. Robert Magaw, reassuring themselves as to their positional strength. (Unbeknownst to the Americans, however, the spy William Demont has already revealed Fort Washington's weaknesses to its attackers.)

NOVEMBER 16, 1776. *Fort Washington.* Before dawn, Major General Knyphausen advances from King's Bridge with 3,000 Hessians aboard 30 flatboats and crosses the Hudson upriver to attack Harlem Heights on its weak northern side; Brig. Gen. Lord Hugh Percy leads another 2,000 redcoats up from the south to dislodge 800 Americans under Lt. Col. John Cadwallader, who are holding the rise one and a half miles below Fort Washington. Brig. Gen. Edward Mathew's 2,000 men are then to cross the Harlem River from the east at midday, followed by Cornwallis's reserves to complete the rout of the Americans.

Knyphausen's troops, supported by heavy artillery fire from British batteries and the 32-gun frigate *HMS Pearl*, push Fort Washington's outlying defenders back after stubborn hand-to-hand combat. Percy—subsequently supported by Mathew, Cornwallis, and two more battalions under Colonel Sterling—drives the Americans up Harlem Heights, securing 170 prisoners. Magaw is once more called upon to surrender overcrowded Fort Washington and agrees at 3:00 p.m. American losses total 59 killed, 96 wounded, and 2,837 prisoners, plus nearly 150 cannon and 2,800 muskets, compared to 136 dead and 646 injured among the British and Hessian troops.

NOVEMBER 18, 1776. After the fall of Fort Washington, the Americans must also evacuate their 2,000-man garrison at Fort Lee, on the opposite bank of the Hudson (New York). Cornwallis does not cross the river until two days later, bringing 4,500 redcoats ashore six miles north of Fort Lee on the morning of November 20, only to find Washington's army already escaped into New Jersey. Only 150 American stragglers are detained, plus some valuable supplies.

DECEMBER 11, 1776. Washington's retreating army crosses the Delaware River into Pennsylvania, causing Congress to abandon its headquarters at Philadelphia. His British pursuers under Cornwallis go into winter quarters shortly thereafter.

DECEMBER 13, 1776. American major general Lee is captured by a British patrol in New Jersey. Sullivan assumes command over his troops and continues their march to rejoin Washington.

DECEMBER 26, 1776. *Trenton.* Hoping to recuperate his demoralized army's fortunes following their recent string of reverses, Washington halts his retirement into Pennsylvania long enough to launch a surprise counterattack back across the Delaware River against the 1,400-man Hessian garrison now billeted in Trenton (New Jersey).

Col. Johann Gottlieb Rall, overall commander of these three Hessian regiments—although forewarned of an imminent American assault—misinterprets reports of this movement as a mere foraging probe so allows himself to be carried off to bed after a drunken Christmas celebration. The next morning at 8:00 a.m., 2,400 American troops with 18 guns emerge out of a fierce snowstorm, marching directly into Trenton from the north under General Greene and out of the west under Sullivan, brushing aside the garrison's few pickets. The unprepared Hessians of Rall's own Grenadier Regiment, as well as the Knyphausen and Lossberg Fusilier regiments, are driven eastward out of Trenton into open fields, where Rall is killed and 105 of his men shot dead or wounded before the 920 survivors surrender. American losses are only 2 wounded.

Despite this lopsided victory, though, Washington once again retires beyond the Delaware, his secondary attacks—with 2,000 men under Cadwalader against Bordenton and 1,000 under Brig. Gen. James Ewing against Trenton Ferry—having been unable to wholly secure his Trenton position.

DECEMBER 30, 1776. Encouraged by his Trenton success, Washington recrosses the Delaware with 2,000 men, only to encounter a superior British force advancing from Princeton (New Jersey) under Cornwallis. Fighting a delaying action until nightfall, the American general leaves 400 men with their campfires burning as a diversion, while he slips east toward Princeton with the remainder.

JANUARY 3, 1777. *Princeton.* At dawn, British lieutenant colonel Charles Mawhood sets out from Princeton with 1,200 men from two of his three garrison regiments to join Brigadier General Leslie on the Trenton Road. Upon reaching Clark's Orchard, though, Mawhood is confronted by 350 Americans under Brig. Gen. Hugh Mercer, and a



British soldier in white coat and blue leggings. (Parks Canada)

skirmish ensues in which the latter are pushed back and Mercer killed.

At this point, Washington catches up to the British formation with his main body, dispersing it while inflicting 65 casualties and capturing 35 prisoners. The Americans thereupon march on to Princeton, where the depleted British garrison fortifies itself inside the college building, only to be flushed out by artillery. A further 200 redcoats are therefore seized, Cornwallis's reinforcements arriving after Washington has already left.

JANUARY 6, 1777. Washington's exhausted 1,600-man army retreats into winter quarters at Morristown (New Jersey).

MARCH 23, 1777. A force of 500 redcoats disembarks with four light guns from a Royal Navy frigate and some transports and destroys the American depot at Peekskill (New York), which its small Patriot garrison under Brigadier General McDougall is powerless to defend.

APRIL 23, 1777. *Danbury Raid.* Inspired by the success of his Peekskill foray, General Howe dispatches Brig. Gen. William Tryon with 2,000 British and Hessian troops to destroy another American depot—this time at Danbury (Connecticut). The raiders depart Long Island (New York) on April 23, landing near Fairfield by the evening of April 25. The next day, the British march 23 miles cross-country into Danbury, arriving by 3:00 p.m. to chase away its 150-man American garrison and burn a vast quantity of supplies.

Tryon thereupon returns toward the coast via Ridgefield, 15 miles farther south, while American general Benedict Arnold scrapes together 600 men and a 6-pounder to oppose him on some high ground beside the Saugatuck River. The redcoats outflank this position, but Arnold is then joined by a further 100 Americans under Brig. Gen. David Wooster, attacking the British rearguard on April 28. This attack is driven off by 400 redcoats under Brig. Gen. William Erskine, which enables Tryon's expedition to reembark without any greater loss. British casualties during this campaign total 150 killed and wounded, compared to 100 American—the latter including Wooster and Col. John Lamb.

JUNE 26, 1777. Brigadier General Fraser departs Crown Point (New York) with the vanguard of Burgoyne's 9,500-man army that has come south from Canada. It is the British commander's intent to push down Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson River until reaching Albany, meeting Howe's army there (which is to meanwhile sweep through Pennsylvania).

JULY 2, 1777. Fraser's British vanguard overruns Mount Hope (New York) and is joined by Burgoyne's main body the next day.

JULY 4, 1777. *Ticonderoga.* After posting Riedesel's Hessians on the east side of Lake Champlain to attack the Americans holding Mount Independence, Burgoyne installs his artillery atop Mount Defiance on its west side to cover the approaches into Fort

Hessians

The first two brigades of 8,900 German mercenary troops landed at Staten Island on August 15, 1776. Because Britain needed more soldiers to contain the spreading rebellion, London had resorted to hiring extra men from among the 300 or so German principalities of Central Europe. This had been a common practice during the 18th century. German princes often hired out their idle troops during times of peace, for profit. Almost 17,000 of the more than 30,000 of these soldiers who served the British Crown in America came from the principality of Hesse-Kassel. All German mercenaries therefore became commonly known as "Hessians."

Most arriving German regiments were almost fully up to strength, with 700 men apiece. Their ranks were soon thinned by disease and combat. The ill-paid conscripts included petty criminals, debtors, pressed men, and other undesirables, yet they had excellent officers and a reputation for disciplined courage. Such mercenaries made up roughly a third of total British land forces during the Revolutionary War. At least some Germans participated in every major battle, but their presence was largely confined to northern campaigns, where they served mostly as garrison troops after 1777.

American authorities tempted the Hessians to desert. The German Americans living in Pennsylvania and other states proved a strong incentive. When hostilities finally ceased in 1783, slightly more than 17,000 Hessians returned home. About 7,500 had died, but the remaining 5,500 were believed to have remained, becoming citizens of the United States. Many changed their names, married, and settled down as farmers or craftsmen. In 1786, London paid £471,000 to the Landgraf Friedrich II of Hesse-Kassel for the thousands of his troops who never returned from America.

Ticonderoga. Realizing that this twin deployment will soon doom his 2,500-man garrison, American major general St. Clair decides to evacuate, preceding this retirement with a heavy artillery exchange. Under cover of darkness, 500 of his men leave by boat shortly after midnight on July 5–6, sailing south toward Skenesboro; the rest march out stealthily across Ticonderoga's boat bridge at 2:00 a.m., hastening southeast toward Castleton (Vermont).

Burgoyne sets off in pursuit the next morning by water, delegating Brigadier General Fraser to chase the retreating Americans overland. That same day, July 6, the British commander in chief gains Skenesboro, and the next day his vanguard unit—the 9th

British Regiment under Lt. Col. John Hill—overtakes Col. Pierce Long's 150-man Patriot rearguard outside Fort Anne, reinforced by 400 New York militiamen under Col. Henry van Rensselaer. Not expecting to encounter so much resistance, Hill's redcoats are chased up a 500-foot ridge by this American delaying action, which holds out for two hours. Finally, an Indian war-whoop farther north heralds the appearance of Burgoyne's main body, convincing Long and Rensselaer to break off the fight, setting Fort Anne ablaze before retreating 13 miles farther south to rejoin General Schuyler's army at Fort Edward.

Meanwhile, Fraser has also caught up with part of St. Clair's contingent by the evening of July 6; specifically, 1,000 men under American colonel Seth Warner, which includes the latter's own Vermont Regiment plus colonels Turbott Francis's and Nathan Hale's regiments. The American general has detached this force to make a stand at Hubbardton (New York) and cover his rearguard's escape, while

he continues toward Castleton with his main body. After halting three miles short of Warner's camp, Fraser advances at 4:30 a.m. of July 7 with 750 men, then surprises and routs Hale's regiment. Warner's and Francis's troops rally, however, and halt the British charge with a heavy volley. Fraser thereupon attempts to outflank the American left atop Zion Hill, but the Americans swivel back to contain this threat while simultaneously threatening Fraser's left. At this point, Riedesel arrives, immediately attacking the American right while sending his grenadiers in a flanking movement. Colonel Francis is killed and his regiment pulls back, leaving Warner's Vermonters to face a bayonet charge alone, which overwhelms them. Two hours of heavy fighting has left the Americans with 80 casualties plus 320 captured, while the Britons and Hessians suffer 35 killed and 150 wounded.

Nevertheless, the bulk of St. Clair's army escapes intact, while Burgoyne must leave behind 1,000 men to garrison Ticonderoga.



*Ranger of Maj. John Butler's Niagara-based Loyalist regiment.
(Parks Canada)*

JULY 25, 1777. British lieutenant colonel Barry St. Leger departs Fort Oswego (New York) with 350 redcoats, plus 1,650 Canadian and Loyalist militiamen and native allies, to advance east-southeastward up the Mohawk River and threaten Albany in conjunction with Burgoyne's drive out of Canada.

JULY 29, 1777. Burgoyne's army overruns both Fort Edward and Fort George, although his drive southward is now slowing because of his lengthening supply lines out of Canada, plus the lack of anticipated Loyalist support in central New York.

JULY 31, 1777. Schuyler's American army retreats southward across the upper Hudson River into Stillwater, 30 miles above Albany (New York).

AUGUST 2, 1777. Fort Stanwix. St. Leger arrives outside this American outpost (also spelled Stanwix, on the Mohawk River near Rome, New York) and stations his 350 regulars a quarter-mile northeast of its fort, while dividing his Canadian and Loyalist militiamen between two outposts on the west bank of the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, with Indian allies patrolling the intervening forests. The 550-man Patriot garrison under Col. Peter Gansevoort therefore finds itself besieged, although word arrives on August 5 of an 800-man American relief column approaching under Maj. Gen. Nicholas Herkimer.

St. Leger detaches 400 Loyalists, Canadians, and Indians eastward under Chief Joseph Brant and Maj. John Butler to ambush this column 10 miles away at Oriskany. Their chosen trap is a ravine 200 yards wide, heavily wooded on both sides, which the mile-long American column enters without its 60 Oneida scouts perceiving any danger. At 10:00 a.m. of August 6, shooting begins, and Lt. Col. Richard Vischer's 200-man Patriot rearguard immediately takes flight. Herkimer is wounded, but he nonetheless directs his remaining 600 men on to high ground, where hand-to-hand combat rages for another 45 minutes before being interrupted by a heavy downpour. During this hour-long pause, Maj. Stephen Watts arrives with further British reinforcements, and fighting resumes until early evening when the attackers withdraw. Herkimer's column is so decimated as to be unable to continue, having suffered 140 casualties, double the ambushers' numbers.

Gansevoort's garrison meanwhile attempts a few sallies against the depleted British siege lines that same morning, after which a three-day truce is arranged around Fort Stanwix. The Patriots are subsequently able to get a report of their predicament through to General Schuyler, who dispatches another 800-man relief column under Gen. Benedict Arnold on August 10. By the time this second contingent approaches, Anglo-Indian morale has declined so precipitously that St. Leger must raise his siege by August 22 and retreat westward to Lake Oneida. Arnold quickly rebuilds Fort Stanwix's strength to 700 men. He then returns eastward with 1,200 men to swell the American numbers closing in upon Burgoyne around Saratoga.

AUGUST 15, 1777. *Bennington.* Having been detached southeast from Burgoyne's main army to raid the American depot at Bennington (Vermont), Hessian lieutenant colonel Friedrich Baum's 800-man contingent is encamped at Cambridge this morning when he learns of a superior Patriot force gathered farther northeast at Manchester. Baum calls for reinforcements from Burgoyne before pressing on with his advance, and the British general sends an additional 640 men and two 6-pounders for support, under Lt. Col. Heinrich Breymann.

Patriot brigadier General John Stark meanwhile closes in upon Baum with 1,500 members of the Green Mountain Boys, followed out of Manchester by another 300 Americans under Colonel Warner. Heavy rains slow progress on both sides, but by the afternoon of August 16, Baum's British and Hessian

troops are drawn up on the Walloomsac River, where they are attacked by a double American envelopment: Col. Moses Nichols leads 200 Patriots on the right flank, while Col. Samuel Herrick takes 300 to attack the enemy rear. At the same time, colonels David Hobart and Thomas Stickney deliver a small pincer attack against the Loyalist redoubt on the left bank, routing its defenders after a single volley and thus seizing two more Hessian positions. Baum makes a stand atop a hill on the right bank—his men's ammunition running low—but is eventually mortally wounded when a reserve dump explodes. Breymann's relief column reaches Sancoick's Mill by 4:30 p.m. and presses on the remaining four miles to rescue Baum in the mistaken belief that Baum is still able to resist. Instead, Breymann encounters Warner's fresh contingent at Walloomsac, which defeats the Hessians after a hard-fought struggle, the latter running out of powder and fleeing into the night. British and Hessian casualties total 205, plus another 700 captured, compared to 60 Americans killed or wounded.

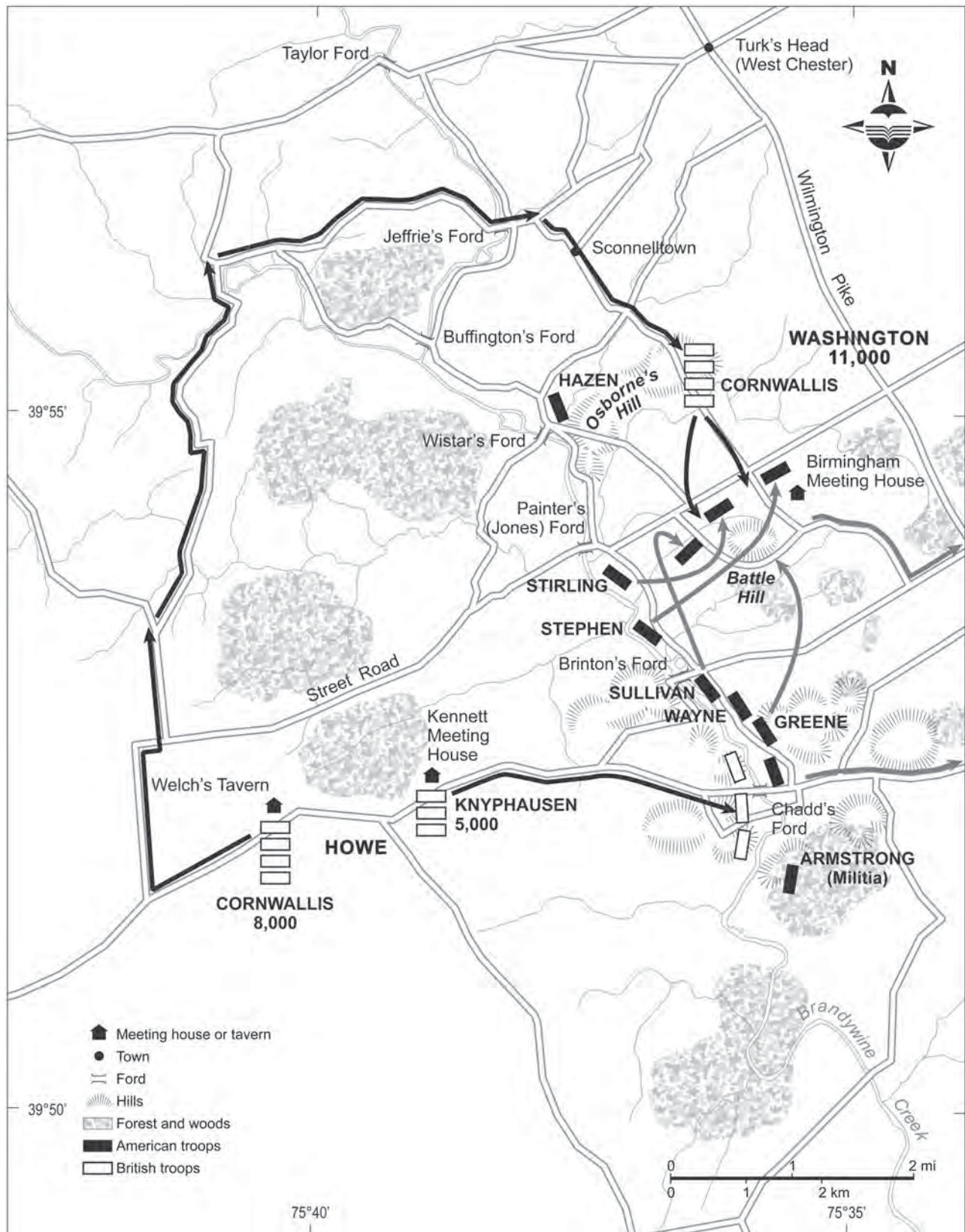
AUGUST 19, 1777. The 49-year-old, British-born major general Horatio Gates replaces Schuyler as commander in chief of the Patriot forces confronting Burgoyne's offensive in New York State.

AUGUST 24, 1777. Howe's 15,000-man British army reaches Elk River, a few miles from Delaware Bay, intending to overrun the Patriot capital of Philadelphia in twin columns, then to strike northward to relieve Burgoyne.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1777. At 9:00 a.m., Brigadier General Maxwell's Patriot forces fire upon the vanguard of General Cornwallis's "Grand Division" as the redcoats attempt to cross the Christiana River at Cooch's Bridge (Delaware). From the British left, Hessian lieutenant colonel Wurmb leads an attack that envelops the American right, driving the defenders back at bayonet point.

Maxwell only withdraws a short distance, however, and quickly re-forms his troops and continues this delaying action. When British light infantrymen come up in support, the Patriots finally withdraw to rejoin Washington's main body at White Clay Creek. British casualties from these skirmishes are 25 killed or wounded, compared to 30 Americans.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1777. *Brandywine.* To check Howe's drive northeastward against Philadelphia,



Battle of Brandywine Creek.

Washington decides to make a stand at Brandywine (Pennsylvania) with 10,500 troops, centering his defense upon Major General Greene's division and Brigadier General Wayne's brigade at Chadd's Ford. On their left, Brig. Gen. John Armstrong is guarding Pyle's Ford, while Major General Sullivan on their right is responsible for all other northern crossings. As reserves, Major General Alexander waits behind the American right, while Maj. Gen. Adam Stephen is to support the defenders at Chadd's Ford.

At 10:30 a.m., Major General Knyphausen opens fire against this latter position and advances with 5,000 Hessians, launching a diversionary attack while Howe and Cornwallis circle left with 7,500 redcoats in a wide movement intended to turn the American right. An hour later, Washington learns of Cornwallis's approach upon Taylor's and Jeffrey's fords farther north, so he directs Alexander and Stephen to march their reserves toward the Birmingham meetinghouse to cut off this threat. Instead, confused Patriot communications halt this redeployment. At 2:00 p.m., two British divisions are sighted atop Osborne Hill, two miles north of Sullivan's flank. Alexander and Stephen belatedly resume their march toward Birmingham but, after being joined by Sullivan, are attacked southwest of this place by Cornwallis. By 5:30 p.m., as Washington reaches the battlefield, Sullivan's left is already crumbling, although his right is temporarily shored up by Brig. Gen. George Weedon's brigade. Ultimately, Sullivan's wing collapses, and the defeated Americans stream back toward Chester. At this point, Knyphausen's Hessians increase their bombardment and drive across Chadd's Ford, forcing back Wayne and Maxwell and linking up with Cornwallis by 7:00 p.m. Patriot losses total 1,200 killed, wounded, or captured, compared to 580 British and Hessian losses. Despite his victory, Howe—who establishes his headquarters at nearby Dilworth—has been unable to crush Washington's army.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1777. In New York State, Burgoyne's increasingly isolated 5,600-man British army crosses the Hudson River, probing cautiously down its west bank in hopes of finding General Clinton's reinforcements already awaiting them in or near Albany.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1777. *Freeman's Farm (or First Battle of Saratoga).* Having discovered a 12,000-man Patriot army under Major General Gates four miles ahead, barring his advance at Bemis Heights

(New York), Burgoyne probes forward in three columns: Brigadier General Fraser leading 2,200 redcoats on the right in a wide sweep toward Freeman's Farm; Burgoyne taking a 2,600-man central column south, then west to meet Fraser; while General Riedesel and Maj. Gen. William Phillips follow the Hudson River Road with another 800, guarding the British supply boats.

Brig. Gen. Benedict Arnold persuades the American commander to allow him to sally with 3,000 men of Brigadier General Morgan's and Col. Henry Dearborn's units to maul the British vanguard. The Americans attack Burgoyne's contingent at Freeman's Farm by 12:45 p.m., while the British commander is still waiting for Fraser to appear. The British recoil and form up along the northern edge of the clearing, fighting back and forth against the Patriots who occupy its southern edge for the next four hours. Riedesel eventually sends 500 troops and two artillery pieces to reinforce Burgoyne, which allows the British and Hessian troops to drive off the Americans with a heavy counterattack at nightfall. Their casualties nevertheless total 600 killed and wounded, double the Patriots' losses.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1777. *Paoli.* To cover Washington's withdrawal northward following his Brandywine setback, American brigadier General Wayne conceals 1,500 troops and four guns two miles southwest of Paoli Tavern on the west bank of Pennsylvania's Schuylkill River to ambush passing British forces. Instead, General Howe gets wind of this plan and detaches Maj. Gen. Charles Grey to surprise this force with two British regiments and a light-infantry battalion.

The British attack shortly after midnight, producing chaos in the Patriot camp. Wayne succeeds in extricating his artillery and numerous survivors by daybreak but suffers 150 killed, wounded, or captured during this action, compared to 6 dead and 22 injured among the British. (Wayne is subsequently court-martialed for inattention, but is honorably acquitted.)

SEPTEMBER 24, 1777. British lieutenant general Sir Henry Clinton is reinforced in New York City, bringing his strength up to 2,700 redcoats and 4,200 Hessians. He now feels sufficiently strong to attempt a relief effort into the interior to ease pressure on Burgoyne's beleaguered expedition, so he sets out nine days later with 3,000 troops in three divisions.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1777. The British enter Philadelphia, and Cornwallis is installed as its garrison commander, while Howe's main body encamps five miles away at Germantown (Pennsylvania).

OCTOBER 3, 1777. *Germantown.* Two days after reaching Center Point (Pennsylvania), Washington's retreating 11,000-man American army reverses itself at 7:00 p.m. to return under cover of darkness and attack Howe's British encampment outside Philadelphia. The Patriots know that their enemies are dispersed, with 3,000 redcoats guarding the overland supply routes from Delaware Bay and another contingent acting as Cornwallis's garrison inside Philadelphia; only 9,000 remain with Howe at Germantown.

At dawn on October 4, the American vanguard crests Chestnut Hill, southwest of Germantown's main British encampment. Washington's intent is for Major General Sullivan and Brigadier General Alexander to continue advancing along Shippack Road, while Major General Greene leads a wide encircling movement against the British right. Instead, the first Patriot units are driven back from Airy Hill by Capt. Allen McLane's Light Horse before Greene can even begin to deploy. Sullivan therefore orders Brigadier General Wayne to cover his left and two other regiments to guard his right, while he advances against the British lines. This American approach—through dense fog—is further delayed at Chad House on the British left by Lt. Col. Thomas Musgrave's 40th Regiment, which makes a brave stand against heavy odds for 30 minutes. Greene eventually pushes forward to begin encircling the British right, but by this time its units have been strengthened, and he must veer southward to avoid being cut off.

Washington is just about to order a general assault when Major General Stephen's troops sight Wayne's line in the gloom, and they mistakenly commence exchanging volleys with each other. Although order is restored within a few minutes, the American commander believes that his plan has by now so miscarried that he must commence a retirement. (Stephen is subsequently court-martialed and dismissed from the service.) The Patriots withdraw in good order, without any vigorous pursuit by the British. Only Cornwallis emerges from Philadelphia with three fresh battalions to follow Washington for five miles, soon giving up the chase. American casualties total 675 killed or wounded, plus 400 captured, as compared to 540 dead or injured Britons and Hessians and 14 prisoners.

Despite being repulsed, Washington's surprise attack proves that the Patriot cause is still vigorous, and his army, dangerous. Howe remains in Philadelphia, whereas the Americans eventually withdraw northward into grim winter quarters at Valley Forge.

OCTOBER 5, 1777. *Fort Clinton.* This evening, British lieutenant general Clinton disembarks on

Valley Forge

Driven from the Patriot capital, Washington entered Valley Forge with the first of his 12,000 weary, hungry, cold Continental troops and auxiliaries on December 19, 1777. Eighteen miles northwest of Philadelphia, this bowl had been named for the iron forge on the banks of Valley Creek, burned by the British that September. The American commander chose this valley over several other possibilities for his winter quarters because it was defensible and close to the main British concentrations. Protected by the high ground of Mount Joy and Mount Misery, as well as the Schuylkill River to its north, Valley Forge could not easily be surprised or assailed. Its defenders could also prevent British foraging parties from raiding deeper into Pennsylvania.

There was no shelter available for the thousands of shivering Continentals, however, so Washington's troops immediately began cutting logs and building cabins. Within days, there were six inches of snow on the ground. Still, 2,000 crude huts were erected over the next month. Only then could work start on military defenses. But the lack of provisions, clothing, or blankets, as well as crowded and unsanitary conditions, proved much more dangerous than the British. Almost 3,000 men had no shoes, while another 2,000 died of typhus, dysentery, or pneumonia. Washington despaired that his army seemed about to "starve, dissolve, or disperse." Repeated pleas for help from the displaced and bankrupt U.S. Congress went unanswered. Meanwhile, redcoats were snugly housed in Philadelphia. Howe was living luxuriously in a four-story redbrick mansion in Germantown, while his officers were entertained at Loyalist banquets. Supplies were plentiful, thanks to the Royal Navy's control of the sea.

In a remarkable display of willpower, the Continentals refused to be daunted by their misery. Survivors began drilling under the Prussian drillmaster Baron Friedrich von Steuben by March 1778. Spring also brought word of a new alliance with France. Fortunes were reversed, thanks to stubborn Patriot resolve. When news finally arrived of an imminent British retirement from Philadelphia, a hardened and more confident Continental Army marched back out of Valley Forge in pursuit on June 19.

the east side of the Hudson (opposite Stony Point, New York), routing a small American outpost in a diversionary move. Patriot major general Putnam immediately withdraws four miles into the surrounding hills, calling for reinforcements from Fort Montgomery and Fort Clinton on the west side of the river, which are Clinton's true objectives. To further deceive his opponent, the British general leaves 1,000 redcoats at Verplancks Point, while slipping the remaining 2,000 across the Hudson in heavy fog, occupying Stony Point by the next morning.

Leading his soldiers up through 850-foot-high Timp Pass and down into Doodletown (two and a half miles from Fort Clinton), Clinton drives off an American patrol at 10:00 a.m., then detaches 900 redcoats to circle around Bear Mountain and attack Fort Montgomery from the west. Meanwhile, he guides the rest in an encircling movement and, by 4:30 p.m., is in position to storm Fort Clinton from the south. Although the former stronghold is carried without much difficulty, the latter presents greater problems, its defenses being protected by an abatis and 10 cannon. Having no siege guns and little room to maneuver, Clinton's troops must mount a frontal assault, supported by a single regiment circling Hessian Lake to attack from the northwest. The redcoats suffer 300 casualties overwhelming this garrison, compared to 250 American losses under Brig. Gen. James Clinton. The next day, October 7, the British break the boom across the Hudson and rout the Patriot garrison within Fort Constitution.

OCTOBER 7, 1777. *Bemis Heights (or Second Battle of Saratoga).* At 11:00 a.m., an increasingly isolated Burgoyne advances from his camp deep in New York State to make a second reconnaissance in force against Gates's 20,000-man American army waiting atop Bemis Heights. This redcoat thrust—1,500 men and 10 guns in all—is led by Capt. Edward Fraser's rangers and other auxiliaries in some woods on the very far right, the lieutenant colonel Earl of Balcarres's light infantry on the right, Major General Riedesel's Hessians in the center, plus Maj. John Ackland's grenadiers on the left.

Gates instantly dispatches Brigadier General Morgan to attack the British right and Brig. Gen. Enoch Poor to fall upon their left. The latter's 800 Patriots strike first, shattering Ackland's bayonet charge with a heavy volley, which mortally wounds that officer along with many of his men. Meanwhile, Morgan defeats Edward Fraser's rangers in the woods, then

wheels around to catch Balcarres's light infantry in their flank and rear. When the latter turn to meet this threat, they are routed by Colonel Dearborn's force bearing down upon their exposed left.

Burgoyne orders a retreat as more and more American units continue to appear—eventually 7,000 are committed—but his message goes astray, obliging Riedesel to eventually make a fighting retirement on his own initiative into Balcarres's redoubt. British major general Simon Fraser then attempts to mount a delaying action with the surviving light infantry, but he is killed, hence, after only 52 minutes, the Britons and Hessians are withdrawing in considerable disarray. American major general Benedict Arnold follows up this success by launching two fierce assaults upon the British entrenchments, failing to carry Balcarres's redoubt but overrunning Lieutenant Colonel Breymann's (who is shot by one of his own men in the heat of battle). This operation costs the British 600 killed or wounded, plus another 200 captured, along with 10 guns; American casualties total 150 dead or injured.

The next day, Burgoyne orders a general retreat, but his diminished army is soon surrounded by Gates at nearby Saratoga. On October 12, the British officers vote unanimously to open negotiations for a surrender, which begin two days later and conclude with the capitulation of Burgoyne's entire army on October 17.

OCTOBER 21, 1777. Col. Carl von Donop is detached with 2,000 Hessians and two fieldpieces from Howe's occupying forces at Philadelphia to attack American-held Fort Mercer (New Jersey) on the Delaware River, which—along with Fort Mifflin on Mud Island (Pennsylvania) opposite it—is preventing seaborne supplies from reaching his army. Donop's contingent camps overnight at Hadsonfield, then sets out at 3:00 a.m. of October 22 toward Fort Mercer.

OCTOBER 22, 1777. *Fort Mercer and Fort Mifflin.* At noon, Donop's 2,000 Hessians arrive outside Fort Mercer—an unprepossessing earthwork located on Red Bank, New Jersey—calling upon its 400-man garrison under Lt. Col. Christopher Greene to surrender. The Patriots refuse, so the besiegers confidently prepare for an assault.

At 4:30 p.m., two grenadier battalions and the Mirbach Regiment advance from the north, while more Hessian units approach out of the west and Lengerke's battalion and a company of jägers are

held in reserve. Fort Mercer's outer defense on its northern side is only a brush abatis, which the defenders promptly abandon, giving the impression of great weakness; however, the French military engineer du Plessis has reinforced the fort's interior with a stone wall, lined with some of the Americans' 14 guns. Therefore, as the Hessians attempt to cut their way through the branches, they are decimated by a withering counterfire, which causes them to break and flee. A second assault is directed by Donop in person, but it also fails, costing him his life. Hessian casualties total 400 killed, wounded, or captured, compared to 40 dead or injured Americans. (The British support ships *Augusta* and *Merlin* are also blown up out in the Delaware during this second attack.)

The remaining Hessians settle in for a loose siege, and a fortnight later are joined by a British contingent, which arrives to bombard Fort Mifflin on the opposite, or Pennsylvania, bank of the river. This latter stronghold boasts 18 10-pounders and four blockhouses of 4 guns apiece, manned by 450 Patriots under Lt. Col. Samuel Smith. Rather than directly assault this island redoubt, the Royal Navy commences a long-range bombardment on November 10 with five land batteries located on Province Island, plus a floating battery of 22 24-pounders upstream. These are reinforced on November 14 by 10 warships from Admiral Howe's battle fleet. Overnight on October 15–16, therefore, after sustaining 250 casualties compared to 7 British killed and 5 wounded, the surviving Americans retreat across the Delaware into Fort Mercer.

Without its counterpart, the latter fort cannot hold out long, so the Patriots also evacuate Fort Mercer on November 20, opening up the Delaware as far as the British encampments at Philadelphia.

FEBRUARY 6, 1778. In Paris, French ministers sign a treaty of "commerce and amity" with American plenipotentiaries, plus another secret accord promising a military alliance.

MARCH 7, 1778. Off Barbados, the 64-gun HMS *Yarmouth* of Capt. Nicholas Vincent chases a squadron of American ships, overhauling the 32-gun frigate USS *Randolph* of Capt. Nicholas Biddle. During this running fight, the American frigate suddenly explodes and goes down with all 315 hands (except 4, clinging to wreckage, who are rescued five days later by the British). The *Yarmouth's* losses total 5 killed and 12 wounded.

MARCH 9, 1778. Elsewhere in the West Indies, the British 24-gun *Ariadne* of Capt. Thomas Pringle and the 18-gun *Ceres* of Cmdr. James Richard Dacres oblige the 20-gun, 180-man American warship *Alfred* of Capt. Elisha Hinman to strike, while its 32-gun consort *Raleigh* flees.

MARCH 15, 1778. Having learned two days earlier of the treaties signed between France and the United States, Britain withdraws its ambassador from the court at Versailles.

JUNE 22, 1778. The British decide to abandon Philadelphia, withdrawing toward New York while being closely pursued by an American force. It takes eight days to reach safety at Middleton.

JULY 8, 1778. The 49-year-old French vice admiral Jean-Baptiste, Comte d'Estaing, having sailed from Brest on April 13, arrives off the Delaware coast with his 90-gun flagship *Languedoc* under Captain de Boulainvilliers; the 80-gun vice-flagship *Tonnant* of his second-in-command de Broves, under Flag Captain de Bruyères; the 74-gun *César* of Rear Adm. Pierre Claude Hocdenau, Comte de Bruegnon,



Jean-Baptiste, Comte d'Estaing. (U.S. National Archives)

Admiral d'Estaing

Jean-Baptiste Charles Henri Hector Théodat, Comte d'Estaing and Marquis de Saillans, was born on November 24, 1729, in the Château de Ravel-Salmérange, in France's centermost province of Auvergne (the modern department of Puy-de-Dôme). He was enrolled as a musketeer in May 1738, intended for a military career. Appointed as a lieutenant in the Rouergue Regiment in September 1745, he went to fight in Flanders. Promoted to captain by November 1747, then to colonel the next January, he was wounded during the siege of Maastricht. After peace was restored, he was sent on a mission into England.

When the French and Indian War broke out a few years later, d'Estaing was promoted to brigadier general in October 1756, then shipped out the next year for India as part of the small army under Gen. Thomas Arthur, Baron de Tollendal and Comte de Tally. This expedition set sail from Brest, escorted by a royal squadron led by the flagship *Zodiaque* of Commodore Antoine, the Comte d'Aché, protecting a Compagnie des Indes convoy. D'Estaing would fight bravely in various minor actions before finally being wounded and captured by the British during the two-month siege of Madras in 1758.

D'Estaing then chose a new career path. Released on parole, he reached Île de France the next year and, before his exchange could be ratified, transferred to the East India Company and fitted out two ships to make a descent on the English establishments in the Persian Gulf. After destroying two forts and seizing a 40-gun English prize, he made a second similar raid along the Sumatran coast. On his way back to France in 1760, he accidentally fell into English hands and was imprisoned in Portsmouth for violating his parole. As this charge could not be substantiated in court, he was allowed to complete his passage. Once in France, d'Estaing became a field marshal in February 1761, then a lieutenant general in July 1762. He was preparing to lead a seaborne expedition against the Portuguese colony of Brazil when hostilities ceased.

Now preferring a naval career, d'Estaing used his influence to transfer into the French Navy as a lieutenant general in December 1763. Many officers would resent his intrusion at such a high rank, hardly alleviated by the fact that he had been described as "haughty, vain, and demagogic." In February 1764, he reached Saint Domingue (modern Haiti) with the title of governor general. His tenure would prove so unpopular that he was recalled by March 1766. Nevertheless, his connections ensured that he was appointed inspector general at Brest in August 1772, and he received command over the Toulon squadron the next year. Seniority carried him up to vice admiral by February 1777, 14 months before he set sail to aid the American Revolution.

under Flag Captain de Raymond, as well as the *Hector* of Moriès Castellet, the *Zélé* of Louis Jacques, Comte de Barras Saint Laurent, the *Guerrier* of Louis Antoine, Comte de Bougainville, the *Marseillais* of Lapoye Vertrieux, and the *Protecteur* of d'Apchon; the 64-gun *Vaillant* of Joseph Bernard, Marquis de Chabert Cogolin, *Provence* of de Champorcin, and *Fantasque* of Pierre-André de Suffren; the 50-gun *Sagittaire* of François Hector, Comte d'Albert de Rions; plus other lesser auxiliaries.

Although he has captured a number of English vessels during his transatlantic crossing, d'Estaing's real mission is to furnish aid to American forces. After detaching the advice ship *Chimère* toward Philadelphia, he sails for Sandy Hook (New York), arriving two days afterward.

AUGUST 2, 1778. France officially declares war against Great Britain.

AUGUST 17, 1778. The French frigate *Concorde* reaches Martinique with orders from Paris to begin taking reprisals against the English. The West Indian

governor general, Claude François Amour, Marquis de Bouillé du Chariol, consequently decides to launch a surprise attack against neighboring Dominica, for which he issues a call for volunteers.

Five days later, the 32-gun *Concorde*—having proceeded on its voyage—surprises the like-sized HMS *Minerva*, capturing it after a two-and-a-half hour engagement during which Capt. John Stott and his first mate are killed.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1778. After sunset, a force of 1,200 French troops and 1,000 volunteers departs Martinique aboard the frigates *Tourterelle*, *Diligente*, and *Amphitrite*, the corvette *Étourdie*, plus numerous lesser vessels. They slip ashore on Dominica the next dawn, obliging its outnumbered English garrison to surrender without a shot being fired.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1778. Off Boston, the 50-gun, 345-man HMS *Experiment* of Capt. Sir James Wallace, and the 28-gun, 198-man *Unicorn* of Cmdr. Matthew Squire, intercept the 32-gun, 235-man American frigate *Raleigh* of Capt. John Barry, which

is returning from commerce raiding. Although the American vessel is able to avoid capture until the next morning, it is eventually crippled, beached, and captured.

NOVEMBER 25, 1778. Cruisers from Admiral d’Estaing’s fleet intercept three English transports, learning that they are part of a much larger convoy bringing out several thousand reinforcements for the British West Indies, escorted by three 64s and two 50s under Commodore Hotham. D’Estaing hovers indecisively off Désirade for the next two days, before finally leading his entire force into Fort Royal (modern Fort de France), to strengthen Martinique’s defenses.

DECEMBER 11, 1778. *Saint Lucia Campaign.* One day after Commodore Hotham’s convoy reaches Barbados, Rear Adm. Sir Samuel Barrington sets sail from this island with seven ships of the line and a troop convoy bearing more than 4,000 soldiers under Maj. Gen. Sir William Meadows. Two days later,

they fall upon Saint Lucia, disembarking a sizable contingent near Cul de Sac Bay, from where this unit quickly secures the anchorage. The next day, the invaders march upon its capital of Morne Fortuné, which is evacuated without a fight by Gov. Claude Anne Guy de Micoud. The French retire into the jungle, allowing Meadows and his subordinate, Grant, to occupy the other major anchorage—the Carénage, three miles north of Cul de Sac—without any loss by the evening of December 14.

Meanwhile, an American privateer has carried news of this activity to d’Estaing at Martinique, who sorties with his fleet, accompanied by numerous auxiliaries under Governor General Marquis de Bouillé. They arrive off Saint Lucia on the evening of December 14 and the next dawn attempt to disembark at the Carénage, believing it to still be in French hands. Counterfire from ashore soon convinces d’Estaing otherwise, so he steers his squadron into Cul de Sac Bay, where Barrington has anchored his men-of-war in a line across its mouth to screen the English transports inside (which still hold a



Print celebrating the French seizure of the West Indian island of Dominica. (Library of Congress)



D'Estaing's fleet exchanges broadsides with Barrington's anchored warships in Cul de Sac Bay, Saint Lucia. (National Maritime Museum, London)

goodly proportion of Meadows's army). After a couple of passes, during which broadsides are exchanged at long range, the French admiral retires into Choc Bay and disembarks his own soldiers.

On December 18, this French army advances inland in three columns, led by d'Estaing, Bouillé, and the Comte de Lowendal, respectively. At the foot of Morne de la Vierge, they encounter the English land forces drawn up in a defensive position, which repel the attackers with heavy losses during several hours of intense fighting. D'Estaing's army suffers 840 total casualties and withdraws out of range, leaving the admiral to contemplate another naval assault. But when the frigate *Iphigénie* signals that the wind is favorable for another such attempt on the morning of December 24, the French squadron takes until 3:00 p.m. to work into position, at which point a discouraged d'Estaing calls off the operation. When word subsequently arrives that Vice Adm. John "Foul Weather Jack" Byron is soon expected in the West Indies—having departed Rhode Island on December 14 with the *Princess Royal* (flag), the *Royal Oak*, the *Conqueror*, the *Fame*, the *Grafton*, the *Cornwall*, the *Sultan*, the *Albion*, the *Monmouth*, the *Trident*, the *Diamond*, and the *Star*—the French reembark their troops during the night of December 28–29, then return into Martinique by December 30.

DECEMBER 23, 1778. *Georgia Counteroffensive.*

With the northern campaigning season halted by winter, Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell appears off Tybee Island at the mouth of the Savannah River with 3,500 English and Loyalist soldiers, escorted by Commo. Hyde Parker's squadron. The British commander in chief, Henry Clinton, has dispatched this army from New York almost a month previously to mount a pincer campaign with Franco-Swiss-born Brig. Gen. Augustine Prévost, who is to advance north from east Florida and meet Campbell.

Georgia is defended by 1,050 Americans under Maj. Gen. Robert Howe, stationed at Sunbury, 30 miles south of Savannah. To defend his capital, Howe enters Savannah on Christmas Day with 850 men, finding its fortifications in such disrepair that he instead establishes himself a half mile to the southeast, on the road leading toward the British beachhead. Here the Americans dig a defensive trench after destroying a causeway over a marshy stream, with swamps on either side. Col. Samuel Elbert commands the colonials' left, Col. Isaac Huger, the right, with Col. George Walton on the extreme right. Howe further has one gun on each flank, plus two in his center.

On December 28, Parker's advance ships arrive at Girardeau's Plantation, two miles below Savannah,

and wait for the tide after driving off a pair of American galleys. The invaders then push back a small company under Capt. John Smith, establishing a disembarkation point ashore from which a line of English skirmishers advance to within 800 yards of Howe's trench. Recognizing that the American general is expecting an assault upon his left flank, Campbell sends a battalion of light infantry to reinforce this notion, while sneaking Baird's Light Infantry and Turnbull's New York Volunteers by a secret path through the swamps to fall upon the American right. Walton's unit is wiped out in a sudden descent from its rear on December 29, creating such turmoil within the American ranks that Campbell runs his guns forward and orders his English infantry to charge.

Howe's army disintegrates, attempting to escape across the Musgrove Swamp causeway, only to be overtaken by the onrushing British units. Some of the American right and center get through, but Elbert's militia are either captured or drowned in the swamp. The British suffer 3 killed and 10 wounded; the colonials' losses total 180 dead and 450 prisoners, as well as losing 3 ships, 3 brigs, 8 smaller craft, 48 cannon, 23 mortars, and their supply depot when Savannah falls. Despite this victory, Campbell does not pursue, allowing Howe to camp for the night eight miles away at Cherokee Hill, before retiring to join Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln at Purysburg.

JANUARY 6, 1779. Byron's fleet anchors off Saint Lucia, with several ships damaged by storms (particularly the 64-gun *Trident*) and missing both the frigate *Diamond* and the 74-gun *Fame*, which do not limp into harbor until January 8 and 16, respectively. Disease also infects the British crews; one month later, more than 1,200 lie ill.

JANUARY 11, 1779. D'Estaing sorties from Fort Royal (Fort de France, Martinique) to reconnoiter Saint Lucia the next day, and confirms that Byron and Barrington have united their squadrons when he sights their 15 ships of the line anchored within its main harbor. The British sally with 13 ships of the line and 3 frigates, obliging the French admiral to retire back into port.

FEBRUARY 3, 1779. After the victory at Savannah and the taking of Fort Augusta, Prévost decides to avail himself of British naval supremacy in the region and attempt the Patriot island fortress of Port Royal (South Carolina). He disembarks Major

Gardiner with 200 soldiers and one gun to try to carry this place by surprise, which is being defended by 320 Americans under Brig. Gen. William Moultrie and three guns.

The British attack lasts three-quarters of an hour, their gun being disabled early on but, nonetheless, enjoying the advantage of occupying woodland while the rebels fight out in the open. After an indecisive exchange, both sides run out of ammunition and retire simultaneously, although Moultrie then sends his mounted troops in pursuit of the retreating British, harrying them back to their boats. Gardiner's attackers suffer some 50 casualties, as opposed to 30 Americans, and this setback discourages the British from attempting any further seaborne ventures until the fall of Charleston in May 1780.

FEBRUARY 10, 1779. The fall of Savannah also stirs embers of Loyalist counterrevolution in Georgia's backcountry, where Lt. Col. John Hamilton is dispatched with 200 mounted troops to raise recruits. Another Loyalist force, soon swelling to 700 men, attempts to join him from North Carolina under Colonel Boyd. The Patriots are concerned to prevent the juncture of this sizable column with Hamilton's company, which, after bloodying a rebel contingent, has retired into Fort Carr.

Col. Andrew Pickens assumes command of the 350 Americans remaining in this sector, crossing the Savannah River at Cowen's Ferry on February 10, then recrossing near Fort Charlotte, where he locates Boyd's approaching North Carolinians. The latter attempt to fight their way across at Cherokee Ford but are prevented by a two-gun outpost manned by eight rebels, so they move five miles upstream and traverse on rafts, continuing their march toward Fort Augusta. Pickens shadows from the Georgia side, observing as Boyd's Loyalists cross the Broad River on February 13 and encamp near Kettle Creek.

Next morning, the outnumbered Patriots surprise the North Carolinians while their horses are grazing and cattle are being slaughtered. Col. John Dooley commands the rebels' right, Pickens, the center, and Col. Elijah Clarke, the left. The Loyalist pickets open fire upon perceiving the American advance, then fall back into camp, where Boyd manages to resist for about an hour before being mortally wounded and his army routed. The Patriots suffer 30 casualties, as opposed to 40 among the North Carolinians, but they also capture 70 prisoners (5 of whom are subsequently hanged). This puts an end to the Loyalist uprising in Georgia's backcountry

for a while, although 300 of Boyd's defeated force nonetheless succeed in winning through to the concentration at Fort Augusta.

FEBRUARY 19, 1779. The 56-year-old admiral François-Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse Tilly, arrives at Martinique from Brest with the ships of the line *Dauphin Royal*, *Magnifique*, *Robuste*, and *Vengeur*, bearing troops. Despite this reinforcement, his superior d'Estaing decides to remain on the defensive inside Fort Royal with his 16 ships of the line and 2 frigates.

FEBRUARY 27, 1779. *Briar Creek.* In Georgia, an army of 2,600 American militiamen under Brig. Gen. John Ashe, plus 100 regulars under Colonel Elbert, advance down the Savannah River to break the British stranglehold upon the coast. General Prevost, the English commander in chief for this theater, counters by detaching units to repel this offensive—in particular, 900 troops under Lt. Col. Mark Prevost, who circles far west to surprise the Americans from the rear.

On February 27, Ashe's army reaches Briar Creek, pausing to begin rebuilding its bridge and to construct a road to link up with the Patriots under Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford at Mathew's Bluff, five miles east. Opposite Ashe, on the south side of Briar Creek, is Maj. John Macpherson with a battalion of British troops plus some Loyalist militia. On March 3, Colonel Prevost's 900-man flanking column takes Ashe utterly by surprise, trapping his army with a three-mile-wide swamp behind them and the bridge as yet unfinished. The American commander desperately attempts to regroup his army in three columns, only to have the British attack smash through his ranks, compelling the Halifax Regiment to flee and the militiamen to dissolve in panic. Patriot casualties total 200 (many of them drowned in the swamp) plus another 170 prisoners, including Elbert. The British suffer only 5 killed and 11 wounded.

Ashe is subsequently court-martialed and censured for "want of sufficient vigilance," while only 450 of his militiamen eventually rejoin the American army.

APRIL 12, 1779. In Europe, French and Spanish plenipotentiaries sign an alliance against England.

APRIL 26, 1779. The 55-year-old commodore Louis-Philippe Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, reaches Martinique with the ships of the line *Fendant* and *Sphinx*, having seized several English slaving stations in West Africa on his outward passage.

Notwithstanding the arrival of this pair, plus the 50-gun *Fier* bringing in a convoy, Admiral d'Estaing still refuses to quit the safety of Fort Royal with his 19 ships of the line.

MAY 10, 1779. Commo. Sir George Collier descends upon Portsmouth (Virginia) with his 64-gun flagship *Raisonnable*, 44-gun frigate *Rainbow*, 14-gun sloops *Otter* and *Harlem*, and 8-gun galley *Cornwallis*, bearing 2,500 troops under Major General Matthew. The Patriot base goes up in flames, the *Elizabeth* and the *Chesapeake* being secured as prizes. By the time Collier returns into New York on May 28, he is able to report the capture or destruction of 130 American vessels.

MAY 18, 1779. Madrid secretly advises its Spanish American officials that war will soon be declared against Britain.

JUNE 1, 1779. British columns push out of New York and take the fort at Stony Point, plus Fort Lafayette at Verplanck's Point on the far side of the Hudson River. Guarding the nearest ferry into New York City, these strongholds are of strategic importance to the Americans' east-west lines of communication, so Washington instructs Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne to study the possibility of retaking Stony Point (*see* "July 15, 1779" entry).

JUNE 5, 1779. After several months' blockade of Martinique, Admiral Byron's fleet bears away south toward Grenada to escort a large merchant convoy north to Saint Kitts and then on to England. His Royal Navy warships reach Saint Kitts's capital of Basseterre by June 10 and remain five days to effect repairs and reprovision; then they exit to protect the departure of a large general convoy headed toward Europe, afterward beating back upwind to resume their station off Martinique by June 30.

JUNE 9, 1779. *Seizure of Saint Vincent.* Availing himself of Byron's absence during his leeward cruise to Saint Kitts, French admiral d'Estaing detaches the 35-year-old lieutenant Charles Marie, Chevalier de Trolong du Romain and commander of the corvette *Lively*, to sortie in the opposite direction and attack Saint Vincent.

Trolong du Romain quits Fort Royal (modern Fort de France) with three corvettes and two sloops bearing 400–450 troops, progressing south slowly because of scanty winds and strong countercurrents.

On June 16, his expedition sights and captures two English vessels, then the next day approaches Saint Vincent. The Martinican militia officer Laroque Perein has already infiltrated the island and primed its Carib inhabitants to rise up against the English. As soon as Trolong du Romain's troops come ashore on June 17 and occupy the high ground above the capital of Kingstown, the English garrison of 464 men of the 60th (Royal American) Foot Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Etherington surrenders without a fight, the capitulation being signed by Gov. Valentine Morris.

JUNE 15, 1779. Near Charles Town (modern Charleston, South Carolina), General Prévost—British commander in chief out of Georgia—decides to halt his invasion northeastward when he learns that General Lincoln is marching to the capital's relief. To cover his retreat, Prévost leaves a 900-man rearguard under Lt. Col. John Maitland at Stono Ferry on James Island, which boasts three strong redoubts, an abatis, and a boat bridge across to Johns Island. By June 15, Maitland is ready to withdraw as soon as ships can be made available; but before they arrive, he is set upon five days later by 1,200 Americans from the Charles Town garrison under Brigadier General Moultrie. Having crossed the Ashley River, Moultrie marches eight miles until he arrives within 300 yards of the foremost British defenses at Stono Ferry, his presence screened by woods. With Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner commanding the right and recently promoted Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger, the left, the American attack goes forth on June 20, catching Maitland completely off guard. In one hour's heavy fighting, his Highland corps suffers comparatively heavy losses, and his Hessians begin to retreat. However, with the Americans already on the abatis, the British commander rallies his Hessians and throws in his reserves from Johns Island. This counterattack compels the attackers to withdraw, having suffered 150 killed or wounded, plus another 150 men missing. Maitland's losses are 130 killed or wounded plus a single man missing, and he is able to successfully evacuate his command on June 23, sailing to Beaufort on Port Royal Island (South Carolina).

JUNE 21, 1779. In Europe, Spain officially declares war against Great Britain.

JUNE 27, 1779. The 58-year-old commodore Toussaint Guillaume Picquet de La Motte (better known

as the Comte de Lamotte Picquet) reaches Martinique with his 74-gun flagship *Annibal*; the 74-gun, 1,550-ton *Diadème*; the 64-gun *Réfléchi*; the 64-gun, 1,260-ton *Artésien*; and the 50-gun, 900-ton *Amphion*; plus the frigates *Blanche*, *Amazone*, and *Fortunée*; escorting a 60-vessel troop convoy. Admiral d'Estaing finally decides to use this strength to attack one of the major British West Indian bases, and he sorties on June 31 with 25 ships of the line and numerous auxiliaries in hopes of falling upon Barbados.

The next morning, July 1, Admiral Byron returns into Saint Lucia from his digression to Saint Kitts and learns of the French occupation of Saint Vincent during his absence. Meanwhile, contrary winds have prevented d'Estaing from reaching his original objective, hence his fleet instead veers around toward Grenada, coming within sight of that island the next day.

JULY 2, 1779. *Capture of Grenada.* D'Estaing anchors off Beauséjour Point, near its capital of Georgetown, and leads his 2,500-man army ashore. The English under their governor Lord Macartney adopt a defensive posture, entrenching themselves atop their Hospital Hill strongpoint with several hundred men and field artillery. The French advance that same evening in three columns under colonels Arthur Dillon, Édouard Dillon, and de Noailles, while d'Estaing's ships launch a diversionary attack from out at sea. By 11:00 p.m., the assault columns come into contact with the defenders, driving them off Hospital Hill in confusion so that the heights are in French hands by the next morning. On July 4, Macartney sues for terms, Grenada's capitulation netting d'Estaing several hundred prisoners, 118 artillery pieces, and 30 merchantmen lying offshore.

During the night of July 5–6, the French admiral learns of the approach of a large British fleet. Byron has quit Saint Kitts on July 3 with 21 ships of the line, the frigate *Ariadne*, and 28 troop transports to recoup Saint Vincent from the French (see "June 9, 1779" entry). While en route, he is informed that Grenada is also under attack, so he instead sails to its rescue. Not realizing that d'Estaing has been forewarned, Byron makes the signal for a general chase once he sights the French fleet assembling under sail off Georgetown at sunup on July 6, believing that he has caught them unprepared. The lead English ships open fire upon the French vanguard by 7:30 a.m., yet are badly mauled, Barrington's vice-flagship *Prince of Wales*, Captain Sawyer's *Boyne*, Gardner's *Sultan*, Collingwood's *Grafton*, Edwards's



Print commemorating d'Estaing's seizure of Grenada. (Library of Congress)

Cornwall, Cornwallis's *Lion*, and Fanshaw's *Monmouth* receiving the brunt of this concentrated French fire.

Byron consequently regroups his scattered fleet and by 9:00 a.m. proceeds into Georgetown's harbor, only to be surprised again when its batteries hoist French flags and open fire. Reversing course, the English engage d'Estaing's fleet once more as they exit, before breaking off and standing back out to sea by noon. The English have suffered 183 killed and 346 wounded during this encounter, and the French, 190 dead and 759 injured; yet, only a single vessel has actually changed hands, an English transport bearing 150 soldiers. HMS *Monmouth* is detached from Byron's fleet to proceed independently toward Antigua to effect repairs, while other Royal Navy vessels—notably the *Lion*, the *Cornwall*, and the *Grafton*—also report considerable damage as they limp toward Saint Kitts. On the French side, captains de Champorcine of the *Provence*, Ferron du Quengo of the *Amphion*, and de Montault of the *Fier Rodrigue* are all dead. D'Estaing is nonetheless

able to dispatch the corvette *Diligente* toward France with news of Grenada's conquest and Byron's retreat, after which de Suffren occupies the Grenadines, and the victorious French fleet retires from the region by July 15 (the same day on which Byron reaches Saint Kitts, followed by the *Monmouth* the next day, while the *Lion* seeks shelter at Saba).

After touching at Guadeloupe on July 19, d'Estaing continues for Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) with a merchant convoy, passing before Saint Kitts on July 21–22 and reaching Saint Domingue by the last day of this month. There, he receives word that the English have made great gains against the Americans in both Georgia and the Carolinas, so he sets sail north with his entire fleet on August 16.

JULY 15, 1779. At Sandy Beach (near Fort Montgomery, New York), General Wayne begins a march around noon with 1,200 Patriots and two field guns to attempt to retake the fort at Stony Point from its 625 British defenders under Col. Henry Johnson. By 8:00 p.m., the Americans have approached within

one and a half miles of their objective and maintain strict silence as they subdivide into two columns, planning to launch a simultaneous surprise attack from both north and south. Each will be preceded by a party of 20 men to kill the sentries and hack through the abatis, while two, 150-man storming parties will follow them inside. A company of light horse under Major Murfree is to create a diversion in the center, being the only troopers authorized to open fire.

Shortly after midnight, the attacking columns ford the marsh around this fort and commence their assault. Colonel Johnson is deceived by Murfree's noisy feint, leading half his garrison down the hill, where they are cut off and captured. After 15 minutes' further turmoil, the British begin to surrender in isolated groups, the captives eventually totaling 470, plus 95 killed or wounded. The Americans suffer 100 casualties during this bold stroke, which proves a great boost to the revolutionaries' morale. Nonetheless, the victors are obliged to evacuate Stony Point on July 18, for Clinton quickly reinforces nearby Fort Lafayette and it cannot be carried by Brig. Gen. Robert Howe's subsequent attack. Unable to remain in this untenable position, Wayne's garrison therefore withdraws, losing the 12 British guns they have captured, in the American galley, which transports them toward West Point.

AUGUST 14, 1779. Commodore Collier breaks the American blockade of Penobscot (Maine) with his 64-gun flagship *Raisonnable*, the 32-gun frigates *Blonde* and *Virginia*, and the 20-gun sloops *Greyhound*, *Camilla*, and *Galatea*.

AUGUST 18, 1779. At 10:30 a.m., the 23-year-old major Henry Lee—a 1773 graduate of Princeton and better known as “Light Horse Harry”—sets out from Paramus (New Jersey) with two companies and some wagons as if on a foraging expedition. But at New Bridge, four miles away, he is joined by the rest of his irregulars, bringing his total strength to 300 men, and at 4:30 p.m. he strikes south toward Bergen. It is Lee's intent to surprise, under cover of darkness, the 200 British and Hessians under Maj. William Sutherland garrisoning the fort at Paulus Hook, a low point of land protruding into the Hudson River one and a half miles opposite New York City. If it can be captured, this stronghold might help solve Washington's communications problems.

Lee's subordinate, Capt. Allen McLane, has earlier reconnoitered the fortification, finding it protected

on its landward side by a salt marsh, tidal moat, and Harsimus Creek. The Americans decide to launch their attack a half hour after midnight, before the moat can become filled by high tide at 2:00 a.m. Boats for their retreat are to wait on the Hackensack River, west of Bergen. However, a guide misdirects Lee, and this detour costs his assault columns three hours. As they reach the marsh, Major Clark reports half his Virginia troops still missing; by now the ditch is also almost full, but Lee nonetheless chooses to press home his attack, reorganizing his force into two contingents under Clark and Captain Forsyth, with a reserve under Capt. Levin Handy.

The Americans wade through the marsh with their muskets unprimed, so the defense is not alerted until Lee's men enter the ditch. They then rush it, find an opening in the main work, and capture a blockhouse and redoubt, with Handy feeding men into the fight from his reserve as firing dictates. A number of British and Hessian troops are captured in 30 minutes of battle, although Captain Schaller is able to hold out in the fort's round redoubt.

With dawn now approaching, and the alarm being sounded in New York across the river, Lee orders a retreat with his 150 prisoners, most of the remaining 50 defenders having been killed or wounded. (One of the few exceptions being the commanding officer, Major Sutherland, who has taken refuge within a blockhouse.) Upon retiring, Lee finds that the boats on the Hackensack have been withdrawn on the assumption that his raid has been called off, so he is faced with a long march back along the Bergen route. Fortunately for the Americans, reinforcements arrive just before they are attacked by Lieutenant Colonel van Buskirk and his Loyalists, who are driven away.

Although failing to hold the fort on Paulus Hook, Lee's venture nevertheless fires American morale. Both he and Anthony Wayne receive gold medals from a grateful Congress.

AUGUST 27, 1779. Despite having lost accumulated supplies and boats during a hurricane nine days previously, Spain's 33-year-old governor for Louisiana, Bernardo de Gálvez, departs New Orleans with a mixed force of 170 regulars from the España, Havana, Mallorca, and Príncipe infantry regiments; 330 untested troops of his Fixed Infantry Regiment of Louisiana; 20 carabineers; 60 white militiamen; 80 free blacks and mulattoes; and 7 American volunteers. They are accompanied by a flotilla of gunboats bearing 10 artillery pieces as

they travel northwestward up the Mississippi to attack the advance British outpost of Fort Manchac. De Gálvez presses on ahead of his expedition to recruit another 600 volunteers among the Acadian and German settlements, as well as 160 Indian warriors.

AUGUST 31, 1779. *Defense of Savannah.* D’Estaing drops anchor off the South Carolina coast, setting the military officer de Fontanges ashore to consult with American officials at Charles Town about a combined effort against the English in neighboring Georgia. On September 2, five French men-of-war—including the flagship *Languedoc*—are damaged by an unexpected gale, yet d’Estaing’s strength remains sufficiently impressive that the mere appearance of his 39 vessels off Charles Town creates a sensation the next day. (Even as far north as New York, the British high command shows some concern at this French expedition’s sudden materialization. It rescinds Cornwallis’s orders to sail toward Jamaica, while recalling the Rhode Island garrison into New York. Washington, for his part, is equally

irritated by d’Estaing’s failure to come directly to support him.)

On September 6, the first French troops begin disembarking on Tybee Island at the mouth of the Savannah River, from which a British outpost hastily withdraws. General Prévost, commanding the English forces in Georgia, orders Lt. Col. John Cruger to march from Fort Sunbury and join him in the capital, while Lieutenant Colonel Maitland is to do the same from Port Royal. On September 11–12, d’Estaing lands his main body at Beaulieu (13–14 miles south of Savannah), bringing allied numbers to 6,000 men when joined with American units under brigadier generals Lachlan McIntosh and Casimir Pulaski on September 15. The next day, d’Estaing demands the surrender of Savannah, and Prévost asks for 24 hours in which to reply. During this time, Maitland arrives with another 800 men, raising the defenders’ strength to 3,200, so this offer is rejected.

On September 16, General Lincoln arrives to assume command of the American contingent, and siege preparations begin (over the objections of Brig. Gen. William Moultrie, who calls for an immediate



Repulse at Savannah, by A. I. Keller. (U.S. National Archives)

assault). Bad weather slows the arrival of siege ordinance until September 24, and the bombardment does not commence until October 3. D’Estaing is already under pressure from his naval captains to withdraw because of the impending hurricane season, so it is decided on October 7 to attempt an assault the next dawn. The main Franco-American thrust is aimed against Spring Hill, with diversionary actions on both flanks under Gen. Théobald Dillon and Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger. Both flank actions are driven back by heavy fire, while the principal assault proves poorly coordinated, the French arriving at their positions late, then attacking early.

D’Estaing’s troops suffer severely while covering 500 yards of open ground toward the English abatis, the only success being scored by Lt. Col. Francis Marion—the fabled “Swamp Fox”—who breaks through the southwestern abatis to take the Spring Hill redoubt. He is soon driven back by an English counterattack, while Pulaski’s cavalry suffers heavily (their commander being mortally wounded), and McIntosh’s force is misdirected into a swamp and fired upon by the Royal Navy brig *Germain* from the river. After the American and French assault columns withdraw, a heavy fog prevents any English pursuit. French and American casualties total 800 (of which 650 are French, including an injured d’Estaing), plus 120 prisoners; the British sustain 60 killed or wounded.

The attackers lift their siege on October 18 and go their separate ways: Lincoln retiring toward Charleston, while the French admiral prepares to regain France, first subdividing his command. The frigates *Fortunée*, *Blanche*, and *Boudeuse*, along with the corvette *Ellis*, are to carry reinforcements to Grenada and Saint Vincent; troops belonging to Saint Domingue (Haiti) are to be returned aboard Lamothe Picquet’s division; while de Grasse’s squadron is to reprovision at Chesapeake Bay before making for Martinique. The latter sets sail on October 26 with the *Robuste*, the *Fendant*, the *Diadème*, and the *Sphinx*, followed shortly thereafter by the *Vengeur*, the *Dauphin Royal*, and the *Artésien*. On October 28, bad weather parts the *Languedoc*’s, the *Provence*’s, and the *Tonnant*’s cables off Georgia, obliging d’Estaing to sail alone for France, followed four days later by his subordinate de Broves with the *César*, the *Hector*, the *Guerrier*, the *Protecteur*, the *Vaillant*, the *Zélé*, the *Marseillais*, the *Sagittaire*, the *Fantasque*, and the 50-gun English prize *Experiment* (captured by d’Albert de Rions on September 24). (The 32-gun *Amazone* of Capt. Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de Lapé-

rouse, also sights the 26-gun British frigate *Ariel* of Capt. Thomas Mackenzie off Savannah on October 7 and takes it three days later.)

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1779. Lt. Col. José Rosado leads 800 Spanish troops out of Bacalar (Yucatán), attacking the English logwood establishments in neighboring Río Hondo (Belize). Capturing two sloops, a schooner, and numerous lesser prizes, he then arms them with swivels and 300 men to sail farther south and attack the main English concentration around “Cayo Cocinas” (Saint George’s Key).

SEPTEMBER 6, 1779. *Spain’s Mississippi Campaign.* Governor de Gálvez’s expedition, now reduced to less than 1,000 effectives after an 11-day march over 105 miles, comes within sight of 27-man Fort Manchac. Next dawn, the Franco-Spanish militia under Gilberto Antonio de San Maxent storms it by surprise, killing a single English soldier and capturing 20, while the remaining 6 escape.

After resting his small army for a few days, de Gálvez presses on to nearby Baton Rouge by September 12. It is defended by Lt. Col. Alexander Dickson with 146 British regulars, 201 Waldeckers, 11 Royal Artillery gunners, plus 150 armed settlers and black auxiliaries. The defenders have erected an earthen redoubt on Watts’s and Flowers’s plantations, defended by 13 cannon plus a ditch 18 feet wide by 9 feet deep. His Franco-Spanish army now reduced to only 400 regulars and 400 militiamen, de Gálvez resorts to a clever ruse. On the night of September 20, he sends a work detail into some nearby woods to draw the defenders’ fire with their noise, while stealthily installing his 10 siege guns on the opposite side. When the latter open fire at 5:45 a.m. next dawn, within point-blank range, they pound the British fortification into submission within three and a half hours. Dickson surrenders not only his own stronghold but also 80 Waldeck grenadiers holding Fort Panmure (Natchez). Capt. Juan de la Villanueva proceeds there with 50 Spanish soldiers by October 5 to accept its capitulation.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1779. *Belize.* At dawn, Rosado’s 300-man Spanish expedition appears off Saint George’s Key (Belize), having slipped landing parties ashore the previous night to surprise the English settlements from both sides. Many logwood cutters are captured, their dwellings burned, and their slaves and vessels seized, at a cost of four Spanish dead and five wounded.

While the Spaniards are gathering up their booty, two Royal Navy frigates and a brigantine arrive off the coast on September 20, under Commo. John Luttrell. Their presence compels Rosado to retire toward Yucatán, although carrying away his prisoners plus destroying every settlement in his path.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1779. In retaliation for the Spanish descent against Belize, Luttrell appears in Honduras's Gulf of Omoa with his 44-gun flagship *Charon*, the 32-gun *Lowestoft* of Capt. Christopher Parker, the 28-gun *Pomona* of Capt. Charles Edmund Nugent, the 20-gun sloop *Porcupine* of Cmdr. John Pakenham, the schooner *Racehorse*, and a number of lesser consorts. They bear a contingent of troops from Jamaica under Maj. William Dalrymple, a company from his own Royal Irish Regiment, plus another from the 79th Regiment and numerous militia volunteers.

OCTOBER 16, 1779. *Omoa.* Having probed the approaches to this port and deemed its San Fernando harbor castle too formidable, Luttrell and Dalrymple disembark their Irish troops, many Royal Navy Marines and sailors, plus 250 baymen overnight on nearby Puerto Cabello Peninsula (modern Puerto Cortés) to march nine miles into Omoa proper under cover of darkness and surprise its 200-man citadel under Capt. Simón Desnaux from the landward side. Progress proves impossible because of dense mangroves, the dawn of October 17 revealing the English still six miles short of their destination. It is not until midafternoon that they storm the town, easily scattering the 50–60 defenders stationed outside Fort San Fernando. However, the citadel itself continues to hold out, even when the *Charon* and the *Lowestoft* bear down to open fire. (The latter soon runs aground, being badly mauled before it can be refloated and towed out of range.)

As a result, some of the *Pomona*'s guns are landed and manhandled into position as a siege battery by October 18, after which the besiegers launch another diversionary attack from out at sea on the night of October 19–20. While Desnaux's garrison is distracted by this demonstration, four British storming parties slip over the walls carrying the building before its defenders can react, at a cost of five English fatalities. Out in the roadstead, the Spanish galleon *San Carlos* and another ship are seized, bearing approximately 3 million pesos in treasure. Dalrymple installs English troops to hold San Fernando, then sails away toward Roatán and Jamaica with Luttrell.

(On November 28, the new garrison is obliged to evacuate when a 500-man Spanish relief column arrives from the interior under Guatemala's governor, Matías de Gálvez.)

OCTOBER 28, 1779. Lt. Col. Francisco Pineiro sallies from San Felipe de Bacalar (Yucatán) with 390 troops aboard 5 captured English sloops, 10 *piraguas*, and 8 dories to again assault Saint George's Key (Belize) and its surrounding district. A second Spanish expedition of 120 men under Capt. José Urrutia sets sail aboard 9 *piraguas* and 4 dories by November 2 to raze other English settlements in this territory.

EARLY DECEMBER 1779. Lamotte Picquet reaches Martinique from North America with the *Annibal*, the *Réfléchi*, the *Vengeur*, the *Magnifique*, the *Diadème*, the *Dauphin Royal*, and the *Artésien*, his squadron so worn that the latter four immediately undergo extensive repairs.

DECEMBER 18, 1779. Hyde Parker's squadron intercepts a 26-vessel French convoy approaching Martinique, escorted by the frigate *Aurore*. Lamotte Picquet sorties from Fort Royal with the only ships available to him—the *Annibal*, the *Réfléchi*, and the *Vengeur*—but is powerless to prevent the English from capturing 10 merchantmen and driving another 4 aground.

DECEMBER 21, 1779. Rear Adm. Joshua Rowley's 74-gun ships, the *Magnificent*, the *Suffolk*, and the *Vengeance*, plus the 64-gun *Stirling Castle*, intercept the 32-gun French frigates *Fortunée* and *Blanche* and the 28-gun *Elise* off Guadeloupe, capturing all three by the next morning.

DECEMBER 26, 1779. Clinton decides to leave 10,000 troops under Knyphausen in winter quarters at Sandy Hook (New York) to keep an eye on Washington, while he takes a large contingent to campaign farther south in the Carolinas. Quitting New York the day after Christmas with 7,550 troops aboard 90 transports, he is escorted by Vice Adm. Marriot Arbuthnot's 64-gun flagship, the *Europa*, under William Swiney, as well as the 74-gun *Russell* of Commo. Francis Samuel Drake and *Robust* of Phillips Cosby; the 64-gun *Defiance* of Maxwell Jacobs and *Raisonné* of Thomas Fitzherbert; the 50-gun *Renown* of George Dawson; the 44-gun frigates *Roebuck* of Sir Andrew Snape Hammond and *Romulus* of George

Gayton; the 32-gun frigates *Richmond* of Charles Hudson, *Blonde* (French prize) of Andrew Barkley, and *Raleigh* (American prize) of James Gambier; the 28-gun frigate *Virginia* of John Orde; the 20-gun sloops *Perseus* of George Keith Elphinstone and *Camilla* of John Collins; plus the armed ships *Sandwich* and *Germaine*.

This expedition endures such a rough passage that it does not reach Georgia's Tybee Island until the end of January 1780, much of its horses and artillery having been lost. This delays the start of Clinton's southern campaign, as he has to summon further reinforcements and equipment from New York and Savannah.

JANUARY 11, 1780. *De Gálvez at Mobile.* Governor de Gálvez departs New Orleans with 43 regulars of the 2nd Battalion of the *España* Regiment, 50 of the Havana Regiment, 141 of the Louisiana Regiment, 14 artillerymen, 26 *carabineros* or "riflemen," 323 white and 107 mulatto or black militiamen, 26 American auxiliaries, plus two-dozen slaves. They are traveling aboard the royal frigate *Vólante*; the merchant frigate *Misericordia*; the galleys *San Vicente de Ferrer*, *San Francisco de Paula*, *Merced*, and another unnamed galley; the packet *Rosario*, which doubles as a hospital ship; the brigantines *San Salvador de Orta*, *Gálvez*, and another unknown brigantine; the galliot *Válenzuela*; and the royal brig *Kaulicán*.

After pausing at the Mississippi River mouth, this expedition strikes eastward on February 6, working into Mobile Bay four days later despite foul weather. Six vessels run aground upon its bar, so de Gálvez experiences some difficulty assembling his small army ashore. He then receives some requested reinforcements on February 20: 549 soldiers of the Navarra Regiment, who arrive from Havana aboard the 22-gun frigate *Caimán* of Cmdr. Miguel de Goicoechea, the 18-gun storeship *San Pío* of Lt. Pedro Obregón, the 14-gun brigantine *Santa Teresa* of Lt. Manuel Bilbao, the 18-gun brigantine *Renombrado* of Lt. José María Chacón, plus an unnamed Catalan galley. This flotilla is also accompanied by the American sloop *Terrible* of Capt. Joseph Calvert.

On February 24, the Spanish move from Mobile Point to Dog River (nine miles below Mobile), then three days later begin probing the British outer perimeter. Fort Charlotte is invaded by February 29, de Gálvez calling upon its commander—Capt. Elias Durnford—to surrender the next day, but he is rebuffed. After an 11-day siege during which a heavy Spanish battery is emplaced within point-

blank range, Durnford sues for terms by sundown of March 12. The capitulation occurs two days later when 267 prisoners surrender to the Spaniards: 98 regulars of the Royal American Regiment, 4 Maryland Loyalists, 60 sailors, plus 54 white and 51 black militiamen. A 500-man British relief column approaching from Pensacola with three guns under Col. John Campbell turns back upon learning of Mobile's fate.

FEBRUARY 3, 1780. The 21-year-old captain Horatio Nelson quits Port Royal (Jamaica) with his frigate *Hinchinbroke*, escorting the transport ship *Penelope*, two brigs, three sloops, and the tender *Royal George*, bearing 100 regulars of the 60th Royal American Regiment under acting Lt. Col. John Polson, 140 of the 79th Liverpool Blues under Capt. Richard Bulkeley, 240 Royal Jamaica volunteers under Maj. James Macdonald, 250 members of the Jamaica Legion, 125 of the Royal Bateaux Corps, plus an unspecified number of black volunteers.

This expedition is intended to cross to the Mosquito Coast, be reinforced by several hundred logwood cutters and Indians under militia Maj. James Lawrie, then advance up Nicaragua's San Juan River to attack the Spaniards. On February 9, Nelson and Polson pause at Providencia Island to secure a Central American pilot, before continuing toward Cape Gracias a Dios to rendezvous with Lawrie's contingent.

FEBRUARY 10, 1780. Having refurbished his army, Clinton sails for the Edisto River and Saint John's Island (near present-day Charleston), to march overland toward the Ashley River and eventually invade South Carolina's capital.

MARCH 7, 1780. The 70-gun, 600-man Spanish flagship *San Gabriel* of Joaquín de Cañaveral departs Havana with the 70-gun, 551-man *San Juan Nepomuceno* of José Perea and the 64-gun, 577-man *San Ramón* of José Calvo de Irrazábal; the 42-gun, 284-man frigates *Nuestra Señora de la O* of Gabriel de Aristizábal; the 36-gun, 265-man *Santa Matilde* of Miguel de Alderete and the 271-man *Santa Marta* of Andrés Valderrama; the 10-gun, 24-man brigantines *San Francisco Xavier* of Juan Vicente Carta and *San Juan Bautista* of Pedro Imán; and the 14-gun, 44-man galley *Santo Peregrino* of Lt. Juan de Herrera and the 88-man sloop *Nuestra Señora del Carmen* of Lt. Miguel de Sapiáin. They are escorting 26 transports bearing 2,150 troops under Lt. Gen. Juan

Bautista Bonet to unite with de Gálvez's force at Mobile and attack the English at Pensacola.

On March 27, this Spanish expedition inadvertently comes within sight of Pensacola, provoking panic among its English defenders, who spike the cannon in their batteries and retreat inside Fort George, anticipating an invasion. Instead, Cañaveral and Bonet steer toward Mobile, straggling into port by March 30–31. After lengthy consultations, the Spaniards decide not to attack Pensacola that spring, their fleet instead returning into Havana by May 20.

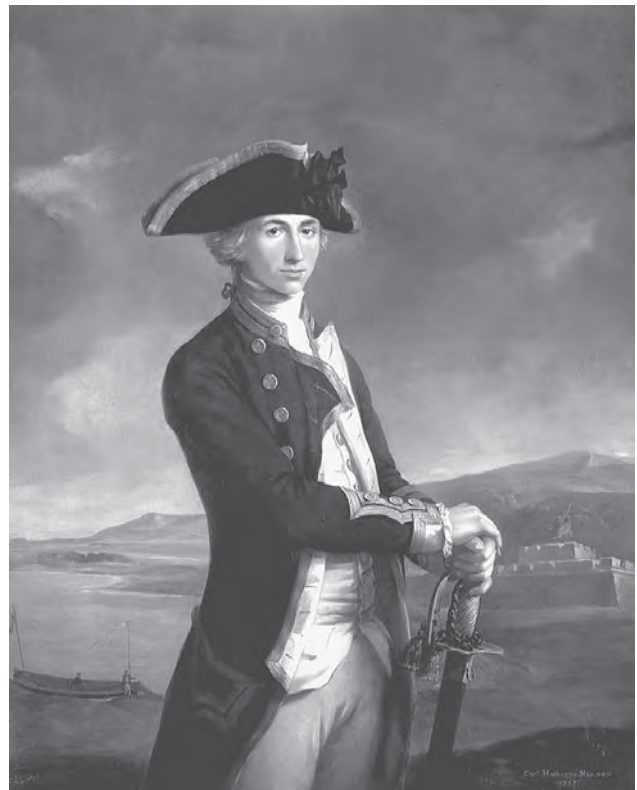
MARCH 13, 1780. Lamotte Picquet quits Martinique with his squadron to reinforce Saint Domingue (Haiti).

MARCH 22, 1780. While cruising along northern Saint Domingue, Lamotte Picquet's *Annibal* (flag) of 74 guns, *Diadème* of 70, *Réfléchi* of 64, and *Amphion* of 50 chase three large sail. They prove to be Commo. Sir William Cornwallis's *Lion* of 64 guns, *Bristol* of 50, and *Janus* of 40, who flee before this superior French force. Because of scanty winds, only the *Annibal* can overtake the English ships, fighting the trio that evening and the next morning until the latter make good their escape. A wounded Lamotte Picquet puts into Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) that afternoon.

MARCH 23, 1780. The 67-year-old vice admiral, Luc Urbain du Bouëxic, Comte de Guichen, reaches Martinique with a squadron, incorporating de Grasse's division into his command.

MARCH 24, 1780. *San Juan River.* After lengthy delays while awaiting the arrival of Lawrie's irregulars—who fail to appear—Nelson and Polson arrive off San Juan del Norte (also known as Greytown or Saint John's) to begin their offensive into Nicaragua. All 1,500 of Polson's troops are assembled aboard boats by March 27, advancing upriver in two contingents. On April 8, Nelson overruns a small Spanish battery on Bartola Island, then two days later, British scouts come within sight of 20-gun Inmaculada Concepción Fort—called “San Juan Castle” by the invaders (modern El Castillo, Nicaragua)—which bars their progress.

On April 11, Polson and Nelson's boats approach this stronghold, disgorging their army and four small 4-pounders. Nelson opens fire with the latter two days later, to little effect because of their light caliber. Nevertheless, after two weeks' close siege, the



Horatio Nelson at 19 years of age; the portraitist, John Rigaud, later added Nicaragua's Fort San Juan in the background. (National Maritime Museum, London)

Spanish garrison commander, Juan de Ayessa, requests terms on the evening of April 28 and the next afternoon surrenders his 160 men (60 of them Spanish regulars). While British colors are being hoisted above the fort, a 500-man relief column appears on the far bank under Guatemala's governor, Matías de Gálvez, who promptly withdraws. Disease is already decimating the British ranks, however, so they do not pursue, merely remaining in possession of their prize while dying by the hundreds, until eventually they evacuate this stronghold six months later.

MARCH 29, 1780. *Charles Town Siege.* Clinton's 11,200-man army slips across South Carolina's Ashley River, four miles farther north than the outnumbered American defenders have expected. By the next day, the first British columns are within 800 yards of Charles Town's defenses, driving 5,600 Patriots inside its walls and instituting a full invasion within the coming fortnight.

On April 10, Clinton calls for Lincoln's capitulation, which the American commander refuses, so

three days later the invaders detach Loyalist lieutenant colonel Banastre Tarleton with his so-called British Legion to attack the vital American supply depot at Monck's Corner (30 miles to the north). Capturing a messenger en route, from whom he learns of General Huger's dispositions, Tarleton falls upon this place at 3:00 a.m. of April 14 and takes its Patriot defenders by surprise. The 300 American cavalrymen before Biggins' Bridge are routed, and the militia guard scattered, with only 3 men and 5 mounts killed or wounded among the British, as opposed to 20 American casualties and 67 prisoners. Tarleton's stroke not only nets 42 loaded wagons and 185 horses but, more importantly, cuts off the last important American supply route into, and possible avenue of retreat from, Charles Town.

Before the beleaguered capital, Maj. James Moncrieff accelerates British siege operations by using prefabricated mantelets, so that by April 19 lines have advanced within 250 yards of the American ramparts. Lincoln offers to surrender two days later, but his demand for full honors of war is rejected by Clinton. At dawn on April 24, Lieutenant Colonel Henderson of the British right overruns Charles Town's outer line of works. Some 75 miles farther northwest, Tarleton also continues to be active, checking the movements of a mixed Patriot force under Col. Anthony White, which crosses the Santee River at Dupuis' Ferry on May 5 and captures one of Tarleton's Loyalist officers and 17 men.

Knowing that another 350-man American force is waiting nearby at Lenud's (or Lanneau's) Ferry under Col. Abraham Buford, Tarleton cunningly circles southeast and falls upon this place at 3:00 p.m. of May 6 with 150 British Legion dragoons, just as White is joining Buford. Without suffering a single casualty, the Loyalists disperse both American contingents, inflicting 40 casualties and capturing another 65. Tarleton returns into the siege camps around Charles Town with his prisoners and a large number of horses, raising British morale while deflating that of the defenders. After heavy bombardments from both land and the river, the city council (which until now has opposed surrendering) agrees to give up on May 11, and the next day, 5,500 Americans march out of Charles Town to capitulate—including seven generals. Patriot casualties total 230, compared to 270 British losses. Clinton prepares to return to New York with one-third of his army for spring campaigning, leaving 41-year-old lieutenant general Charles Cornwallis in command of South Carolina.

APRIL 11, 1780. Two British sloops and nine merchantmen carry supplies into Pensacola from Jamaica.

APRIL 13, 1780. De Guichen's fleet quits Martinique, covering the departure of a merchant convoy bound for Saint Domingue (Haiti), escorted by the 50-gun *Fier* and the frigate *Boudense*. But it is the French admiral's real intent to attempt a descent upon Barbados, for which he is accompanied by transports bearing 3,000 troops under the Marquis de Bouillé. On April 16, as this expedition stems the Martinique Passage opposite Dominica, it sights the battle fleet of the 62-year-old admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney, which closes to engage.

APRIL 17, 1780. *Encounter off Martinique.* This morning, Rodney's fleet maneuvers to overtake the French. In his van are the 64-gun *Stirling Castle* under Carkett; the 74-gun *Ajax* of Uvedale and *Elizabeth* of Maitland; the 90-gun vice-flagship *Princess Royal* of Hyde Parker under Flag Captain Hammond; the 74-gun *Albion* of Bowyer and *Terrible* of Douglas; as well as the 64-gun *Trident* under P. Mollo. The center is composed of the *Grafton* of 74 guns under Collingwood; the 64-gun *Yarmouth* of Bateman; the *Cornwall* of 74 guns under Edwards; Rodney's 90-gun flagship *Sandwich* under Flag Captain Young; the 74-gun *Suffolk* of Crespín; the 68-gun *Boyne* of Cotton; the 64-gun *Vigilant* of Home; and the 74-gun *Vengeance* of Hotham. The rear division consists of the 60-gun *Medway* under Edmond Affleck; Rear Adm. Joshua Rowley's 74-gun *Montague* under Flag Captain Houlton; the 74-gun *Conqueror* of Watson; the 64-gun *Intrepid* of Saint John; the 74-gun *Magnificent* of Elphinstone; as well as the 64-gun *Centurion*.

The English vessels do not sail as well as their opponents, so it takes some time to close upon de Guichen's fleet. His van is made up of the 74-gun *Destin* of François Louis, Comte Dumaitz de Goimpy Feiquières; the 64-gun *Vengeur* of de Betz; the 60-gun *Saint Michel* of d'Aymar; the 74-gun *Pluton* of de Lamarthonie; the 80-gun vice-flagship *Triomphant* of Hippolyte Augustin, Comte de Sade, under Flag Captain de Gras Préville; the 74-gun *Souverain* of Jean-Baptiste de Glandevès; plus the 64-gun *Solitaire* of de Cicé Champion. The French center division consists of the 74-gun *Citoyen* of de Nieul; the 64-gun *Caton* of de Framond; the 74-gun *Victoire* of d'Albert Saint Hippolyte and *Fendant* of Commodore de Vaudreuil; de Guichen's 80-gun flagship

Couronne under the flag captain, Pierre-Louis François Buor de la Charoulière; the 74-gun *Palmier* of Commo. François Aymar, Baron de Monteil; plus the 64-gun *Indien* of de Balleroy and *Actionnaire* of de Larchantel. The rear division is composed of the 74-gun *Intrépide* of Duplessis Parfeau; the 64-gun *Triton* of Brun de Boades; as well as the 74-gun *Magnifique* of de Brach, *Robuste* under Rear Admiral de Grasse, *Sphinx* of de Soulanges, *Artésien* of de Peynier, and *Hercule* of Claude François Renart de Fuch Samberg, Marquis d'Amblimont.

Having formed into roughly parallel battle lines and overhauled the French rear and center, at 11:50 a.m. Rodney signals his men-of-war to bear down upon their opposite numbers. Unfortunately, this hoist is misinterpreted by some to mean their literal opposite number—that is, the sixth British ship versus the sixth French ship, and so on—consequently, his fleet disintegrates into a straggling mass while attempting to carry out this unintended command.

The French open fire at 1:00 p.m., as Rodney's flagship veers down and tries to burst through their line, accompanied by a few consorts. The British admiral eventually succeeds after the *Actionnaire* staggers out of the battle, only to then become enveloped by numerous French warships as de Guichen gives the signal for his fleet to haul their wind. The two formations drift apart and cease fire at 4:30 p.m., the English having suffered 120 killed and 354 wounded during this indecisive clash, the French, 222 dead and 537 injured. Rodney is obliged to transfer aboard the *Conqueror* because of extensive punishment absorbed by the *Sandwich*. He then draws off to berate his captains. De Guichen claims a victory but is constrained to abandon his Barbados plan, instead retiring into Basse-Terre (Guadeloupe) to refit.

MAY 9, 1780. While de Guichen's expedition is preparing to invade Saint Lucia, Rodney's fleet materializes off Guadeloupe, drawing the French out to sea. Over the next fortnight, both fleets circle warily, seeking an advantage. Fighting erupts on the evening of May 15, as well as on the afternoon of May 19, but produces no decisive result before Rodney stands away and de Guichen retires into Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique) on May 22.

MAY 18, 1780. Cornwallis leads 2,500 British troops inland to stamp out the last vestiges of armed Revolutionary resistance in South Carolina—specifically,

Colonel Buford's 350 survivors from the Lenud's Ferry disaster (see "March 29, 1780" entry), who are retiring north at Huger's prompting. It soon becomes apparent that Cornwallis's cumbersome army cannot overtake their more nimble foe, so the British general detaches Loyalist colonel Tarleton with 40 dragoons, 130 cavalrymen, and 100 infantrymen (mounted double with his riders) to press ahead of the main body.

Tarleton covers 105 miles in 54 hours, catching up with Buford shortly after noon of May 29 at Waxhaw (North Carolina). The Loyalist sends an officer forward under a flag of truce to call upon the Patriots to surrender, who refuse. The British vanguard thus meets and mauls the American rearguard under Lieutenant Pearson at 3:00 p.m. Buford then halts his retreat and draws his remaining 250 men up in a single line under cover of an open wood, while Tarleton deploys his attackers 300 yards away in three columns: 30 under himself on the left, 50 infantrymen and 60 dragoons under Major Cochran on his right, plus another 60 in the center. (His other 70 men are to form up as they arrive upon a small hill to the rear, acting as a reserve.) The Americans hold their fire too long as Tarleton's men charge across the field and are broken by its impact. The British commander's horse goes down, leading his men to assume he is dead, thus precipitating a slaughter of the surviving Patriots. A total of 113 Americans are killed and 203 captured, 150 of them too badly wounded to be moved, while British casualties total 19 men and 31 horses dead or injured.

MAY 26, 1780. Capt. Emmanuel Hesse descends the Mississippi River from Mackinac (Michigan) with 1,000 British and Indian fighters to assault the Franco-Spanish forces at Saint Louis (Missouri). The latter is defended by 25 regulars, 289 colonists, and 20 cannon under Capt. Fernando de Leyba, who, two and a half weeks previously, received warning of the enemy's approach. Finding its defense well primed, the English and their native allies retire without accomplishing anything.

EARLY JUNE 1780. A Spanish frigate enters Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique), bringing word that Adm. José Solano y Bote is arriving in the West Indies with the *San Luis* of 90 guns; the *San Nicolás* of 80 guns; the *Gallardo* (officially designated the *San Juan de Sahagún*), the *Guerrero* (also called the *San Raymundo*), the *San Agustín*, the *San Francisco de Asís*, the *San Francisco de Paula*, the *San Genaro*, and

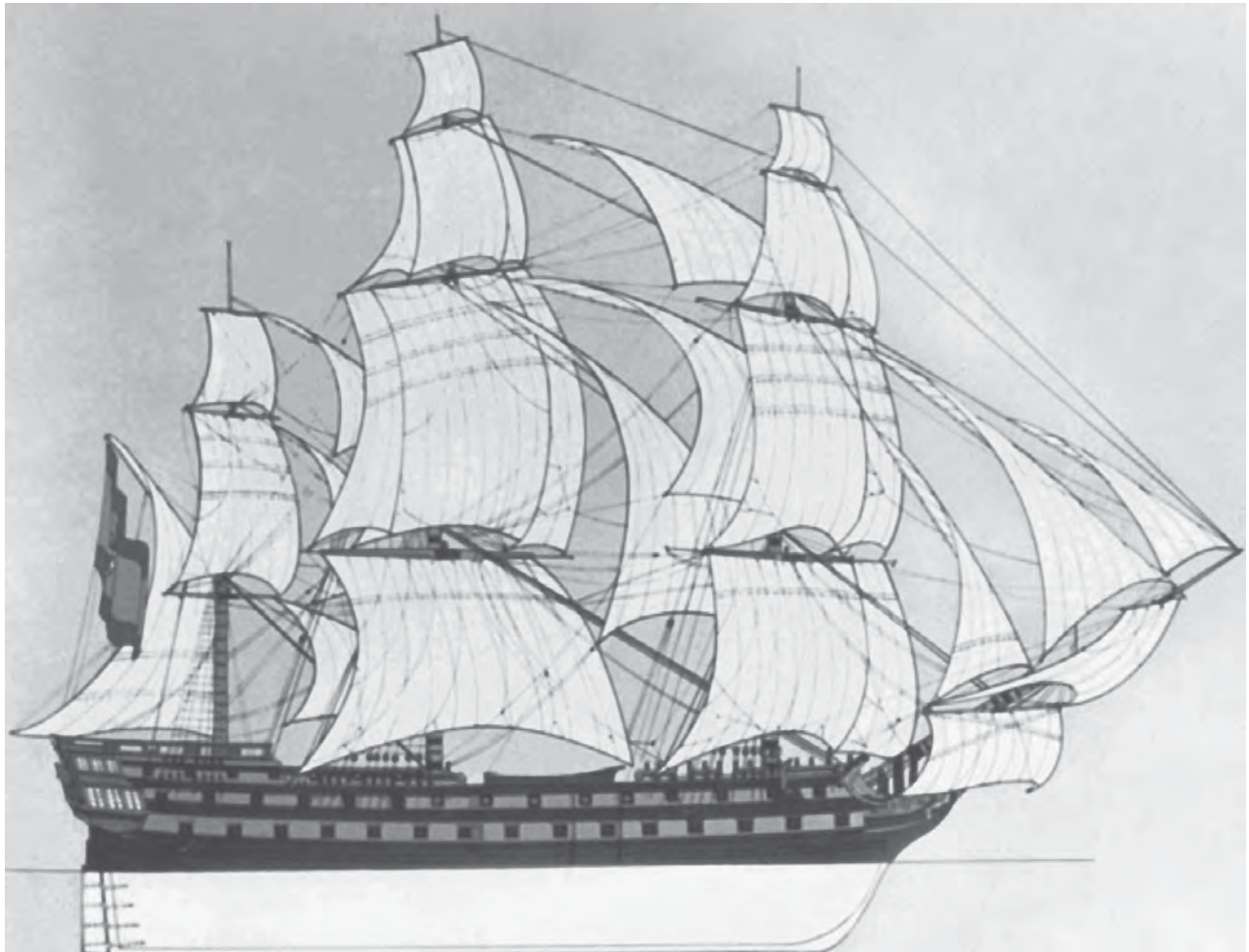
the *Velasco* of 74 guns; the *Arrogante* of 68 guns; the *Astuto* (officially designated the *San Eustaquio*) and the *Dragón* of 60 guns; the frigates *Santa Cecilia* and *Santa Rosalía*; the ex-English sloop *Duque de Cornwallis*; the xebec *Andaluz*; plus the storeship *San Gil*. This fleet is furthermore escorting 62 transports bearing 12,400 soldiers under Lt. Gen. Victorio de Navía Osorio, plus 38 merchantmen and 7 privateers.

De Guichen sorties with 15 French ships of the line, meeting this Spanish armada on June 8, and the next day he persuades its commander to put into Martinique with his main body, while simultaneously refreshing his convoy at Guadeloupe. Despite the offensive possibilities available to this combined host, however, the two admirals cannot agree upon a concerted plan of action against the English, and disease begins to spread aboard the crowded transports. Eventually, the two fleets sail together—but simply to deliver reinforcements to Puerto Rico before Solano proceeds on toward Havana, arriving

early in August with 1,200 sick, while de Guichen visits Saint Domingue (Haiti).

JUNE 20, 1780. The veteran French admiral de Ternay appears southwest of Bermuda with the *Duc de Bourgogne* (flag) of 80 guns; the *Neptune* and the *Conquérant* of 74 guns; the *Provence*, the *Éveillé*, the *Jason*, and the *Ardent* (English prize) of 64 guns; plus the frigates *Surveillante* and *Amazone*. They are escorting 30 transports bearing 6,000 troops under 54-year-old lieutenant general Jean-Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, destined to bolster the Americans.

Five sails approach out of the northeast, proving to be Commodore Cornwallis's 74-gun *Hector* and *Sultan*, 64-gun *Lion* and *Ruby*, 50-gun *Bristol*, and 32-gun frigate *Niger*, which are returning to the West Indies after escorting a British convoy northward. Mistaking this French expedition for a more lightly protected merchant convoy, the *Ruby* charges



The 74-gun Spanish ship of the line *San Genaro*, drawing by Berenguer. (Museo Naval, Madrid)

ahead of its British consorts, only to be nearly cut off by de Ternay's *Neptune*, *Jason*, and *Duc de Bourgogne*. After exchanging several broadsides, both squadrons continue on opposing courses, Cornwallis not wishing to engage a superior force, while de Ternay is reluctant to expose his troop convoy to unnecessary dangers.

JULY 4, 1780. De Ternay and Rochambeau's expedition appears off Chesapeake Bay around sundown, sighting 10–12 ships inside, which they fear might be a British fleet. The French therefore stand out into the Atlantic that same night and, next morning, sail on toward Rhode Island, anchoring at Newport in piecemeal fashion between July 10 and 12 (except for one troop transport, which becomes separated and enters Boston on July 8). Rochambeau's army remains inactive for a year, reluctant to abandon de Ternay's fleet, which, as of July 21, is blockaded inside Narragansett Bay by the British under Arbuthnot and Graves with 11 ships of the line.

JULY 12, 1780. A half mile outside Williamson's Plantation (now Brattonville, South Carolina), a 400-man Loyalist camp—including some of Tarleton's cavalry—under British captain Huck is surprised by 90 American partisans under colonels Bratton and McClure. The British are pinned down between two wooden rail fences and quickly routed at point-blank range, suffering 90 dead and injured (including Huck, who is killed), as opposed to one American death. Such raids hamper General Cornwallis's preparations for a major offensive northward.

JULY 25, 1780. American major general Gates arrives at Coxe's Mill, assuming command over Patriot forces throughout the South and incorporating Maj. Gen. Johann Kalb's 1,200 men into his army. Refusing to support colonels William Washington and Anthony White, who are trying to build up a cavalry force for partisan raids against British lines, Gates orders his troops to immediately march upon the advance enemy base of Camden (South Carolina). Two days later on July 27 he directs his army to take a shortcut through barren country rather than advance by the longer route around Salisbury and Charlotte.

JULY 30, 1780. In an effort to further hamper British movements in South Carolina, 600 Patriots set out under Brig. Gen. Thomas (the "Carolina Gamecock") Sumter to attack the English outpost

at Rocky Mount, on the vital Charleston–Camden Road. Arriving on August 1, the Americans find three log cabins protected by a ditch and abatis and manned by 150 British soldiers under Lt. Col. George Turnbull. Sumter calls upon the defenders to surrender, who refuse, sparking a general assault. The Patriots' lieutenant colonel Thomas Neal breaks through the abatis, only to be killed along with five of his men. Switching tactics, Sumter's men set fire to the buildings with burning wagons, and a white flag is hoisted—but promptly withdrawn when a sudden shower extinguishes the flames. After eight hours, Sumter breaks off and withdraws to the Catawba River, a dozen men being killed or wounded on both sides. Although he has failed to carry his objective, such harassment compels British forces to keep their forces scattered, protecting a vast expanse of territory.

AUGUST 3, 1780. Gates's advancing American army is joined by 100 South Carolina Patriots under Colonel Marion and Lt. Col. Charles Porterfield. Although despised by regulars, these guerrillas are dispatched into the interior to watch and report upon British movements, furnishing valuable intelligence.

AUGUST 5, 1780. American partisans under Maj. William Davie attack a Loyalist band under Col. Morgan Bryan, lodged in a farmhouse near Hanging Rock (South Carolina). This encounter, in which the Patriots capture 60 horses and 100 muskets, escalates the next day into a much larger clash when Sumter's contingent also arrives from assaulting Rocky Mount (see "July 30, 1780" entry).

The latter forms three columns and attacks Bryan and Col. Thomas Brown's Loyalist forces, driving them in on the British center. Loyalist major Carden attempts a counterattack from the right but is defeated by accurate Patriot fire. At this point, Carden seems to lose his nerve, resigning command to Captain Rousselet. Some 40 mounted infantrymen of the British Legion join in the fight, only to be driven back by Davie. While Sumter's men plunder the Loyalist camp, Carden pulls himself together and forms his men into a square, which holds out for the remainder of this engagement, supported by a pair of guns. By the time the Americans melt back into the woods, the British have suffered 190 killed or wounded, as opposed to 50 Patriot casualties.

AUGUST 6, 1780. Gates's army is joined by 2,100 militia under Maj. Gen. Richard Caswell and con-

tinues its drive toward the British base at Camden (South Carolina).

AUGUST 13, 1780. Cornwallis arrives at Camden with 2,120 British troops to reinforce its garrison under Lt. Col. Lord Rawdon, who has advanced 15 miles northeast in a vain attempt to check Gates's approaching American army at Lynch's Creek.

AUGUST 15, 1780. An American militia regiment under Col. Thomas Taylor surprises Fort Carey, a small fortification west of Wateree Ferry (South Carolina) protected by a redoubt. The Patriots overrun this outpost, capturing its commander, Col. Isaac Carey, along with 30 men plus 36 wagonloads of provisions. The Americans subsequently take another 56 wagons and 700 cattle and sheep, which had been driven from Fort Ninety-Six, before retreating upriver to avoid an approaching British relief column.

AUGUST 16, 1780. *Camden.* At 2:30 a.m. Gates's Patriot vanguard under Colonel Armand clashes

with 40 British Legion irregulars from Cornwallis's Royalist forces at Parker's Old Field (northeast of Camden, South Carolina). Although 4,000 strong, Gates's army is ravaged by dysentery, and retreat is now impossible given his proximity to the enemy. At sunrise, the Americans discover Cornwallis's 2,100 men drawn up with light infantry on his extreme right, the whole British right wing being under Lt. Col. James Webster and its left, under Lord Rawdon. Gates places his militiamen on his left flank, opposite the British regulars, while his right is commanded by General Kalb. Six American guns are in the center, with the commanding general stationed 600 yards farther back.

Action commences when Webster attacks the American left, the Patriot militiamen throwing down their unfired weapons and fleeing in disarray. Tarleton pursues this throng, while Webster wheels upon the American main body. The American generals Gates, Caswell, and William Smallwood are swept away in this stampede; only Kalb's right wing mounts any sort of effective resistance. Although wounded, Kalb even mounts a brief counterattack before being



Fighting at Camden, based upon an oil painting by Alonzo Chappel. (U.S. National Archives)

mortally injured. The battle ends when Tarleton returns from chasing the broken militiamen and Webster drives the last American reserves from the field. Patriot losses total 800 killed plus 1,000 captured, as opposed to 324 British dead or wounded. Cornwallis subsequently advances toward Rugeley's Mill and prepares to invade North Carolina, while Gates retreats 200 miles into Hillsborough by August 19, eventually being succeeded as commander of the American southern forces by 38-year-old major general Nathanael Greene.

On this same day of August 16, the French admiral de Guichen quits Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) to escort a Spanish merchant convoy toward Europe, leaving Commodore de Monteil in command of the 10 French warships at Saint Domingue.

AUGUST 17, 1780. Following the Camden victory, Cornwallis detaches Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton with 350 British Legionnaires and a cannon to fall upon Brigadier General Sumter's partisans as they retreat after disrupting British communications. Advancing up the Wateree River's eastern bank, Tarleton sights partisan encampments on its opposite side this evening. He bivouacs his own men without fires in hopes that the Americans will attempt to cross. But the next morning, Sumter continues north, so a still-undetected Tarleton follows to Fishing Creek.

By this time, the Loyalist foot soldiers are exhausted, so Tarleton uses 100 dragoons and 60 infantrymen to make a surprise descent. Catching Sumter's men while resting, the Loyalists charge. Sumter leaps coatless onto an unsaddled horse and flees (arriving at Maj. William Davie's camp two days later), while some of his men put up a fight from behind wagons, during which Capt. Charles Campbell is killed. The British suffer 16 killed or wounded during this assault, as opposed to 150 American dead and 300 captured. Almost 100 British prisoners are liberated, plus 44 wagonloads of supplies.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1780. Cornwallis takes Charlotte and prepares to penetrate deeper into North Carolina.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1780. Resentful at his failure to be fully exonerated after eight months of trial at Philadelphia on some petty charges of misconduct, Maj. Gen. Benedict Arnold—commander of the key American stronghold of West Point in New York's Hudson Valley—defects from the Patriot to the Loy-

alist cause. He flees into New York City when his treasonous secret correspondence with British major John André is discovered.

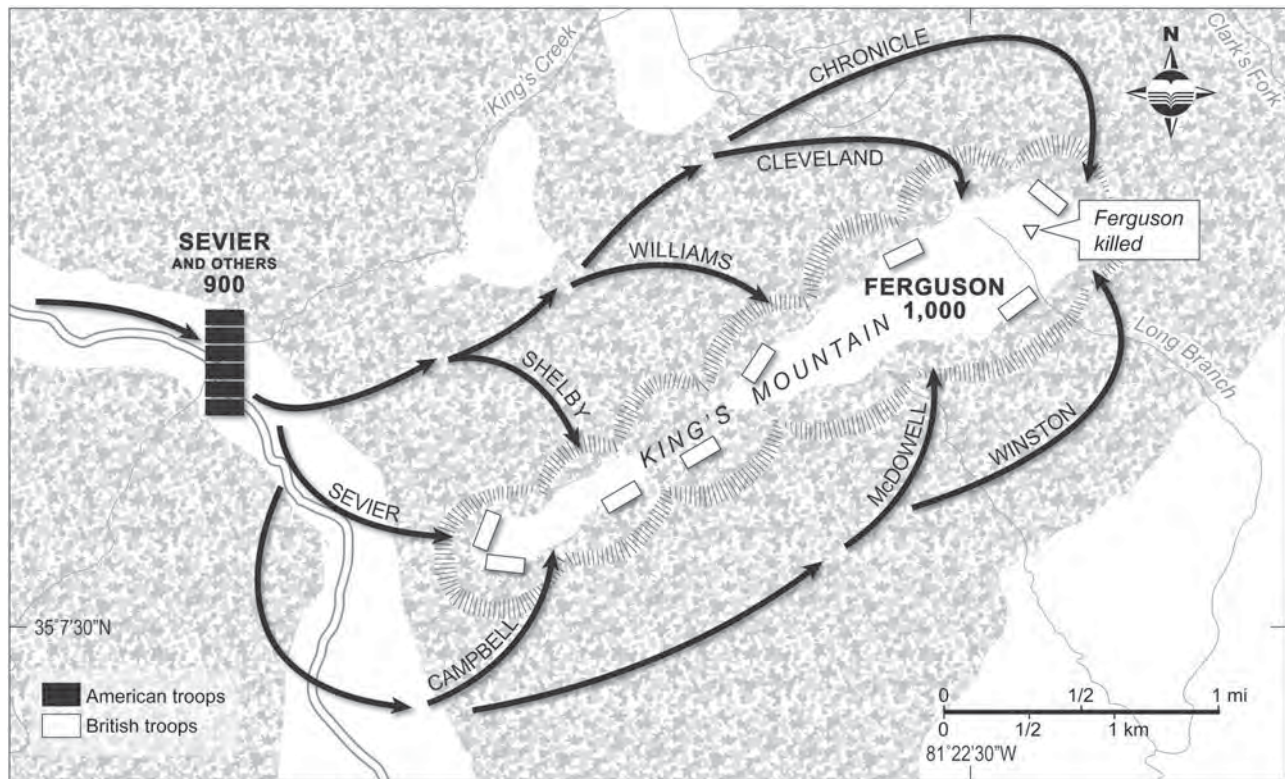
LATE SEPTEMBER 1780. Despite the British belief that revolutionary ardor is winding down in the Carolinas, 1,000 Patriots muster from both sides of the Blue Mountains, meeting up with several hundred South Carolinians and marching under Col. William Campbell toward the enemy base at Gilbert Town (behind Cornwallis's advance base). Loyalist major Patrick Ferguson sends for reinforcements and makes his stand on October 6 at King's Mountain (South Carolina).

OCTOBER 7, 1780. *King's Mountain.* Atop a position of considerable natural strength—a rocky ridge with wooded and boulder-strewn slopes—Ferguson becomes overconfident, detaching 200 of his 1,100 men to forage, while maintaining such poor watch that he does not notice eight Patriot columns bearing down upon him until Colonel Shelby's force comes to within a quarter of a mile. Ferguson then compounds his errors by ordering bayonet counterattacks each time the 900 Patriots storm the slopes, thus needlessly exposing his men to partisan counterfire.

Eventually, the Loyalists are pushed back and surrounded in their camp at the east end of this ridge. Ferguson is killed, and Capt. Abraham de Peyster assumes command. The Loyalists are overrun and massacred, 157 being killed, 163 severely wounded, and 698 captured; American casualties total a mere 90 men. This defeat compels Cornwallis to postpone his North Carolina offensive for another three months, while American morale soars.

OCTOBER 16, 1780. Bernardo de Gálvez, the Spanish victor at Mobile (see "January 11, 1780" entry), departs Havana with a new expedition comprised of 3,800 troops aboard 49 transports, escorted by seven warships, five frigates, a storeship, a brig, and an armed lugger. Two days later, however, this convoy is struck by a storm and compelled to turn back.

NOVEMBER 9, 1780. Learning that Brigadier General Sumter is at Moore's Hill (South Carolina) with 300 Americans, Cornwallis sends Maj. James Wemyss with 100 mounted infantrymen and 40 cavalrymen from the British Legion to disperse this group. The English encounter Sumter's outposts at 1:00 a.m. on November 9, five miles south of Moore's



Battle of King's Mountain.

Hill. Wemyss is wounded in an arm and knee during this skirmish, after which Lt. John Stark leads a cavalry charge directly into Sumter's camp at Fishdam Ford. But the attackers are silhouetted against the American campfires, and they suffer heavy casualties that compel them to withdraw. Sumter also manages to escape, hiding by the Broad River until the British retire.

NOVEMBER 19, 1780. Advised that Sumter is marshalling 1,000 Patriots for an attack against a Loyalist outpost commanded by Col. James Kirkland on Little River (15 miles from Fort Ninety-Six), Cornwallis sends Tarleton to drive these partisans away. Sumter retreats, and to overtake him, Tarleton pushes forward with 190 dragoons and 80 cavalrymen, leaving his infantry and a 3-pounder to follow. The Americans reach the Tyger River by November 20, and when the Loyalists catch up with their rearguard, Sumter turns to fight at Blackstocks. On the American left is a hill with five log houses held by Col. Wade Hampton. Sumter also posts troops upon a wooded hill on his right, while Col. Richard Winn's men are held in reserve.

When Tarleton sees the strength of this positioning, he waits for his infantry to join. At the start of

this battle, Sumter orders Col. Elijah Clarke to turn Tarleton's right, while he himself attacks the British center with 400 men. Both assaults are driven back, as is a subsequent try by Col. William Lacey against Tarleton's left. Sumter is seriously wounded in both a shoulder and the spine, after which Tarleton leads an unsuccessful cavalry charge and both sides withdraw. British Legion losses total 50 killed or wounded as opposed to 3 Patriots killed and 5 wounded; nonetheless, it is Tarleton who resumes his pursuit the next two days, as far as Pacolet River and Fishdam Ford, before Sumter's force eventually disperses. The Loyalists return to Brierley's Ford by December 1, but Sumter quickly recuperates from his injuries and resumes campaigning.

DECEMBER 12, 1780. Britain withdraws its ambassador from The Hague to protest against the support being offered to the American rebels by Dutch commercial houses. It officially declares war against the Netherlands eight days later.

JANUARY 1781. To counteract Arnold's activities (see "January 5, 1781" entry), and because a storm has driven Admiral Arbuthnot's blockading squadron off station, Capt. Armand Le Gardeur de Tilly

Benedict Arnold

Benedict Arnold V was born on January 14, 1741, in Norwich, the last of six children of a long-established Connecticut family. His merchant father had lost heavily in business, so young Benedict was taken out of school at Canterbury. At the age of 14, he became an apothecary's apprentice under his successful cousins Daniel and Joshua Lathrop. Arnold also joined a militia unit the next year, serving around Albany and Lake George early in the French and Indian War. He had apparently seen the native massacre of British prisoners after the surrender of Fort William Henry in August 1757, which may have instilled a lifelong hatred of the French.

When Arnold's mother died in 1759, the teenager was left to care for his alcoholic father and sister Hannah. When his father died two years later, young Benedict began to restore the Arnold name. With help from his cousins, he set up an apothecary and bookstore in New Haven by 1762. He bought back the family homestead the next year, which his father had lost against his debts. Arnold then sold it again for a substantial profit in 1764, using the money to buy three ships and begin a lucrative West Indian trade partnership. His sister managed the apothecary, while he sailed as far as the Caribbean, England, and Quebec.

Arnold had grown rich, but he was still arrested on the night of January 31, 1767, amid an angry protest against the Stamp Act. He was fined, released, and then married Margaret Mansfield three weeks later. He also rose in the militia to captain of the Royal Governor's Second Company of Guards. An ardent supporter of colonial rights, when news of the Battle of Lexington reached New Haven at noon of April 20, 1775, Arnold marched his 60 men to join the rebel army at Cambridge. Soon after arriving, he proposed the capture of forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which was approved by the Massachusetts Committee of Safety.

Although this plan was carried out, Arnold was disappointed when most of the credit went to his co-commander, Ethan Allen. By the time Arnold regained Cambridge in early July, his wife had also died. His winter campaign in 1775–1776 against the British stronghold at Quebec City was defeated, and Arnold was wounded in a leg. Still, he was promoted to brigadier general, placed in command of Montreal, and enjoyed Washington's trust. Despite fighting bravely in several more battles, though, he was also maliciously prosecuted for malfeasance and other minor financial irregularities, passed over for major general in February 1777, and fell out with General Gates.

Badly wounded at the Second Battle of Saratoga in October 1777, Arnold was given command of Philadelphia by Washington when he returned to active duty next June. Unhappy with the new alliance with France and at odds with various Patriot colleagues, Arnold was welcomed into the city's Tory elite. Engaged to the wealthy Margaret Shippen, his desire to resign his commission was delayed by more charges. All but two minor infractions were eventually dismissed on January 26, 1780, and Washington offered Arnold a high position for his spring offensive.

Yet the bitter former hero instead asked in July to be put in command of West Point, secretly scheming to hand it to the British. When this plot was uncovered, Arnold fled to New York City, forever disgraced. After the Revolutionary War, he settled in 1787 in St. John's (New Brunswick) before leaving four years later to live out the rest of his days in London.

sorties from Rhode Island with the ship of the line *Éveill  *, the frigates *Gentille* and *Surveillante*, and the cutter *Gu  pe*. They take a few English prizes, including the 44-gun *Romulus*, but otherwise effect little before being recalled.

JANUARY 5, 1781. The turncoat brigadier general Benedict Arnold appears before Richmond (Virginia), having reached Hampton Roads in December 1780 with Clinton's orders to destroy American depots throughout this theater, to obstruct the passage of Patriot reinforcements to Greene in North Carolina, and generally to encourage Loyalists to rise up against the Revolution. Although a major American supply center and seat of the Virginia legislature, Richmond has only 200 troops under Thomas

Jefferson so cannot mount much resistance to Arnold's advance. Lt. Col. John Simcoe's Loyalist Rangers drive the defenders back from Richmond Hill, and Arnold offers to spare the town if British ships can come up the James River and remove tobacco from the warehouses. Jefferson refuses, and Arnold's army enters Richmond at 1:00 p.m. on January 7, burning its buildings before leaving that same day.

JANUARY 7, 1781. This Sunday morning, Hessian colonel Johann Ludwig Wilhelm von Hanxleden attacks the 150 Spaniards holding Mobile (on the eastern shores of this bay) under Lt. Ram  n del Castro. The raiding force, out of Pensacola, consists of 60 soldiers from the Waldeck Regiment, 100 from

Britain's 60th Royal American Regiment, 200–250 Pennsylvania and Maryland Loyalists, 300 Choctaw Indians, and 11 militia cavalymen. Despite inferior numbers and the lack of any warning, del Castro repels this assault, his garrison suffering 14 killed and 23 wounded.

JANUARY 16, 1781. In South Carolina, Tarleton emerges from the rough country between Fort Ninety-Six and King's Mountain with 1,100 British Legionnaires, intending to fall upon the 1,050 Americans who have been disrupting the British rear under Brig. Gen. Daniel (the "Old Wagoner") Morgan, in conjunction with a pincer movement by Cornwallis's main body. Arriving five miles behind the American encampment, Tarleton finds Morgan forewarned and prepared to make a stand upon the Cowpens high ground. The Patriot general is joined that same evening by Col. Andrew Pickens's 70 men. He posts a forward line of 150 concealed riflemen with instructions to fire upon the British when they come within 50 yards, then to withdraw to Pickens's line, drawn up on the first crest of high ground 150 yards behind the riflemen. Again, this combined force is to fall back under Loyalist pressure to the left flank of a third formation, entrenched 150 yards up the hill and commanded by Maj. John Howard with captains Triplett and Tate on his left and right, respectively, and Captain Beale on the extreme right. A reserve waits a half mile farther back. In this way, Tarleton's men are to be lured into a succession of prearranged defensive positions.

JANUARY 17, 1781. *Cowpens.* At 3:00 a.m., Tarleton's Loyalist army sets out on a four-mile march toward Cowpens. As soon as cavalry patrols make contact, Captain Ogilvie is sent out to reinforce them and probe the American positions. Tarleton then draws up his main force 400 yards from Morgan's forward line and orders Ogilvie's 50 dragoons to drive in the enemy skirmishers. Accurate counterfire quickly empties 15 British saddles, but the Patriots nonetheless retreat. Unaware that this retirement is a trap, the Loyalists advance at 7:00 a.m., only to be checked by Pickens's line, thus suffering many casualties. Again, the Americans withdraw in a prearranged maneuver, although this time more precipitately. Nevertheless, when the British dragoons attempt a charge on the right, they are checked by Triplett's riflemen, then driven back by a counterattack from Patriot captains George Washington and James McCall. A second assault launched

at 7:15 by Tarleton in person is slowed, but not entirely halted, by Howard's third American line, thus by 7:30 a.m. the Loyalist commander rides back and orders Maj. Archibald McArthur to envelop the American right.

The Patriots, while defending their flank, suffer a momentary disorder, and a general flight begins, promptly controlled by Howard. Still, the British follow the Patriots down the hill's reverse slope, only to be repelled when the Americans turn and fire a volley at 50 yards, followed by a bayonet charge. Simultaneously, Washington and McCall hit the British flank and rear, obliging Maj. Timothy Newmarsh's regiment to throw down its arms and surrender. The Loyalist right tries to escape toward the rear but is rounded up by American cavalry. On the left the Highlanders continue to engage Howard's entire line, until Pickens's militia joins this fight from the other flank, compelling McArthur to surrender as well. Tarleton, notwithstanding these reverses, rides back to order his British Legion reserve to charge into the dispersed American forces, only to have them turn and flee. Fifty men rally around the defeated Loyalist leader, who rushes to save his guns, only to arrive too late and see all his gunners slain.

Tarleton thereupon retires and is pursued by Washington, whom he turns back on and mauls before riding from the field and recrossing the Broad River with 200 dragoons, regaining his camp by January 18. Behind him lie 100 British dead, 230 wounded, and 600 captives; the Americans have only suffered a dozen killed and 60 wounded. This defeat proves a serious hindrance to Cornwallis's strategy and a great boost for American morale.

JANUARY 30, 1781. *Sweep of the Dutch Antilles.*

The *Rodney* quits Saint Lucia with 3,000 soldiers under Gen. John Vaughan to occupy Dutch possessions throughout the West Indies. After detaching a squadron under Rear Adm. Francis Samuel Drake to maintain watch over four French ships of the line lying in Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique), the main body proceeds toward Sint Eustatius, arriving by February 3.

Seven English men-of-war stand into its principal harbor of Orange Bay under Rear Adm. Samuel Hood, followed closely by the main force under Rodney himself, fanning out to prevent escape. Fourteen English ships of the line, three frigates, and several lesser consorts are already inside the harbor by the time the startled captain of its lone guard ship—the 38-gun Dutch frigate *Mars*—sends an

officer out to inquire about the intruders' intentions. Even before this emissary can arrive, a British officer goes aboard the *Mars* to demand the Dutchman's surrender. The latter refuses to give up while his guns are still loaded, so he opens fire, only to strike after a token exchange of shot.

Meanwhile, Rodney sends another messenger ashore to demand the surrender of the entire island within an hour. Gov. Johannes de Graaff—with only 60 soldiers under his command—has no choice but to comply, the only resistance, which is quickly subdued, coming from a handful of American merchantmen in the roadstead. Rodney then detaches Hood in pursuit of a 24-ship Dutch convoy that has departed Sint Eustatius a few days earlier under escort by a 60-gun warship under Rear Adm. Willem Crul. The warship is overtaken and captured on February 4, along with all but one of its two-dozen charges. Rodney increases his haul by leaving the Dutch flag flying over Orange Bay for another month, luring many more ships—including a convoy out of Guadeloupe—into port to be seized. Altogether, 150 ships are taken, 60 of them American-owned, plus 2,000 American sailors.

On February 4, four of Rodney's warships occupy nearby Sint Maarten and Saba, commandeering another 40 ships. Smaller contingents are detached to occupy Essequibo, Demerara (late February), and Berbice in the Guianas, although Curaçao is not attacked, its Fort Amsterdam being considered impregnable.

FEBRUARY 1, 1781. Advancing across the Catawba River at Cowan's Ford into North Carolina, Cornwallis sends Tarleton with some British dragoons to attack an American militia band at nearby Tarrant's Tavern. They smash into the unwary Patriots, routing them, and narrowly failing to capture General Greene. Nevertheless, the latter is able to reunite with Brigadier General Morgan and retreat before Cornwallis as far as the Dan River before the British, in turn, are eventually forced to turn back south with a larger American army in pursuit. Although outnumbered, Cornwallis hopes to bring these rebels to battle.

FEBRUARY 12, 1781. This morning, a small Hispano-Indian expedition out of Saint Louis (Missouri) surprises the English garrison at Saint Joseph (Michigan), plundering and destroying it.

FEBRUARY 18, 1781. Greene detaches recently promoted Brigadier General Pickens and Lt. Col.

"Light Horse Harry" Lee across the Dan River to break up a Loyalist insurrection in North Carolina's interior. Hearing that several hundred men are marching to join the British at Hillsborough, Lee awaits them at the Haw River, with Pickens's force hiding in a nearby wood. On February 25, Loyalist colonel John Pyle arrives with 300 men, mistaking Lee's troops for members of the British Legion. Posing as Tarleton, the Patriot commander even convinces Pyle to pull his followers to one side of the road to allow his own soldiers to pass. Lee advances with his column and is in the very act of shaking Pyle's hand when the Loyalist left observes Pickens's force in the woods and opens fire. In a one-sided fusillade, the Loyalists suffer 90 killed and the rest wounded, while Lee and Pickens experience no losses.

FEBRUARY 28, 1781. Bernardo de Gálvez quits Havana with the 74-gun, 410-man flagship *San Ramón* of Capt. José Calvo de Irrazábal; the 36-gun, 290-man frigates *Santa Clara* of Cmdr. Miguel de Alderete and *Santa Cecilia* of Cmdr. Miguel de Goicoechea; the 20-gun, 154-man frigate *Caimán* of Cmdr. José Serrato; and the 18-gun, 110-man storeship *San Pío* of Lt. José María Chacón. They are escorting 28 transports bearing more than 1,500 soldiers of the Rey, Príncipe, España, Navarra, Soria, Guadalajara, Hibernia, Aragón, and Flandes regiments for an assault against the British stronghold at Pensacola. Spanish dispatch vessels are also detached toward New Orleans and Mobile to request additional contingents.

MARCH 8, 1781. The 53-year-old commodore Charles René Sochet, Chevalier Destouches, quits Rhode Island at sundown with his 80-gun flagship, two 74-gun ships, four ships of 64 guns, the 44-gun English prize *Romulus*, and a 32-gun frigate to escort a troop convoy to Virginia. The transports are carrying American reinforcements under 23-year-old major general Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, and the 50-year-old, Prussian-born major general Friedrich Wilhelm Augustus Heinrich Ferdinand, Baron von Steuben. Next morning, however, Destouches's squadron finds itself alone on the sea, so proceeds toward its Delaware rendezvous.

MARCH 9, 1781. *Pensacola.* At 6:00 a.m., de Gálvez's expedition appears off Santa Rosa Island, disembarking its grenadier and light-infantry companies



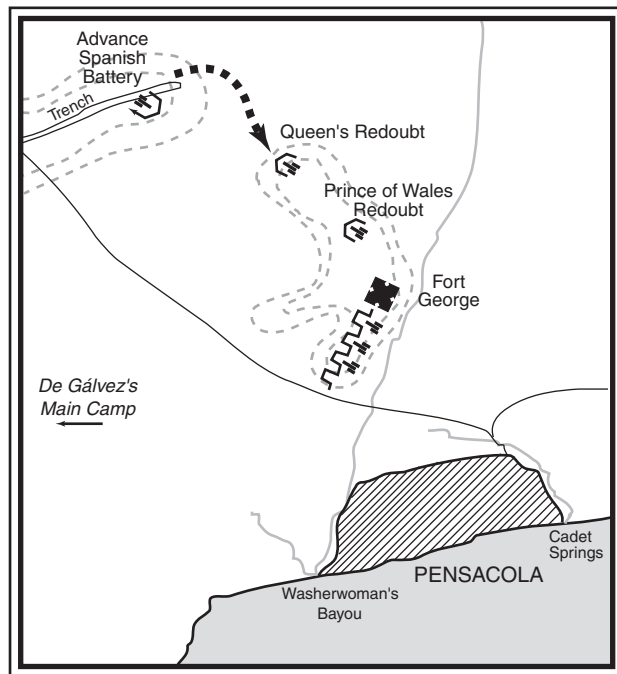
Infantryman and cavalry trooper from Mexico's Príncipe Regiment, which took part in the capture of Pensacola. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

that same night, six miles east of the Punta Sigüenza battery, without opposition. When Col. Francisco Longoria's column approaches the next morning, this English redoubt is found abandoned, although some fire is then drawn from the anchored frigates HMSS *Mentor* (Capt. Robert Deans) and *Port Royal*, as well as from Red Cliffs Fort. De Gálvez responds by bringing two 24-pounders ashore and replying on the afternoon of March 11, obliging the English frigates to retire out of range.

Shortly thereafter, the Spanish fleet tries to cross Pensacola's bar, but Captain Calvo de Irrazábal's flagship *San Ramón* draws too much water, so this attempt is deferred and supplies begin to be offloaded on Santa Rosa Island. After a week of vainly importuning the Spanish commodore to make a second attempt, de Gálvez boards his private brig *Gálveztown*, the sloop *Valenzuela*, and two armed launches and dashes past Red Cliffs on March 18. Shamed by his example, the entire fleet except the *San Ramón* enters the harbor between 2:00 and 3:00 p.m. the next afternoon, Calvo de Irrazábal's heavy flagship instead standing away toward Havana.

At 9:30 a.m. on March 22, 905 Spanish reinforcements under Col. José de Ezpeleta reach de Gálvez overland from Mobile, followed the next afternoon by 1,348 more sailing from New Orleans aboard 14 vessels, thus raising his total strength to 3,553 men. Such numbers allow his army to ferry across from Santa Rosa Island on March 24, landing on the mainland behind Barrancas. Meanwhile, British governor Peter Chester and garrison commander Col. John Campbell have already abandoned Pensacola in favor of their defenses around Fort George. Indian allies of the British harry the Spaniards when they march from Tartar Point (Punta Agüero) the evening of March 26 to circle around Moore's Lagoon and encamp southwest of Sutton's Lagoon. Another Spanish advance occurs on March 30, when they move their base still closer to the British citadel.

Still, de Gálvez does not attempt to institute a close siege of Fort George until after April 19, when Admiral Solano materializes from Havana with the warships *San Luis* (flag), *Astuto*, *San Nicolás*, *Asís*, *Paula*, *Magnánimo*, *Guerrero*, *Gallardo*, *San Gabriel*,



Spanish capture of Pensacola.

Dragón, and *Arrogante*; the frigates *Nuestra Señora de la O* and *Mexicana* (hospital ship); plus the brigantines *Pájaro* and *Renombrado*. They are accompanied by a French squadron under the 55-year-old commodore François Aymar, Baron de Monteil: the 74-gun flagship *Palmier* of the Chevalier de Monteil, *Destin* of Dumaitz de Goimpy, and *Intrépide* of Duplessis Parfeau; the 64-gun *Triton* of Deidier de Pierrefeu; the 40-gun frigates *Andromaque* of the Chevalier de Ravenel and 22-gun *Licorne* of (possibly) Saint Urse; plus the brigantine *Levrette* and cutter *Serpent*. Some 1,600 Spanish and 725 French soldiers are traveling aboard under *mariscal de campo* Juan Manuel de Caxigal, as well as brigadier generals Gerónimo Girón and Manuel de Pineda. Admiral Solano furthermore contributes 1,350 of his crew members, swelling de Gálvez's host to more than 7,400 men.

On April 28, Spanish engineers commence digging a covered trench or tunnel toward a small hill, which commands Fort George's advance or Queen's Redoubt. This is completed three days later, allowing the besiegers to install a battery of six 24-pounders by May 1 while continuing their trench toward Pine Hill. The English destroy the latter with a sudden sally, killing 18 Spanish soldiers, wounding 16, capturing others, and spiking four fieldpieces, although operations press on regardless. On May 8, a chance Spanish round detonates the Queen Re-

doubt's magazine, leveling it with a blast that claims 76 lives and wounds two-dozen others. Spanish light troops under Girón and de Ezpeleta immediately occupy its ruins, installing a new siege battery within point-blank range, which compels Chester and Campbell to request terms by 3:00 p.m.

The actual capitulation is effected two days later, on the afternoon of May 10, when 1,113 Englishmen surrender, yielding 193 artillery pieces, 2,100 muskets, and other booty. This campaign has cost the Spanish 74 dead and 198 wounded. Prisoners set sail for Havana on June 1, eventually being repatriated into New York by July 12. De Gálvez installs Col. Arturo O'Neill of the Hibernia Regiment as the new governor of Pensacola and west Florida before departing.

MARCH 15, 1781. *Guildford Courthouse.* In North Carolina, Cornwallis's 1,900 British troops turn and engage the pursuing 4,300 Americans under Greene. After a 12-mile march, the Loyalist vanguard under Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton clashes at 7:15 a.m. with a Patriot force under Brig. Gen. William Campbell and "Light Horse Harry" Lee. Tarleton distinguishes himself during this fight, despite a seriously injured right hand, while Cornwallis uses the distraction to draw together his other 10 columns and prepare to fall upon the enemy. The Americans deploy in three defensive lines, although not close enough to effectively support each other. Their front consists of a militia screen under brigadier generals John Butler and Pinketham Eaton, which stands behind a rail fence with its flanks supported by infantry and riflemen. The second line consists of 1,200 irregulars drawn up in woods under brigadier generals Edward Stevens and Robert Lawson, while the third, 550 yards farther to the rear, is commanded by brigadier generals Otho Williams and Isaac Huger. There is no reserve.

After an ineffectual artillery exchange, the British advance at 2:00 p.m., and the American front line flees after delivering a pair of volleys. The second Patriot line holds better, momentarily encouraged by a counterattack by Col. William Washington, until Lawson is wounded on the left and their will wavers. British colonel James Walker's first assault against the third line is repelled by accurate musketry, followed by a bayonet charge, although Greene demurs from attempting anything bolder. On the British right, Lieutenant Colonel Stuart then makes a final attack, driving back Washington's and Capt. Robert Kirkwood's men after some fierce

Hibernia Regiment

Irish soldiers of fortune served in European armies for centuries. Spain formed a *Tercio de Irlanda* or “Ireland Regiment” in 1698. When the Habsburg dynasty died out two years later, war against its new French Bourbon monarch ensued. Two more Irish regiments were therefore authorized as of November 1, 1709. Brought from France, they were read into the Royal Spanish Army on December 3. They became the Hibernia Regiment of Lt. Col. Randall MacDonnell, placed under the command of Col. Lucas Patiño, Marqués de Castelar, and the Ultonia Regiment of Col. Dermot MacAuliffe. All three units served bravely in the battles of Zaragoza, Brihuega, and Villaviciosa.

Once peace had been restored, the Hibernia Regiment was re-formed as the *Primer Regimiento de Infantería Extranjera* or “First Foreign Infantry Regiment” in 1714. Four years later, it was designated as the 2nd Hibernia Infantry Regiment. While fighting in Spain’s Italian campaigns, a young subaltern named Richard Wall transferred out of the Spanish Marine Corps to join the regiment as an ensign. He eventually became Spain’s chief minister, one of many Irish officers to rise high in the service.

Hibernia’s uniform had a distinctive green waistcoat, breeches, and turn backs, topped with a black tricorner hat and red tunic, plus white ceremonial gaiters. The regiment had been at the 1727 siege of Gibraltar, as well as landing in the North African enclave of Orán five years later. Irish refugees and new recruits fed its ranks. Hibernia’s crucial intervention during the Italian battle of Camposanto on February 4, 1743, was rewarded with a new regimental motto: *In homnen terram exhivit sonus eorum*, or “Their renown has spread into all lands.”

When the Royal Spanish Army was reorganized in 1749, the regiment’s designation was changed to the 28th Hibernia. It fought as such during the invasion of Portugal in 1762. Seven years later, Hibernia’s number again was changed to the 26th. Its soldiers shone during the disastrous assault against Algiers in 1775 led by a former officer, Gen. Alejandro, Conde de O’Reilly. Two years later, Hibernia took part in the much more successful Brazilian campaign.

For its prominent role in the capture of Pensacola, during which the regiment would suffer 16 killed and 27 injured, Hibernia’s commander, Col. Arturo O’Neill, was named as governor of west Florida. Most officers were also recommended for promotion. The regiment later helped defend Spain against French Revolutionary offensives and Napoleon’s invasion from 1808–1814. Four years later, Hibernia was dissolved, and its last battalion of Irish troops was absorbed by the Mallorca Regiment.

fighting so that, by 3:30 p.m., Greene orders a general retreat. The American commander retires three miles to await stragglers, then withdraws his army into Speedwell Ironworks at Troublesome Creek. Cornwallis remains at the Guildford battlefield until March 18, then draws back toward Wilmington. This mauling proves a Pyrrhic victory, though, for the English general’s smaller army sustains 532 total casualties, as opposed to only 78 killed and 183 wounded among the American pursuers.

This same day, March 15, in the West Indies, a small English squadron under Cmdr. Lawrence Graeme of the 18-gun *Sylph* is detached from Sint Eustatius by Admiral Rodney to occupy French Saint Barthélemy two days later.

MARCH 16, 1781. Commodore Destouches’s French squadron sights Vice Admiral Arbuthnot’s 90-gun flagship *London* in fog off the Delaware Capes, accompanied by two Royal Navy ships of 74 guns, four ships of 64 guns, a 50-gunner, and three frigates. Both formations close, running past each other and exchanging broadsides before separating, then breaking off the action at nightfall. Three British ships sustain considerable damage, and Arbuthnot retires south toward Chesapeake Bay. The French *Conquérant* of Capt. Pierre Marie, Vicomte de la Grandière, and the *Ardent* of Capt. Charles René Louis Bernard, Vicomte de Marigny, are also crippled, suffering the bulk of the 72 killed and 112 wounded in Destouches’s squadron; they oblige him, after a hasty conference aboard his flagship *Duc de Bourgogne*, to retrace his course north into Newport (Rhode Island).

APRIL 20, 1781. While Cornwallis’s army drives northeast through the Carolinas, his subordinate Lieutenant Colonel Lord Rawdon remains behind to fend off partisan thrusts by Greene. The latter detaches Brig. Gen. Francis Marion—also known as the “Swamp Fox”—and Lt. Col. “Light Horse Harry” Lee to operate in the east, while he himself marches 140 miles toward Camden, the principal British stronghold in South Carolina. Learning that Rawdon is prepared to receive him, Greene retires with his 1,550 men to Hobkirk’s Hill by April 20 to await reinforcement and resupply.

After some desultory maneuvering, the British commander decides to assault this position with 800 troops, finding the main American force drawn up on a hill with Capt. Robert Kirkwood’s regiment to the southeast covered by a pair of outposts

under captains Perry Benson and Simon Morgan. Greene has kept his dragoons and North Carolina militia in reserve. Rawdon approaches from the southeast on the morning of April 25, Greene countering with an attempted double-flanking movement. The British are temporarily checked by close range fire from three guns, but as soon as the American line advances, Rawdon moves up his second line while extending his first. Thus, Greene is in danger of being outflanked, especially when Capt. John Gunby's regiment collapses on his left. The latter withdraws and tries to re-form, but the British right seizes this opportunity to break the entire American left. If the 5th Virginia Regiment does not hold at right center, Greene's army might be annihilated. A general retreat successfully ensues, followed by a gallant rescue of the three Patriot guns.

The next day, the American army moves back to Rugeley's Mill, taking their artillery and supply train with them. Although Rawdon has achieved a victory, his losses almost equal the Patriots'—38 British dead and 220 wounded, as opposed to 18 Americans killed and 248 injured—hence his smaller force is compelled to evacuate Camden and retire toward Charleston.

APRIL 22, 1781. Some 200 English settlers and Indians under John Blommart at Natchez, disgruntled by Fort Panmure's tame surrender to the Spaniards (*see* "September 6, 1779" entry), rise up against their occupiers. Although forewarned, Captain de la Villanueva and his 76-man garrison surrender the next day, after repelling the opening assault.

APRIL 25, 1781. Baffled by Greene's resistance in the Carolinas, as well as convinced that Virginia must also be reduced in order to put down the rebellion, Cornwallis marches out of Wilmington (North Carolina) with his remaining 1,400 redcoats to strike northward.

APRIL 28, 1781. Twenty ships of the line and three frigates arrive off Martinique from Brest under the veteran admiral de Grasse, accompanying a French convoy. Shortly before sundown, they learn that Fort Royal (Fort de France) is blockaded by 18 English warships under Hood, so they pause off Salines Point until they can gather greater intelligence from an officer set ashore at Sainte Anne. The French expedition then resumes its progression the next morning and sight Hood's formation at 8:00 a.m.,

which bears down to attack. De Grasse adopts a defensive posture, while the 74-gun *Victoire* and 64-gun *Caton*, *Solitaire*, and *Réfléchi* slip their cables to sortie from Fort Royal in support.

Broadships are exchanged by 11:00 a.m., just as de Grasse's convoy safely enters port. Despite his numerical superiority, the French admiral is satisfied to hug Martinique's coastline and fight a delaying action. At 6:30 p.m., Hood draws off, his 74-gun *Russell* and *Centaur*, as well as the 64-gun *Intrepid*, having endured the heaviest damage. Both sides suffer some 300 casualties, and no prizes are taken. On the evening of April 30, the British furthermore retire toward Saint Kitts, pursued briefly by de Grasse before he returns into Fort Royal by May 6.

APRIL 29, 1781. The Marquis de Lafayette reaches Richmond (Virginia) by sea with reinforcements, superseding General von Steuben as commander in chief of this theater.

MAY 8, 1781. The French 74-gun *Pluton* under the veteran captain d'Albert de Rions, accompanied by the 50-gun *Expérimente* and several frigates, quits Fort Royal (Martinique) with 1,300 troops under the 45-year-old colonel Philibert François Rouxel de Blanchelande to conquer Tobago.

That same day, another French squadron probes the eastern side of Saint Lucia, disembarking 1,200 men after nightfall under Governor General Marquis de Bouillé, who makes a brief reconnaissance before retiring with 100 English prisoners, regaining Fort Royal by May 15.

MAY 10, 1781. The 61-year-old commodore Louis-Jacques, Comte de Barras de Saint Laurent, arrives at Newport (Rhode Island) aboard the frigate *Concorde* to supersede Destouches in command of this French squadron.

MAY 20, 1781. Cornwallis reaches Petersburg (Virginia) from North Carolina. After joining his troops with those that have been operating under William Phillips and Benedict Arnold, plus further reinforcements from New York, his total strength is brought to more than 7,000 men.

That very same day, George Washington meets Rochambeau at Wethersfield (near Hartford, Connecticut) to devise a strategy whereby this British concentration might be destroyed by a convergence of Franco-American contingents, before Clinton can react from New York.

MAY 22, 1781. Admiral de Grasse learns that Hood has put to sea from Saint Kitts, so he dispatches a fast frigate to warn d'Albert de Rions and Blanchelande at Tobago, while simultaneously preparing to sail in support of this expedition with his fleet, plus the Marquis de Bouillé's troops.

MAY 24, 1781. *French Occupation of Tobago.* The expedition of d'Albert de Rions and Blanchelande disembarks at Scarborough, compelling Tobago's governor general Ferguson to retire into a defensive position atop Concordia Hill with 400 troops, 500 militiamen, 10 guns, and many noncombatants. Meanwhile, Rodney rejoins Hood at Barbados with his 90-gun flagship *Sandwich* and 74-gun *Triumph*. He learns on the evening of May 26 that Tobago has been attacked, so he orders Rear Admiral Drake to sail immediately to its relief with six ships of the line.

Such strength proves inadequate, as more French forces are also concentrating off Tobago's coast un-

der Admiral de Grasse and Governor General de Bouillé. English and French squadrons meet and circle warily, while on Tobago proper, Blanchelande feels that he has lost the element of surprise so re-embarks his army the night of May 31. (That same night, the French ship of the line *Hector* loses its bowsprit in a collision with the *César*, being obliged to retire toward Grenada.) However, by noon on May 31, de Bouillé arrives overland with an additional 1,200 men, to take Ferguson from the rear. The French governor general sends his subordinate the Comte de Dillon to call upon the British to surrender, whose morale collapses, leading to the desertion of their regulars and capitulation by June 2. Meanwhile, Drake has rejoined Rodney at Barbados and informed him of the increased French presence off Tobago. The admiral sorties with 21 sail, coming within sight of de Grasse's anchored 23 ships on June 4. After observing the French from a distance throughout June 5, Rodney retires to his base.



Print commemorating the French capture of Tobago, May–June 1781. (Library of Congress)

LATE MAY 1781. In South Carolina, 1,000 Americans under Greene close in upon Fort Ninety-Six, a key garrison held by 550 Loyalists under Col. John Cruger and protected by a star-shaped redoubt with a stockade and abatis to its east and smaller Fort Holmes (for protection of watering parties) to its west. The Patriots institute a formal siege under the 35-year-old Polish-born military engineer, Col. Tadeusz Andrzej Bonawentura Kosciuszko, whose initial effort starts too close—70 yards—so is promptly wiped out by a sally. The Americans start afresh 400 yards away and by June 3 are close enough to the star redoubt to demand its surrender, yet are refused. The besiegers then bring a tower into action, but Cruger counters by raising his ramparts' height. Flaming arrows are fired into the fort, but the Loyalists strip the roofs off the buildings.

On June 8, Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee arrives with some British prisoners from Fort Augusta and attempts to open new siege operations to the west, only to be repelled by yet another sally. At this point, Greene receives word that British reinforcements are on the march from Charles Town, so he orders brigadier generals Sumter, Pickens, and Marion to attempt to delay their advance. In the meantime, he launches a coordinated attack against Fort Holmes and the star redoubt by forces led by Lee and Col. Richard Campbell, respectively, both of which are repulsed. On June 19, Greene begins withdrawing toward Charlotte (North Carolina), and two days later the British relief column reaches Fort Ninety-Six under Lieutenant Colonel Lord Rawdon. American casualties during this siege have totaled 185 men, as opposed to 85 Loyalists.

JUNE 22, 1781. Natchez is reoccupied, without opposition, by a French force out of New Orleans under Etienne-Robert de la Morandière.

JULY 5, 1781. Having returned to Martinique from conquering Tobago, Admiral de Grasse sets sail with his fleet, escorting a 200-ship convoy as far as Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien), which he reaches three days later. Here he finds messages from the combined Franco-American leadership in North America requesting that he strengthen that theater. De Grasse duly takes aboard 3,200 troops furnished by Saint Domingue's Governor de Lillancourt, plus a small siege train, and sets sail on August 5, pursued by a 14-ship English fleet under Admiral Hood.

JULY 6, 1781. In Virginia, the British general Cornwallis decides to discontinue his northerly pro-

gression, retiring from Williamsburg to south of the James River with his army, so as to dispatch reinforcements by sea toward New York. Aware that he is being shadowed by an American army under the Marquis de Lafayette, the British commander tricks his opponent into believing that his main body is already across the James River by the afternoon of July 6, whereas in reality only Lt. Col. John Simcoe's rangers have traversed with the baggage train, leaving 7,000 redcoats concealed in the woods a mile along the Williamsburg-Jamestown Road.

American brigadier general Anthony Wayne's 500-man vanguard gradually drives back Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton's rearguard, little realizing that he is actually being lured into a trap near Jamestown Ford. Further forces join Wayne at 5:00 p.m., but just as he closes in upon the British position, Lafayette—at last grown suspicious—holds back some reserve troops, leaving Wayne only 900 men and three guns. The marquis thereupon makes a personal reconnaissance from the riverbank and sends Wayne a belated warning. At this moment the trap is sprung, and finding himself confronted by the entire British army, Wayne charges through a hail of grapeshot and musket fire, desperately holding off this enemy host for 15 minutes until his army can retreat in fair order to Green Spring. From here, he is eventually able to extricate his column under cover of darkness, having suffered only 130 casualties during this close call, as opposed to 75 killed or wounded among the British.

JULY 14, 1781. Threatened by American partisan forces under Brig. Gen. Francis Marion and Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee, the British colonel John Crates withdraws his 19th Regiment and a company of mounted rangers from their outpost at Monck's Corner (South Carolina) into Biggin Church, then continues his retirement 18 miles farther, reaching Quinby Bridge on the Cooper River by July 17. After loosening the planks of this bridge, the British colonel waits for his rearguard to cross, only to then be overtaken by Lee. Captain Armstrong and Lieutenant Carrington lead an immediate American cavalry charge across the bridge, driving the English back; but the bridge's boards are so loosened that Captain O'Neal's force is unable to join, so the Patriots are compelled to retreat. When Marion arrives, he agrees with Lee that this British position is too strong to assail, but this verdict is then reversed when Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter arrives at 5:00 p.m. and overrules them.

The British form a square, with their front covered by a howitzer and their flanks protected by

buildings and fences on Capt. Thomas Shubrick's plantation. The Americans deploy with Marion's infantry on the left, Col. Thomas Taylor's militiamen in the center, and Colonel Horry's cavalry on the right. Taylor renews the action by attacking across a field, but is driven back by accurate counterfire. Marion charges diagonally, but after suffering 50 casualties and running low on ammunition, he must withdraw also. The American assault finally falters when Sumter fails to bring up his artillery, leaving Taylor furiously swearing he will never again serve under this brigadier general, while Marion and Lee begin their retirement, taking their dead and wounded with them. Sumter draws off, too, when he learns of 700 British reinforcements approaching, leaving the field to Crates.

JULY 21, 1781. While patrolling off Cape Breton (Canada) with the 32-gun frigates *Astrée* and *Hermione*, the veteran 39-year-old French campaigner Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de Lapérouse and Knight of the Order of Saint Louis, intercepts a British convoy escorted by the 28-gun frigate *Charleston* (ex-American *Boston*) of Capt. Henry Francis Evans; the 16-gun sloops *Allegiance* of Cmdr. David Phips and *Vulture* of Cmdr. Rupert George; plus the 14-gun armed ships *Vernon* and *Jack*. After a long chase, Lapérouse's pair engages the British escorts between 7:00 and 8:00 p.m., eventually compelling the *Jack* and another vessel to strike. The French then put into Boston to refit with their prizes.

AUGUST 19, 1781. After feigning an attack against New York to keep its British defenders under Clinton occupied, Washington and Rochambeau begin wheeling the bulk of their armies south to crush Cornwallis's redcoats before the British can react.

AUGUST 25, 1781. Barras quits Newport (Rhode Island) with 8 ships of the line, 4 frigates, 10 transports, and 8 American consorts to sail toward Chesapeake Bay.

AUGUST 27, 1781. Hood's fleet appears off Chesapeake Bay, but seeing no sign of de Grasse's expeditionary force (which he has unwittingly passed during his voyage), the British admiral sails on toward New York the next day, anchoring off Sandy Hook with his 14 ships of the line and 4 frigates by the evening of August 28.

AUGUST 30, 1781. De Grasse's fleet arrives off Cape Henry, at the mouth of Chesapeake Bay. He

finds that Washington and Rochambeau are already hastening their armies south from New York by forced marches to reinforce Lafayette and von Steuben and attack Cornwallis before Clinton or the Royal Navy can intervene. The French admiral duly disembarks his troops under the Marquis de Saint Simon, who travel upriver toward Jamestown and join Lafayette's 1,800 men, awaiting them at Williamsburg. Once all these contingents begin coming together on September 7, they will eventually hem in Cornwallis at Yorktown.

AUGUST 31, 1781. Having been joined by Hood, Adm. Thomas Graves sets sail from New York with 19 ships of the line and 7 frigates for Chesapeake Bay to prevent any juncture between the French fleets under Barras sailing from Newport (Rhode Island) and de Grasse.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1781. *Chesapeake Bay (Also Known as the Battle of the Virginia Capes or Cape Henry).* This morning, Graves comes within sight of his objective.

BRITISH FLEET

Name	Guns	Commander
Van		
<i>Shewsbury</i>	74	Robinson
<i>Intrepid</i>	64	Molloy
<i>Alcide</i>	74	Charles Thompson
<i>Princessa</i>	70	Charles Knatchbull
<i>Ajax</i>	74	Charrington
<i>Terrible</i>	74	Finch
<i>Europa</i>	64	Child
Center		
<i>Montague</i>	74	George Bolven
<i>Royal Oak</i>	74	Ardesoif
<i>London</i>	90	Graves
<i>Bedford</i>	74	Graves
<i>Resolution</i>	74	Lord Robert Manners
<i>America</i>	64	Samuel Thompson
<i>Centuar</i>	74	John Inglefield
Rear		
<i>Monarch</i>	74	Francis Reynolds
<i>Barfleur</i>	90	John Knight
<i>Invincible</i>	74	Saxton
<i>Belliqueux</i>	64	Brine
<i>Alfred</i>	74	William Bague
<i>Adamant</i>	60	Johnstone
<i>Solebay</i>	64	?

Besides his warships, the British admiral is furthermore accompanied by seven frigates. He is greatly surprised to discover a superior French force already anchored inside the bay. De Grasse immediately gives the order for all his ships except the *Expérimente*, the *Triton*, the *Glorieux*, and the *Vaillant* to

exit, beginning this operation around noon. Contrary north-northeasterly winds hamper his sally, and Graves misses a golden opportunity to attack and destroy the enemy fleet piecemeal as it emerges and before it can form up into a cohesive line of battle. Instead, overawed by de Grasse's vast numbers, he reverses course out to sea and tightens up his own formation for the impending clash. Gradually, the French fleet exits and assumes an easterly heading.

FRENCH FLEET

<i>Name</i>	<i>Guns</i>	<i>Commander</i>
Van		
<i>Pluton</i>	74	d'Albert de Rions
<i>Marseillais</i>	74	de Castellane Masjastre
<i>Bourgogne</i>	74	de Charitte
<i>Réfléchi</i>	74	Cillart de Suville
<i>Auguste</i>	80	Castellan
<i>Diadème</i>	74	de Monteclerc
<i>Saint Esprit</i>	80	de Chabert
<i>Caton</i>	74	de Framond
Center		
<i>César</i>	74	Coriolis d'Espinouse
<i>Destin</i>	74	Dumaitz de Goimpy
<i>Ville de Paris</i>	104	de Saint-Césaire
<i>Victoire</i>	74	d'Albert Saint Hyppolite
<i>Sceptre</i>	80	de Vaudreuil
<i>Northumberland</i>	74	de Briqueville
<i>Palmier</i>	74	d'Arros d'Argelos
<i>Solitaire</i>	64	de Cicé Champion
Rear		
<i>Citoyen</i>	74	d'Ethy
<i>Scipion</i>	74	de Clavel
<i>Magnanime</i>	74	Le Bègue
<i>Hercule</i>	74	de Turpin de Breuil
<i>Languedoc</i>	80	Duplessis Parscau
<i>Zélé</i>	74	de Gras Préville
<i>Hector</i>	74	Renaud d'Aleins
<i>Souverain</i>	74	de Glandevès

By afternoon, Graves edges downwind, and both vans converge into range and open fire around 4:00 p.m. At this point the wind dies away, leaving both fleets only partially engaged, yet a furious fight nonetheless erupts between the two advance divisions over the next couple of hours, during which HMSS *Terrible*, *Montague*, *Shrewsbury*, *Intrepid*, and *Ajax* receive considerable damage (the former being set afire and abandoned five days later) while the British suffer 79 killed and 230 wounded. The French also sustain punishment, with a total of 220 casualties.

Yet it is Graves who breaks off the action and retires, hovering in the middle distance over the next three days in hopes of gaining some advantage over

de Grasse's larger fleet. Despite repeated maneuverings, however, the British are unable to find any significant opening, so by the evening of September 9, Graves decides to sail away for New York (which he reaches 11 days later), thus leaving Cornwallis's army isolated in Virginia. On September 10, the French fleet is joined off Chesapeake Bay by Barras's squadron from Newport, and the next day the British frigates *Isis* and *Richmond* are captured by de Grasse while attempting to reach the beleaguered British soldiers ashore, after which the French admiral returns to anchor.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1781. Eutaw Springs. In South Carolina, General Greene's Patriot army—now strengthened to 2,200 men—resumes its offensive, determined to surprise and overwhelm the last major British concentration in this theater: Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart's 1,800 men at Eutaw Springs.

The British commander learns of Greene's approach when one of his foraging parties brings in two North Carolina deserters. Stewart sends out a reconnoitering party under Loyalist captain John Coffin, who is lured into an ambush four miles outside camp, losing 5 men killed and 40 captured. Nevertheless, he manages to return and warn Stewart, who draws his troops up for battle. Maj. John Marjoribanks is posted on the British right (in a blackjack thicket as protection against American cavalry charges), while Coffin's foot and horse soldiers are held in reserve on the left and Major Sheridan serves as reserve in the right rear, holding a brick house. Stewart assembles the remainder of his forces facing south, at right angles to the Santee River.

At the onset of this engagement, Stewart seeks to merely hold his ground, but his left wing inadvertently advances, driving back the American militia. Greene plugs this gap with Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner's troops, who drive the British back again, only to be in turn repelled themselves by Stewart's reserves. Greene thereupon commits his own reserves and, in fierce hand-to-hand fighting, the British left and center are driven back among their tents. However, Marjoribanks's flank holds, and Patriot assaults by both colonels William Washington and Wade Hampton are badly mauled. The American center meanwhile disintegrates as they swarm over the British encampment, while on the right, "Light Horse Harry" Lee hopes to link up with Maj. Joseph Eggleston and defeat Coffin, only to find that Eggleston has already been driven from the field.

The battle finally centers around the brick house, where Marjoribanks counterattacks against the Americans, first capturing their guns, then driving them back toward the woods (though himself mortally wounded during this latter action). Although driven from the field, Greene is better able to replace his 520 casualties than Stewart can raise replacements for his 690 killed, wounded, or missing. The British army is therefore obliged to withdraw into Charles Town, leaving South Carolina's interior once more in Revolutionary hands.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1781. *Yorktown.* A huge force of 20,000 American and French troops gradually begins coming together under Washington and Rochambeau—a large portion being transported down Chesapeake Bay by water—to begin invading Cornwallis's 9,750 British and Hessians, already cornered upon the Yorktown Peninsula by Lafayette,

von Steuben, and Anthony Wayne. Realizing the seriousness of his plight, the British commander detaches lieutenant colonels Tarleton and Thomas Dundas to hold the town of Gloucester across the York River, while concentrating his main forces to dig defensive works close to Yorktown proper (not having enough troops to fully man a perimeter longer than 1,000 yards).

Eventually, Yorktown's inner line of defenses sprouts 14 batteries, 65 guns, and 10 redoubts, its principal strongpoint being the "Horn Work" to its south. Ahead of this defense are outworks to dispute the flat ground, while to the west—covering the Williamsburg Road—is the Fusilier Redoubt, with Redoubt Nine and Redoubt Ten on its opposite flank. A French force under Brigadier General de Choisy bottles up the British troops within Gloucester, while the main American army begins its investment of Yorktown on October 6 by commencing a



Washington consulting with his American and French staff officers at Yorktown. (U.S. National Archives)

2,000-yard parallel trench. Three days later, the besiegers' bombardment starts, and work gets under way on a second parallel.

At this point, it becomes necessary for the Americans to eliminate Redoubt Nine and Redoubt Ten, hence the former is attacked by a French force under Col. Guillaume Deuxponts and the latter by a mixed force under Lt. Col. Alexander Hamilton. (Simultaneous diversionary attacks are also mounted against the Fusilier Redoubt and Gloucester.) The British defenders of Redoubt Nine under Lieutenant Colonel McPherson inflict heavy casualties as the French penetrate their abatis and surrender after a bayonet charge; Hamilton's assault on Redoubt Ten is carried out successfully with few casualties.

There is no British counterattack, but the defense trains all its available guns upon these redoubts, now in enemy hands. The completion of the second parallel allows Franco-American siege batteries to be installed perilously close to the fortifications. A sally by British lieutenant colonel Robert Abercrombie's men is made at 4:00 a.m. on October 16 but proves only partially successful, and Cornwallis's desperate attempt to ferry his army across to Gloucester this same night is balked by a sudden storm and lack of boats.

On the morning of October 17, an even fiercer bombardment begins by 100 Franco-American fieldpieces, hence, by 10:00 a.m., the British commander requests a truce to discuss terms. The capitulation is signed at noon on October 19, the Americans and French having sustained merely 400 casualties during this brief siege as opposed to 600 British and Hessians—although 8,080 of them then march into captivity, effectively ending Britain's hopes of suppressing the American Revolution by dint of arms.

OCTOBER 19, 1781. Admiral Graves's fleet, reinforced by the arrival of six more Royal Navy ships at the beginning of this same month, quits New York with a troop convoy bearing 7,000 reinforcements for Virginia under Clinton.

OCTOBER 27, 1781. Clinton arrives off Chesapeake Bay with his 7,000 soldiers, too late to save Cornwallis, who has surrendered a week earlier.

NOVEMBER 5, 1781. All of Admiral de Grasse's fleet sets sail from Chesapeake Bay for Martinique, save the *Romulus* and two frigates, which are left in Virginia. The *Victoire*, the *Vaillant*, the *Provence*, the

Triton, and the frigates *Gentile* and *Railleuse* are detached during this voyage toward Saint Domingue to escort a merchant convoy home to France.

NOVEMBER 16, 1781. *French Reconquest of Dutch Antilles.* A 1,200-man expedition sets sail from Martinique under Governor General de Bouillé aboard the frigates *Amazon* and *Galathée*, the corvette *Aigle*, and several privateer craft, to wrench Sint Eustatius back from the English (see "January 30, 1781" entry). Because of contrary winds, this island is not reached until the evening of November 25, and by 3:00 the next morning, only 400 Frenchmen have managed to struggle ashore through its high surf.

De Bouillé nonetheless leads the force in a march toward Sint Eustatius's capital, arriving at 6:00 a.m., just as part of the British garrison is exercising upon the beach. Mistaking the red tunics of an Irish contingent marching at the head of de Bouillé's column for friendly forces, the English are mowed down by an unexpected volley at point-blank range, promptly scattering. The English governor is seized as he returns from an early morning ride, while 200 French troops under the Comte de Dillon quickly overrun the barracks and another 100 under Major de Frêne capture the citadel. Soon, 700 captives are rounded up, after which de Bouillé sends detachments to re-occupy nearby Sint Marten and Sabá as well, before returning to Martinique.

NOVEMBER 26, 1781. Admiral de Grasse's fleet reaches Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique) from Virginia.

JANUARY 5, 1782. *Saint Kitts Offensive.* De Grasse and Governor General de Bouillé set sail from Martinique with 26 ships of the line and a troop convoy, reaching Salines Bay just south of Basseterre on the western coast of Saint Kitts by January 11. The British have already retired into their Brimstone Hill stronghold under General Frazer, so the French landing forces disembark without opposition and institute a siege.

On January 24, 22 English warships are sighted near Nevis under Admiral Hood, evidently intending to reinforce Saint Kitts with troops from Barbados and Antigua. De Grasse exits to intercept, but by the next dawn, Hood has veered toward Montserrat. Contrary east-southeasterly winds then impede the French fleet from reaching the British before they can circle north around Nevis and drop anchor in Frigate Bay, off Basseterre. De Grasse attempts



Hood's anchored warships prevent de Grasse's fleet, at right, from disrupting the British troop disembarkation in Frigate Bay, Saint Kitts. (National Maritime Museum, London)

some attacks against the anchored British expedition on both the morning and afternoon of January 26, which are beaten off, the disembarkation proceeding apace. During these naval engagements, the French suffer 107 killed and 207 wounded, compared to 72 dead and 244 injured among the British.

On January 28, the 1,500-man British vanguard advances against the town of Basseterre under General Prescott, while its French occupiers fight a delaying action under Colonel de Fléchin until the Marquis de Bouillé can hasten reinforcements across the island. Prescott's drive is eventually held and repelled, but otherwise French efforts are hampered by the loss of their field artillery—a result of a wreck while approaching Saint Kitts—plus the capture of an ammunition ship by one of Hood's frigates. The *Caton's* 24-pounders are therefore disembarked and used by de Bouillé to batter Brimstone Hill into submission by February 12.

The next day, de Grasse ventures toward Nevis to escort an arriving convoy of French victuallers, while Hood avails himself of this opportunity to escape in the opposite direction with his smaller fleet on the morning of February 14. Saint Kitts is now in French hands; de Grasse and de Bouillé install a garrison and return to Martinique by February 26.

JANUARY 22, 1782. The former Dutch colony of Demerara is recaptured by the French naval captain Armand Guy Simon de Coëtnempren, Comte de Kersaint, with his 32-gun flagship *Iphigénie* and four lesser consorts. This conquest is followed by one at Berbice on February 5 and at Essequibo three days afterward. Five Royal Navy auxiliaries are seized during this operation as prizes: the 20-gun *Orinoque* of Cmdr. William Tahourdin, the 16-gun *Barbuda* of Cmdr. Francis Pender, the 18-gun *Sylph* of Cmdr. Lawrence Graeme, the 16-gun *Stormont* of Cmdr. Christmas Paul, and the 16-gun brig *Rodney* of Lt. John Douglas Brisbane.

FEBRUARY 22, 1782. The English island of Montserrat surrenders to a French squadron under Admiral de Barras.

LATE FEBRUARY 1782. Admiral Rodney reaches the Lesser Antilles with 17 ships of the line to reinforce Hood against an anticipated Franco-Spanish junction. Assuming overall command of this combined force, Rodney spreads his fleet between La Désirade in the north to Saint Vincent in the south so as to sight any vessels arriving by the trade winds across the Atlantic.

MARCH 14, 1782. Spanish commodore Enrique Macdonell sets sail from Trujillo (Honduras) with an expedition comprised of the royal frigates *Santa Matilde* and *Santa Cecilia*, the privateer frigate *Nuestra Señora de la Concepción*, four gunboats, and 16 troop transports bearing 1,000 soldiers. This force falls upon Roatán and bombards its three main batteries before storming ashore and exterminating this British outpost.

MARCH 20, 1782. A French convoy under escort by the 56-year-old captain Claude Mithon de Genouilly's 80-gun, 2,200-ton flagship *Couronne* and seven other warships reaches Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique), having eluded Rodney's blockade by circling north of La Désirade, then hugging the coastlines of Guadeloupe and Dominica. This evasion prompts the British admiral to regroup his fleet off Saint Lucia.

APRIL 8, 1782. At dawn, a 123-ship French convoy sorties from Martinique, escorted by the 50-gun ships *Expérimenté* and *Sagittaire*, plus the frigates *Railleuse*, *Engageante*, and *Richmond* (English prize). A few hours later, Admiral de Grasse also stands out to sea with his 33 ships of the line to protect these merchantmen against any pursuit by Rodney.

The British admiral sorties from nearby Saint Lucia with a similar-sized force as soon as his spotting frigates advise him of de Grasse's departure. Both fleets sail slowly up Dominica, becoming becalmed in its lee overnight. The next daybreak, Hood's van uses a faint breeze to overhaul the French rear, at which point de Grasse signals his whole battle fleet to turn and fight. Only 8 British and 15 French ships become engaged in the ensuing melee before the wind dies away; the *Auguste*, the *Northumberland*, the *Sceptre*, and the *Citoyen* bear the brunt of the fighting for the French, in which both HMSS *Royal Oak* and *Montague* are dismasted. But when another breeze springs up after several hours, allowing Rodney's main body to begin to close, the French break off the fight and return to guard their convoy. The British maintain their pursuit over the next two days in faint east-northeasterly winds, until de Grasse notices the *Magnanime* and the *Zélé* lagging astern at nightfall of April 11, near the Saintes island grouping between Dominica and Guadeloupe. Reversing course to provide cover, de Grasse's flagship *Ville de Paris* collides with the *Zélé* at 2:00 a.m. on April 12, destroying its bowsprit and mizzenmast and obliging the French admiral to delegate his frigate *Astrée* to tow the *Zélé* toward Guadeloupe.

APRIL 12, 1782. *Les Saintes.* At first light, the French fleet finds itself scattered, with the damaged frigate *Zélé* lagging astern and in plain view of the pursuing British. De Grasse, fearful that this laggard will fall easy prey, signals his fleet at 5:45 a.m. to reverse course and form a line of battle to intercept the approaching enemy. Learning of this maneuver from his scouting frigates, Rodney also gives the order to marshal his own column for an impending encounter, just as he is clearing Point Jacques on Dominica.

Because of the gentle easterly breezes, it takes the French an hour and a half to form up, and they do not steer southward until 7:15 a.m., with their van comprised of the 74-gun *Hercule* of Jean Isaac Chadeau de la Clochette, *Souverain* of Jean Baptiste de Glandevès, *Palmier* of Joseph Jacques François de Martelli Chautard, *Northumberland* of de Saint-Césaire, and *Neptune* of Laurent Emmanuel de Renaud d'Aleins; Commo. Louis Antoine, Comte de Bougainville's 80-gun *Auguste* under Flag Capt. Pierre Joseph de Castellan; the 64-gun *Ardent* of Jean Guillaume Michel de Gouzillon; as well as the 74-gun *Scipion* of Pierre Antoine de Clavel, *Brave* of Claude François Renart de Fuch Samberg, Marquis d'Amblimont, and *Citoyen* of Alexandre d'Ethy.

De Grasse's center consists of the 74-gun *Hector* of Claude Eugène Chauchouart de LaVicomté and *César* of Charles René Louis Bernard, Vicomte de Marigny; the 70-gun *Dauphin Royal* of Pierre Antoine de Montpérour, Chevalier de Roquefeuil; the 80-gun *Languedoc* of Jean-François d'Argelos, Baron d'Arros; the 104-gun flagship *Ville de Paris* under Flag Capt. Jean-Baptiste François de Lavilléon; the 80-gun *Couronne* of Claude Mithon de Genouilly; the 64-gun *Éveillé* of Armand Le Gardeur de Tilly; as well as the 74-gun *Sceptre* of Commo. Louis de Rigaud, Comte de Vaudreuil, and *Glorieux* of Baron d'Escars.

Commo. Louis Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, in the rear leads the 74-gun *Diadème* of Louis Augustin de Monteclerc, *Destin* of François Louis, Comte Dumaitz de Goimpy Feiquières, *Magnanime* of Jean Antoine Le Bègue, *Réfléchi* of Charles de Médine, *Conquérant* of Charles Marie de La Grandière, and *Magnifique* of Jean-Baptiste de Marcarty Mactaigne; the 80-gun vice-flagship *Triomphant* under Flag Capt. Jean-François du Cheyron, Chevalier du Pavillon; the 74-gun *Bourgogne* of Charles de Charitte; the 80-gun *Duc de Bourgogne* of Commo. Charles Régis Coriolis d'Espinouse, and Flag Capt. Pierre Joseph François Samson de Champmartin; plus the 74-gun *Marseillais* of Henri César de Castellane Majastre and *Pluton* of François Hector,



Battle of Les Saintes.

Comte d'Albert de Rions. The French fleet is accompanied by the frigates *Amazone* of Ens. Charles Elzéar Bourgarel de Martignan (acting as captain in place of de Montguyot, slain earlier), the 26-gun *Aimable* of Lt. Jean-Baptiste François de Suzannet, *Galathée* of Lt. Joachim de Roquart, and *Richmond* of Lt. Victorien Henri Elzéar de Rochechouart, Vicomte de Mortemart; the corvette *Cérès* of Lt. Louis Jean-Marie, Baron de Paroy; plus the cutter *Clairvoyant* of Ens. François Robert, Vicomte Dach.

Forging northward to meet them is Rodney's fleet, another 10-mile-long column of warships led in the van by Rear Adm. Samuel Drake with the 74-gun *Marlborough* of Taylor Penny, *Arrogant* of Samuel Cornish, and *Alcide* of Charles Thompson; the 64-gun *Nonesuch* of William Truscott; the 74-gun *Conqueror* of George Balfour; Drake's 70-gun *Princessa* under Flag Capt. Charles Knatchbull; the 90-gun *Prince George* of James Williams; the 74-gun *Torbay* of John Gidoin; the 64-gun *Anson* of William Blair; plus the 74-gun *Fame* of Robert Barber and *Russell* of James Saumarez.

Rodney's center consists of the 64-gun *America* under Samuel Thompson; the 74-gun *Hercules* of Henry Savage; the 64-gun French prize *Prothée* under Charles Buckner; the 74-gun *Resolution* of Robert Manners; the 64-gun *Agamemnon* of Ben-

jamin Caldwell; the 98-gun *Duke* of Allen Gardner; the 90-gun flagship *Formidable* under Flag Capt. Charles Douglas; the 90-gun *Namur* of Cranston Inglis; the 64-gun *Saint Albans* of William Cornwallis; the 74-gun *Canada* of Thomas Demarest; the 64-gun *Repulse* of Charrington; as well as the 74-gun *Ajax* of Robert Fanshaw and *Bedford* of Commodore Affleck.

Bringing up the rear is Hood with the 64-gun *Prince William* of George Wilkinson; the 74-gun *Magnificent* of Robert Linzee and *Centaur* of John Inglefield; the 64-gun *Belliqueux* of Alexander Sutherland; the 74-gun *Warrior* of James Wallace and *Monarch* of Francis Reynolds; the 90-gun vice-flagship *Barfleur* under Flag Capt. John Knight; the 74-gun *Valiant* of S. G. Goodall; and the 60-gun *Yarmouth* of Anthony Parry. The 74-gun *Montague* of George Bowen and *Royal Oak* of Thomas Burnett are limping along astern under jury-rig, while the *Alfred* has no commander, Captain Bayne having been killed in a clash on April 9.

Shortly before 8:00 a.m., HMS *Marlborough* and the French *Hercule* arrive opposite one other and open fire, so that the battle is joined. Traveling at two miles an hour, each fleet creeps past the other within 100 yards, exchanging broadsides. Shortly after 9:00 a.m., the wind begins shifting around to the

southeast, bringing several French ships up short and thus opening gaps in their line, while not affecting British sailing. Rodney immediately takes advantage of this opportunity by leading his flagship *Formidable* through an opening astern the French *Glorieux*, followed by HMSS *Duke*, *Namur*, and *Canada*. He also signals Drake in the van to attempt the same, yet it is Hood who actually pierces de Grasse's line for a second time, astern of the *César*. These ruptures produce a confused melee, in which the Royal Navy ships—many armed with powerful carronades—pound their opponents at close quarters over the next several hours.

By 3:30 p.m., the *Glorieux*, the *Hector*, the *César*, and the *Ardent* have struck, while de Grasse's *Ville de Paris* is surrounded by British warships, which finally compel the 104-gun French flagship to surrender at 6:15 p.m., with almost 400 dead on board. The Royal Navy suffers 237 killed (including captains Blair and Manners) and 766 wounded during this encounter, but it loses no ships; French casualties are estimated at more than 3,000, mostly aboard their five lost vessels, although fatalities also include captains de Saint-Césaire of the *Northumberland*, du Pavillon of the *Triomphant*, and de La Clochette of the *Hercule*.

A wounded Commodore de Vaudreuil assumes command of the remaining French ships, detaching the *Conquérant* to carry word of this defeat to Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien), and arriving there himself on April 25 with his flagship *Triomphant*, the *Bourgogne*, the *Réfléchi*, the *Magnanime*, the *Destin*, the *Diadème*, the *Sceptre*, the *Languedoc*, the *Dauphin Royal*, the *Citoyen*, the *Brave*, the *Scipion*, the *Northumberland*, the *Palmier*, the *Souverain*, and the *Neptune*. (The *Duc de Bourgogne*, the *Couronne*, and the *Magnifique* are already at anchor, along with the convoy.) Meanwhile, Bougainville's *Auguste* puts into Curaçao to effect repairs, along with the *Éveillé*, the *Hercule*, the *Marseillais*, and the *Pluton*. They do not rejoin Vaudreuil's main body until one month later. The victorious Rodney remains off the Saintes for three days refurbishing his vessels, before detaching Hood with 10 ships to precede his fleet into Jamaica.

APRIL 19, 1782. While stemming the Mona Passage, Hood's 10-ship squadron sights 5 sail running before the wind, which prove to be the French 64-gun ships *Caton* and *Jason*, the frigates *Astrée* and *Aimable*, plus the corvette *Cérès*, which are fleeing Guadeloupe. Unable to resist against such overwhelming odds, all save the *Astrée* surrender to the British.

APRIL 22, 1782. *Fall of the Bahamas.* A Hispano-American expedition begins standing out of Havana. It is comprised of 59 vessels (12 of them American) escorted by the 40-gun frigate *South Carolina* of Commo. Alexander Gillon. They bear 1,500 sailors, plus a small Spanish army under Lt. Gen. Juan Manuel de Caxigal, governor of Havana, that includes 668 regulars of the Guadalajara Regiment, 594 of the España, 326 from Mexico's Corona Regiment, 140 artillerymen and support staff, 50 light infantrymen, plus 202 black militiamen. It takes the convoy a week to clear port, Matanzas not being sighted until April 30, Bimini on May 2, then Nassau itself by the evening of May 5.

The next afternoon, a surrender demand is set ashore, which Gov. John Maxwell accepts on May 7; the actual British capitulation is signed the next day. Although the defenders number more than 1,400 men—274 regulars, 338 militiamen, and 800 sailors—wealthy plantation owners fear hazarding their properties and goods in an all-out battle and, furthermore, distrust the loyalty of many of their retainers. Therefore, without enduring a single casualty, the Spaniards gain 153 artillery pieces, plus 77 prizes lying in the roadstead.

Gillon, disgruntled by the fact that the Spanish have claimed the victory and all spoils, quits the venture at this point, preferring to sail directly for Philadelphia on May 14 rather than escort the Spanish expedition back to Havana or Haiti, as he had promised. Caxigal also departs Nassau a few days later, leaving behind a 300-man garrison under Capt. Antonio Claraco y Sanz, plus 7 small Spanish men-of-war crewed by 150 sailors under Capt. Raymundo Andrés.

MAY 31, 1782. The veteran captain Lapérouse sets sail from Cap-François (modern Cap-Haïtien) with his new command, the *Sceptre*, plus the frigates *Astrée* and *Engageante* under Lieutenants de Langle and de La Jaillie, respectively, bearing 250 soldiers, 40 artillerymen, four fieldpieces, and two mortars to campaign against the British in Hudson's Bay (Canada).

JULY 4, 1782. The Marquis de Vaudreuil quits Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) with his fleet, escorting a Spanish contingent as far as Havana before steering north up the Atlantic Seaboard with his 13 ships of the line.

AUGUST 8, 1782. The French commodore Lapérouse, having circled into Hudson's Bay (Canada) by mid-July with his ship of the line, the *Sceptre*, as well

as the frigates *Astrée* and *Engageante*, arrives this day within sight of the entrance to Churchill River (Manitoba). The next day, he disembarks his few hundred troops and calls upon the chief English factor for this outpost, Samuel Hearne, to surrender. The latter immediately complies, and Fort Prince of Wales is partially destroyed after its supplies and furs are taken. Nearby York Factory is also successfully attacked on August 24, after which Lapérouse—his presence now pressed by bad weather—departs toward Europe, having carried out his commission without losing a single man and treating his captives with great kindness.

AUGUST 10, 1782. Vaudreuil's French fleet anchors off Boston for repair and resupply, except the *Magnifique*, which is wrecked while being piloted into Nantasket Bay. (A grateful American Congress will offer to replace their allies' loss with the brand-new, 74-gun USS *America*.)

SEPTEMBER 4, 1782. The 60-year-old British admiral Hugh Pigot reaches New York from the West Indies, having followed Vaudreuil northward.

OCTOBER 17, 1782. Commo. James Kempthorne is cruising off Saint Domingue (Haiti) with his 98-gun, 743-man flagship HMS *London*; the 82-gun, 594-man *Torbay* of Capt. John Lewis Gidoin; and the 14-gun sloop *Badger*, when two sail approach, which prove to be the 74-gun, 734-man *Scipion* of 39-year-old captain Nicolas René Henri, Comte de Grimoüard, and the 32-gun, 275-man frigate *Sibylle*. After a prolonged chase, the French pair succeeds in crippling their larger British pursuers, although the *Scipion* then strikes a rock while attempting to anchor in Samaná Bay on October 19 and sinks the next day.

DECEMBER 6, 1782. British rear admiral Sir Richard Hughes intercepts a small French convoy off Martinique. During this action, the 72-gun HMS *Ruby* of Capt. John Collins captures the 64-gun, 1,521-ton *Solitaire* of 49-year-old Jean-Charles de Borda, killing 35 and wounding 55 of its crew members.

DECEMBER 20, 1782. The 54-gun, 297-man, 891-ton HMS *Diomedé* of Capt. Thomas Lennox Frederick, supported by the 40-gun, 217-man, 699-ton frigate *Quebec*, sight the 40-gun, 450-man *South Carolina* of Capt. John Joyner off the Delaware, chasing it for 18 hours. The powerful American vessel eventually surrenders after a two-hour fight.

JANUARY 20, 1783. The preliminaries to the Treaty of Versailles are signed between French and British plenipotentiaries, coming into effect one month later in Europe and two months later in the Americas.

MARCH 2, 1783. The 44-gun Royal Navy frigate *Resistance* of Capt. James King, along with the 14-gun sloop *Duguay Trouin* of John Fish, captures the 28-gun French frigate *Coquette* of the Marquis de

Loyalists

About 15–20 percent of the white population in the 13 colonies stayed loyal to the British Crown during the Revolutionary War, some 500,000 out of 3 million inhabitants. Members of this Tory minority were on average older, wealthier, and better educated than the 40 percent who came to fully embrace the Patriot cause. The other 40 percent of the population remained neutral.

Some Tories were merchants, but many were also people of simple means. When fighting first flared in the spring of 1775, thousands of the richest Tories began moving to England or elsewhere in the empire. Patriot administrations quickly took over every colony, as all royal governors were withdrawn by London. The harsh measures that had previously been used against Patriot agitators were now turned against outspoken Tories. Their properties were confiscated, critics were jailed, and some were even subjected to abuse. As the war deepened, the Continental Congress passed a resolution in October 1775 calling for the arrest of any Loyalist deemed a danger to "the liberties of America." Documents known as "association tests" were circulated to be signed in a public show of support. Some neutrality was tolerated, although always viewed under a cloud of suspicion.

By the time the Declaration of Independence was passed on July 4, 1776, the plight of Loyalist civilians had become very difficult. Many simply chose to endure passively. After a British seaborne expedition seized New York City in September, many also fled there. Later offensives created similar coastal enclaves at Savannah (Georgia) and Charles Town (South Carolina). Some 50,000 Loyalists eventually served in British North American regiments or militia units.

After liberty was won early in 1783, some 100,000 Loyalists left the United States altogether. New York saw the largest exodus, the last ships leaving there by November 25. About 60,000 of these displaced Tories resettled in Canada. Another 20,000 departed from southern states for the Bahamas or the British West Indies.

Grasse Briançon. From his prisoners, King moreover learns that French forces have recently occupied Turk's Island north of Santo Domingo and informs his colleague Horatio Nelson.

Although hostilities are plainly winding down, Nelson sails toward this objective with his 28-gun frigate *Albemarle*, Cmdr. Charles Dixon's 14-gun sloop *Drake*, and one other vessel, arriving by March 7. After sending an officer inshore with a surrender demand, which is refused, Nelson bombards the island overnight, then sends Dixon to disembark with 167 men the next dawn. The 150 well-entrenched defenders easily repulse this assault, wounding 8 Englishmen and obliging Nelson to reembark his men by the morning of March 9 and to sail away.

MARCH 30, 1783. *Bahamian Reconquest.* A 24-year-old Loyalist militia colonel named Andrew Deveaux—exiled from Beaufort, South Carolina, because of the Patriots' victory—sorties from St. Augustine with 70 followers, to be joined at sea two days later by the 26-gun privateer brigantine *Perseverance* of Thomas Dow and 16-gun, 120-man brig-

antine *Whitby Warrior* of Daniel Wheeler. This expedition anchors off Harbour and Eleuthera islands by April 6, recruiting another 170 volunteers for an attempt against the Spanish garrison at New Providence (Nassau). Four days later, the Cuban sloop *Flor de Mayo* also reaches the Bahamian capital with a message from the new governor of Havana, Luis de Unzaga, advising that peace preliminaries have been signed back in Europe and that the Bahamas are to be restored to British rule in exchange for Florida.

When Deveaux's flotilla draws near to New Providence on April 13, the Spanish commander, Claraco, mistakes them for petty smugglers. His customs patrols are surprised the next dawn to find—rather than clandestine traders—a heavily armed landing party storming ashore to occupy Fort Montague and seize the three guard boats. Claraco retreats into his citadel, and a brief truce is arranged, which Deveaux rescinds the next day. The Spaniards then scuttle their remaining warships on April 16 and huddle within their fort until they decide to give up two days later and are repatriated to Cuba.

LESSER HOSTILITIES (1780–1790)

NOVEMBER 4, 1780. *Tupac Amaru Rebellion.* While returning into Tinta (Peru) from a banquet celebrating the king's feast day, 38-year-old Gabriel de Condorcanqui, Marqués de Oropesa—an Inca better known as Tupac Amaru, Chief of Tungasuca—captures the cruel Spanish *corregidor* Antonio de Arriaga and executes him in Tungarica six days later. A popular uprising immediately explodes, Tupac Amaru leading 20,000 Indians and 300 *mestizo* followers in an invasion of Quispicanchi Province, slaughtering the hastily assembled forces of *corregidor* Fernando Cabrera at Sangarará. The distant viceroy, Agustín de Jáuregui y Aldecoa, attempts to placate these rebels from his capital of Lima by banning forced native labor on December 7, while simultaneously dispatching 200 troops into the Andes.

The insurrection sweeps heedlessly on toward Cuzco, which is defended by 3,200 men under colonels Manuel Villalta and Gabriel de Avilés y del Fierro. Although they have few trained soldiers, an advance unit under *sargento mayor* or “garrison

commander” Joaquín Valcarce nonetheless inflicts some 300 casualties upon Tupac Amaru's host in January 1781 where it is hesitating six miles outside Cuzco. More Crown reinforcements arrive on February 23 under *mariscal de campo* José del Valle y Torres, who sets about reorganizing Cuzco's militias, until this district has more than 15,000 royalist defenders. Going over onto the offensive on March 9, del Valle's army is attacked at dawn of the 22nd by Tupac Amaru after a heavy snowfall, which dampens the Spaniards' powder. No decision is reached in this skirmishing until Friday, April 6, however, when the rebels are defeated and del Valle occupies their headquarters at Tinta. Tupac Amaru flees to Langui, only to be betrayed to the Spaniards, who draw and quarter him on May 18—along with his wife, Micaela Bastidas, son Hipólito, and other adherents.

The rebellion continues under the leadership of Tupac Amaru's brother Diego Cristóbal or “Tupac Katari” and surviving son Mariano. Chucuito is overrun, and Puno is hard-pressed, although a royal-

ist force under Lt. Col. José Reseguín then defeats the *mestizo* rebel Luis Laso de la Vega at Tupiza. The final campaign is launched by Diego Cristóbal, who attacks Sorata and lays siege to La Paz (Bolivia), with perhaps as many as 40,000 Indians. After 109 days, this city is relieved by a royalist column in June 1781, and when Diego Cristóbal attempts a second siege, his forces are scattered by 7,000 reinforcements from Oruro under Reseguín. The Inca leader finally accepts the general amnesty offered by the Spaniards on September 10 and surrenders.

When Felipe Velasco—better known as Tupac Inca Yupanqui—mounts another short-lived uprising at Huarochirí (near Lima) a year and a half later, he is quickly arrested and hanged on July 7, 1783. Twelve days later, Diego Cristóbal and other past rebel leaders are also executed, their tongues being cut out before they are drawn and quartered.

MARCH 16, 1781. *Comunero Revolt.* Amid growing discontent throughout Nueva Granada (Colombia) due to increased royal taxes imposed by the inspector general, Juan Francisco Gutiérrez de Piñeres, plus the precedent of Tupac Amaru's rebellion in Peru farther to the south, a mob led by José Delgadillo runs riot in the town of Socorro. Other towns quickly follow suit, and by April some 6,000 *comuneros* or "commoners" have gathered at Socorro, electing Juan Francisco Berbeo as their leader. Inspector General Gutiérrez sends a company of troops under Captain Barrera to put down this mutiny, but they are defeated at Puente Real outside Vélez, further inflaming this uprising. Berbeo next marches on the distant capital of Santa Fe de Bogotá, gathering more adherents every step of the way and prompting Gutiérrez to flee toward Honda on May 13. At the end of that same month, the *comuneros* are joined by the Zipa Indian chieftain Ambrosio Pisco, who is proclaimed Lord of Chía and Prince of Bogotá.

On June 4, the rebels present their demands—Gutiérrez's dismissal, repeal of all taxes, and greater Creole participation in government—to the remaining viceregal authorities, who accede and sign the so-called Zipaquirá Pact three days later. Berbeo's tens of thousands of followers disperse, but another leader named José Antonio Galán persists with the revolt north of Bogotá, while at Neiva the royal governor Policarpo Fernández is slain. Meanwhile, 500 regular troops reinforce Bogotá on August 15, and Viceroy Manuel Antonio Flores declares the Zipaquirá Pact null and void. The natives of Nemo-

con rise and kill their overseer, provoking military reprisals, and the revolt collapses. Galán is forsaken by his last few adherents and escapes to Chagónuete, only to be captured by soldiers and executed on February 1, 1782. Many other executions and arrests follow, marking an end to this insurrection.

JULY 17, 1781. In northern Mexico, Yuma Indians rise up against Spanish rule, eradicating the newly established outposts of Colorado, Purísima Concepción, and San Pedro y San Pablo de Bicuñer. This setback brings an effective halt to Spanish expansion into this territory.

NOVEMBER 11, 1781. The 52-year-old colonel Juan de Ugalde, governor of the borderland province of Coahuila, leads 175 soldiers on a two-and-a-half month sweep through the arid Bolsón de Mapimí south of Texas's Río Grande and Pecos rivers, searching in vain for Mescalero Apache raiders; despite skirmishing with isolated bands four times, he only slays 7 warriors, while Indian parties assault Alamos, Parras, and other lesser settlements during his absence, killing 80 Spanish residents.

MARCH 9, 1782. Ugalde launches a second campaign through the Bolsón de Mapimí with 194 soldiers and 2 Lipan scouts. He slays 10 Mescaleros and captures 38, as well as 517 horses, before finally returning into his base camp on June 24.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1782. Ugalde quits the Hacienda de Sardinias in eastern Coahuila with 220 soldiers, 9 Apache scouts, 48 Lipan allies, 250 porters, and 2,000 horses and spends the next six months crisscrossing 3,300 miles through the Bolsón de Mapimí without sighting any more than a handful of its elusive Mescaleros. Nevertheless, by the time he reenters Monclova on March 15, 1783, Ugalde's remorseless pursuit has obliged many of these raiders to retire north of the Río Grande with their families.

JUNE 11, 1784. A Spanish expedition quits Havana under Brig. Gen. Vicente de Céspedes, escorting several thousand settlers who are to reoccupy St. Augustine.

JANUARY 1786. A major Spanish expedition quits Cartagena under *mariscal de campo* or "field marshal" Antonio de Arévalo to pacify the untamed shoreline of the Gulf of Urabá and northeastern Panama.

This effort proves successful, the new town of Caimán is established, and Forts San Rafael and San Gabriel are erected in April and May, respectively, to protect the newly created settlements of San Elías (Mandinga) and Nuestra Señora de la Concepción in the Gulf of San Blas. By August, the Spaniards reach Caledonia Bay (formerly occupied by the Scots; *see* “Darien Disaster” in Volume 1), where they found Carolina del Darien, then later build Príncipe Fort at the mouth of the Sabana River on the Pacific coast.

FEBRUARY 23, 1786. Now promoted to rear admiral, Lapérouse reaches Concepción (Chile) with his frigates *Astrolabe* and *Boussole*, having rounded Cape Horn. This peacetime expedition is funded by the French government and the Académie des Sciences to explore the Pacific. By April 9 he reaches Easter Island, then Maui (Hawaii) in May. On June 23, the *Astrolabe* and *Boussole* site Mount Saint Elias (on the modern Alaska–Canada border), before veering down the west coast of America, taking surveys. By September 14 they reach Monterey, refreshing in this California port before Lapérouse strikes out

into the Pacific, eventually being lost with all hands in June 1788.

JULY 21, 1787. With help from the Englishman Henry Hooper, the Spanish authorities in Colombia are able to sign a peace treaty with the natives in the Gulf of Urabá.

SUMMER 1790. *Britain’s “Spanish Armament.”* In retaliation for a Spanish expedition sent to Vancouver to eject a new English trading settlement, the British government authorizes a massive naval buildup to pressure Madrid into reversing this action, which becomes known as the “Spanish Armament.” Eventually swelling to 29 ships of the line, 9 frigates, 2 sloops, 4 cutters, and 2 fireships under Adm. Richard, Lord Howe, this fleet puts to sea—without any declaration of war—during August and September of this same year, while Rear Adm. Samuel Cornish sails to the West Indies with 6 ships of the line in October. The Spanish government finally bows to Britain’s terms on October 28, agreeing to restore Nootka Sound and compensate its dispossessed English settlers.

French Revolution

By 1787, excessive spending and an outdated tax system had sapped France’s royal finances. King Louis XVI was informed that he should rewrite the antiquated laws by convening the Estates-General, a legislative body that had not met since 1614. The aristocracy and clergy were opposed to this strategy, but attempts to impose new taxes—while France’s lower classes were in the midst of suffering hardship and famine—sparked protests, the worst at Grenoble on June 7, 1788. Alarmed foreign creditors threatened to withdraw their loans, so that the king reluctantly agreed on August 8 to call the Estates-General for the next May.

Great expectations were raised, as well as unease in certain sectors. Members of the ruling elite favored retention of the absolute monarchy, as well as feudal rights for the nobility and clergy. They wanted only rubber-stamp approval of the king’s requests. But pent-up frustrations, resentment, and distrust grew among the urban bourgeoisie, rural peasants, and intellectual exponents of the Enlightenment. Six weeks after the Estates-General opened at Versailles on May 5, 1789, the Third Estate—comprised of delegates from the middle class and peasantry—voted themselves as a “National Assembly.” They then invited the other two Estates to merge with them, which many clerical and some noble representatives also joined.

Concerned by these developments, Louis XVI brought regiments into the capital and—on the advice of conservative counselors such as his Queen, Marie Antoinette—dismissed his reformist minister Jacques Necker on July 11, 1789. Believing that these acts were a prelude to military intervention, a Parisian mob stormed the hated Bastille prison three days later, killing its governor and several guards. The mayor of Paris was also murdered, to which the king failed to react. Soon, nobles began fleeing, while violence swept through the countryside. Many chateaux were torched, and uncertainty grew so rampant that this period was remembered as the *Grande Peur* or “Great Fear.”

The Assembly struggled to guide matters, abolishing all feudal privileges as of August 4, 1789, and issuing a “Declaration of the Rights of Man” three weeks later (based upon the American Declaration of Independence). Popular sentiment compelled the king and royal family to relocate from Versailles into Paris on October 6, escorted by 20,000 National Guards. All church properties were also confiscated as of December 2, and aristocrats were systematically removed from the army, navy, and government starting the next year. Eventually, such reforms turned increasingly radical, until the nation was plunged into war and the “Reign of Terror.”

DISCORD IN THE EARLY AMERICAN REPUBLIC AND OLD NORTHWEST INDIAN WARS (1786–1795)

In the immediate aftermath of U.S. independence from Great Britain, there ensues a period of economic hardship for the young nation because of its lost export markets, felt especially severely in New England. Against a backdrop of monetary collapse and depression, bankrupt state governments further impose a heavy taxation burden, provoking a brief flurry of armed protests.

A more protracted struggle ensues in the inland wilderness, where 250,000 square miles west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River (modern Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, and part of Minnesota) pass under American control from the British as of July 1787. A confederacy of Miami, Shawnee, Pottawatomie, and Chippewa tribes resist this transfer, disputing American settlement in the “Northwest Territory.”

LATE AUGUST 1786. In an attempt to prevent any more foreclosures, forfeitures, or imprisonments for debt, a mob of 1,500 armed men closes the courthouse at Northampton (Massachusetts). Over the next few weeks, similar actions are carried out in neighboring Middlesex, Bristol, and Worcester counties, while antigovernment sentiment also spreads into Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Gov. James Bowdoin is powerless to control these self-styled Massachusetts “Regulators”—their name derived from an earlier Carolinian revolt (see “May 16, 1771” entry in “Boundary Disputes,” Volume 1)—so the governor raises a regiment of state militiamen under Major General Lincoln.

NOVEMBER 1786. Capt. Job Shattuck of Groton (Connecticut) attempts to close the courthouse in Middlesex County and is subsequently defeated, wounded, and imprisoned in Boston along with his two lieutenants by Massachusetts state militiamen. His rebel followers disperse westward.

EARLY DECEMBER 1786. *Shays’s Rebellion.* After closing the supreme court at Worcester, a Regulator mob is reinforced by 350 men under 39-year-old Daniel Shays of Pelham, a Revolutionary War veteran risen from the ranks and now a retired captain of the 5th Massachusetts Regiment. He petitions the state legislature with a list of grievances, then disperses his followers.

Late in January 1787, Shays again marches from Wilbraham with 1,200 rebels, this time to prevent the Hampshire County court from opening in nearby Springfield. Approaching out of the southeast on

the afternoon of the 25th, he hopes to overwhelm its 1,100 militia defenders under Gen. William Shepard with the support of another 400 Regulators out of West Springfield, led by ex-major Luke Day. However, the latter fails to appear, so Shays is confronted by Shepard’s full strength. Two warning shots are fired by the militia cannon, then a third round smashes into the insurgent ranks, killing 4 and causing the remainder to flee.

Lincoln arrives and pursues this demoralized throng northeastward into Petersham, surprising the Regulators at dawn of Sunday, February 4, after an all-night march through a snowstorm. Some 150 rebels are captured to stand trial, while Shays escapes northward. The militia army subsequently moves across the Connecticut River to disperse seditious nests in the Berkshires, so that, by the end of this same month, only scattered resistance remains. Most Regulators—including Shays—are eventually pardoned, and Governor Bowdoin is voted out of office in favor of John Hancock.

LATE SUMMER 1790. The 37-year-old general Josiah Harmar departs Fort Washington (Cincinnati, Ohio) with 320 U.S. regulars and 800 militiamen to crush the dissident Indians who—encouraged by the British—are refusing to allow American settlers into their territory.

OCTOBER 18, 1790. Harmar’s 1,100 men come upon 2,500 Indians under the Miami chief Little Turtle in Ohio at the Miami River. The Americans are defeated in a sharply contested fight. Four days later, the U.S. forces are beaten again and have to retreat into Fort Washington after the loss of 200

men. In both engagements, the militiamen run away, leaving the regulars to be slaughtered.

OCTOBER 1791. The newly appointed governor for the Northwest Territory, Gen. Arthur St. Clair, departs Fort Washington with 600 U.S. regulars, and 1,500 militiamen.

NOVEMBER 3, 1791. *St. Clair's Defeat.* After marching 100 miles northward and suffering numerous desertions, St. Clair's army arrives on the banks of the Wabash River, camping 40 miles southwest of modern Lima (near Fort Recovery, Ohio). The next dawn, the Americans are surprised by 2,200 Indians under Little Turtle; most of the ill-trained militiamen run away, while the U.S. regulars are overwhelmed. Approximately 900 men and women are slaughtered by the exultant warriors. St. Clair and his surviving followers escape into Fort Jefferson, 22 miles away, before eventually regaining Fort Washington. The next year, the general resigns his commission.

JULY 1794. After having been promoted major general and given command over the western army two years previously, then failing to sway the Indians by a diplomatic mission in 1793, "Mad Anthony" Wayne's 2,000 regulars are joined at Greenville (Ohio) by 1,600 Kentucky militiamen, advancing north to Fort Defiance on the Miami River. From here, Wayne makes a final effort to treat with the Indians but, upon being rebuffed, advances with his army.

JULY 15, 1794. *Whiskey Insurrection.* At midday, a group of angry farmers fire upon U.S. Marshal David Lenox and 63-year-old federal excise inspector John Neville when they attempt to serve a writ in Washington County in western Pennsylvania for failure to pay taxes on whiskey distillation. Being a commonly accepted barter item in frontier society, local residents resent the distant government's three-year-old efforts to impose a duty upon this farm product. Forty protestors attack Neville's mansion at Bower Hill the next dawn and are bravely repelled by this Revolutionary War veteran, resulting in 5 wounded. Eleven soldiers then arrive under Neville's brother-in-law, Maj. Abraham Kirkpatrick, but—despite slaying the ringleader, Maj. James McFarlane—they prove powerless to prevent a mob of 500 men from destroying Bower Hill on the evening of the 17th.

Now thoroughly inflamed, as many as 5,000 rebels muster on August 1 under "Major General" David Bradford to continue their protest at Braddock's Field, eight miles outside Pittsburgh (population, 1,000). However, beyond burning the homes of several prominent citizens over the next couple of days, no more violence ensues, although word of this rebellion soon spreads as far as South Carolina, causing numerous revenue officers to be manhandled.

President Washington responds on August 7 by issuing a proclamation from Philadelphia denouncing these activities as treasonous and instructing the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia to call out their militias. Eventually, 11,000 reluctant infantrymen, 1,500 cavalymen, and 450 gunners—derisively dubbed the "Watermelon Army"—assemble at various concentration points; the contingent at Carlisle (Pennsylvania) is inspected by the president on October 4, Williamsport (Maryland) seven days afterward, and Fort Cumberland (Maryland) on October 16. During the last fortnight of this month, the army advances into rebel territory under Gov. "Light Horse Harry" Lee of Virginia, reoccupying Pittsburgh without opposition early in November. Bradford succeeds in escaping southwestward into Spanish territory, and although hundreds of cowed insurgent suspects are subsequently arrested, only two are actually sentenced to death in a court of law, although ultimately pardoned by Washington.

AUGUST 20, 1794. *Fallen Timbers.* Having been overtaken during their retreat, 1,300 Indians make a stand on the banks of the Maumee River (near modern Toledo, Ohio) behind a barricade of trees blown down by a storm. Wayne pins them with his infantry, while sending his cavalry around their flanks. The warriors are routed, several hundred being killed or wounded, while American casualties total 33 dead and 100 injured. (This action takes place within sight of a British garrison still illegally upon American soil; some of its garrison allegedly fight on the side of the Indians.)

This victory at Fallen Timbers effectively ends native resistance, and hostilities are concluded by the signing of the Treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795, which permits the first wave of American settlers to begin occupying the Northwest Territory in peace.

HAITIAN REVOLUTION (1789–1803)

The 1789 upheavals in Paris have a profound impact upon France's overseas colonies, most especially for its largest possession: Saint Domingue. Many of the island's elite white *grand blancs* have already felt alienated by their lack of political or economic influence with the home government—although the radical new administration emerging from the French Revolution soon comes to frighten them even more. Some 32,000 bourgeois whites, known as *petit blancs*, and 28,000 free Creoles, mulattoes, and blacks, known as *affranchis*, selectively embrace certain egalitarian ideals in hopes of personal advancement, while ignoring the needs of a half-million slaves. The result will be a dozen years of chaotic civil war, during which Saint Domingue is torn between monarchism, republicanism, patriotism, racism, and a desire for liberty.

NOVEMBER 14, 1789. A reinforcement of 100 soldiers reaches Cayenne in French Guiana, increasing its permanent garrison to 700 regulars. Imbued with republican ideals, these newcomers will lead an outburst shortly thereafter, which cows the recently installed governor, Jacques Martin de Bourgon.

FEBRUARY 21, 1790. At the port city of Saint Pierre on the island of Martinique, an excited mob seizes two officers for having allegedly trampled upon a Revolutionary cockade. As its military garrison has previously been withdrawn into Fort Royal, uneasy municipal authorities request support

from the neighboring island of Guadeloupe, which arrives—but fails to assuage the growing tensions.

JUNE 3, 1790. The troops garrisoning Fort Louis and Fort Bourbon outside Martinique's capital of Fort Royal proclaim their allegiance to the Revolutionary ideals being espoused at Saint Pierre, adding to the fears of monarchists on that island.

AUGUST 9–10, 1790. At Cayenne in French Guiana, disputes between libertarian deputies of the newly created *Assemblée Coloniale* and their more conservative predecessors from the royal *Conseil Supérieur* culminate in numerous arrests.

Sugar and Slavery

According to the treaty that ended the French and Indian War in 1763, France was forced to give up its major colonies in India, Canada, and Louisiana. To counter such losses, the chief royal minister, Étienne François, Duc de Choiseul, quickly began upgrading the remaining outposts in the Antilles and Guyana. Reforms were enacted to attract migrants and improve trade. More than 100,000 coffee trees were imported by the Crown two years later to create a valuable new cash crop. Foreign imports were also allowed for the first time in 1767, broadening the volume of sea traffic. Four years later, virtually every port in France was allowed to trade directly with the Antilles, vastly augmenting the flow of goods. Small and medium farms on the islands became supplanted by plantations harvesting industrial quantities of sugar, indigo, cotton, and coffee. To achieve such increased production, tens of thousands of slaves were imported from Africa.

No colony received as much stimulus over the next couple of decades as Saint Domingue. By the late 1780s, it had become France's premier overseas possession, 100 ships a month putting into its main seaport of Cap François. In 1787 and 1788 alone, over 60,000 slaves were imported. The city's population tripled from 6,353 residents in 1771 to 18,850 by 1789.

By the eve of the French Revolution, Saint Domingue was recognized as the richest commercial colony in the world. It exported roughly half of all the sugar and coffee consumed in Europe and netted more profit than all the Spanish American viceroalties combined. It was estimated that one person in eight in France derived a living from the island's traffic. Yet this rich business was entirely dependent on a half-million black slaves toiling amid Saint Domingue's 7,800 plantations, warily watched by only a few thousand white overseers.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1790. As a joint contingent of Martinican and Guadeloupan revolutionaries march upon the capital of Fort Royal, they are confronted near Acajou Plantation outside Lamentin by an army raised by local planters, who kill or capture 900 of their opponents and seize their artillery train.

OCTOBER 21, 1790. *Ogé's Insurrection.* The 35-year-old mulatto coffee merchant and minor plantation owner Jacques Vincent Ogé, backed by his colleague Jean-Baptiste Chavannes, lands a small contingent to raise a mulatto revolt. Ogé was in Paris during the Revolution and requested funds from its National Assembly for his cause. When these were denied, he arranged financing from the British abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, buying arms and ammunition in the United States.

His attempt is repressed, however, obliging Ogé and Chavannes to flee into Santo Domingo, from where they are extradited by unsympathetic Spanish authorities.

JANUARY 24, 1791. Some 200 black slaves arm themselves around Port Salut near Les Cayes, being quickly dispersed and their leaders being hanged.

FEBRUARY 25, 1791. Ogé and Chavannes are broken alive on the wheel, yet despite their dreadful executions, resistance in the south continues to smolder under the 30-year-old mulatto goldsmith and militia officer André Rigaud, who wins a provisional understanding from whites that they will not oppose acts from the Parisian National Assembly on behalf of freemen.

MARCH 3, 1791. Commander de Village's 74-gun, 1,665-ton flagship *Fougueux* and Captain de Grimouard's vice-flagship *Borée*, the Chevalier de Bataille's 40-gun frigate *Uranie*, and Villaret-Joyeuse's 32-gun *Prudente* (soon to be followed by the transport *Nantais*) arrive at Port-au-Prince bearing slightly more than 1,000 soldiers of the Revolutionary Artois, Normandie, and Des Colonies regiments. Governor General Blanchelande hesitates to allow these firebrand troops ashore, suggesting that they instead be disembarked at distant Saint Nicholas Môle.

However, galvanized by the arrival of these radical units, the Port-au-Prince Colonial Regiment (renamed 16 months later as the 110th Demi-Brigade) mutinies the next day, killing its autocratic commander, Col. Thomas Aintoine Mauduit, Chevalier du Plessis, and parading his head through the streets

atop a spike, while Blanchelande flees to Le Cap (modern Cap Haïtien). The troops forge ashore and several more days of turmoil ensue, until Village dies of disease on March 19 and is succeeded by Grimouard, who restores a modicum of discipline.

MARCH 12, 1791. A new governor general for the French Antilles—Jean-Pierre Antoine de Béhague—reaches Fort Royal on Martinique and temporarily restores some measure of stability by deporting its most mutinous troops. However, embittered island planters refuse to send any more trade through Saint Pierre, instead routing all their traffic through Fort Royal, which creates such economic hardships for the northern city that they send a delegation to protest before the National Assembly in Paris.

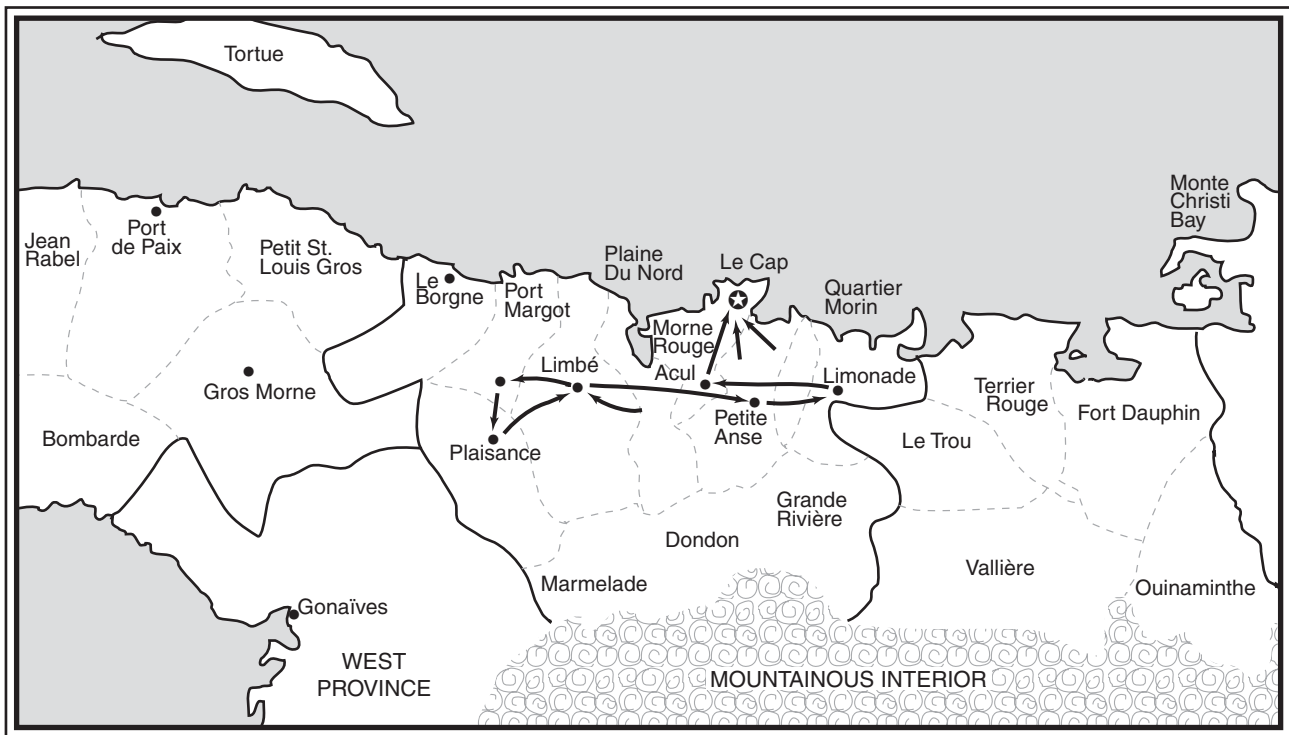
MAY 15, 1791. A black revolt being plotted by Jean-Louis at Sainte Anne on Guadeloupe is foiled.

JULY 8, 1791. News reaches Saint Domingue that the General Assembly in Paris has enfranchised free mulattoes and blacks on May 15, despite preserving the institution of slavery, sparking a white backlash.

AUGUST 14, 1791. *Bois Caïman.* After several weeks of clandestine meetings, 200 blacks gather secretly at Lenormand de Mézy Plantation in Morne Rouge in north central Haiti under their leaders "Zamba" Boukman Dutty, Jeannot Bullet, Jean François, and Georges Biassou. They hold a voodoo ceremony in nearby Bois Caïman, at which it is decided to rise up against their masters by August 22.

AUGUST 16, 1791. Some slaves in the Limbé District begin their uprising prematurely and are arrested while setting fire to the Chabaud Estate.

AUGUST 22, 1791. At 10:00 p.m., slaves gather at the Clément Plantation under Boukman and destroy the nearby Tremes Estate and Noé, Molines, and Flaville plantations by sunup, thus sparking a general insurrection on Saint Domingue's north-central plain. Boukman marches westward from Acul on August 23, his numbers swelling to 2,000 upon entering the Limbé District. Whites and loyal blacks are slaughtered; equipment and buildings are burned. Port à Margot is attacked early on the evening of August 24. Armed resistance is encountered the next day at Plaisance, where French militia units scatter the rebels, who fortify themselves within Champagne Ravine.



First successful Haitian uprising.

Despite this lone setback, the rebellion is too widespread and whites too few and isolated to contain it. Within a few days, Governor General Blanchelande recalls his militiamen and noncombatants into Le Cap, which is threatened on August 30–31 by Boukman with 15,000 followers. They are unable to penetrate its defenses, though, so content themselves with leveling the surrounding 50 miles of countryside. By mid-September, 200 sugar and 1,200 coffee plantations are destroyed, and 40,000 of northern Haiti's 170,000 blacks are in open rebellion.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1791. In southwestern Saint Domingue, after several minor clashes between whites and mulattoes—the latter seeking greater rights—a column of Normandie regulars and some militiamen set out from the capital of Port-au-Prince with a few cannon to disperse a mulatto concentration in the nearby Charbonnière Mountains under Louis-Jacques Bauvais, Pierre Pinchinat, Lambert, and Rigaud. The latter attempt to shift camp, but when they are intercepted near Croix des Bouquets, they defeat the French units.

At this juncture, the local royalist leader Hanus de Jumécourt offers the mulattoes an alliance against the radical French representatives in Port-au-Prince, an agreement between them being signed by Sep-

tember 7. Four days afterward, the radical French representatives make the mulattoes a counteroffer, and a multifaceted struggle ensues, with mulattoes shifting their allegiance between whites and blacks, royalists and Republicans, as expediency demands.

(Outside sources also begin playing a role. The British on Jamaica, fearful of France's spreading revolution, quietly support Saint Domingue's monarchists against the Republicans, as well as efforts to suppress its slave revolt. The Spaniards of Santo Domingo, by way of contrast, openly encourage the slave uprising in hopes of weakening the French hold over their half of the island.)

SEPTEMBER 13, 1791. The royalist governor and assembly on Guadeloupe dissolve the mulatto municipal government elected at Basse Terre.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1791. HMS *Centurion* and a small auxiliary visit Port-au-Prince, bringing an arms shipment for its French defenders.

OCTOBER 22, 1791. The French authorities at Port-au-Prince repair their uneasy truce with mulatto forces in their district under Bauvais and Pinchinat by admitting 1,500 troops into the capital the next day as part of its garrison.

OCTOBER 28, 1791. Under the pretext of issuing them better weapons, black troops are sent aboard the merchantman *Emmanuel* at Port-au-Prince, which instead sets sail five days later to maroon them on Central America's Mosquito Coast. The mulattoes and free blacks similarly herded aboard ships at Jérémie fare even worse, as most die of smallpox.

NOVEMBER 20, 1791. On Guadeloupe, the dissolved mulatto government is reelected at Basse-Terre.

NOVEMBER 21, 1791. This Monday, Port-au-Prince erupts in flames at dawn, burning over the next two days as white troops turn their weapons against mulattoes and blacks, driving them out of the city. This outburst produces a backlash in the surrounding district, where further uprisings occur in support of the rebel cause, so that a few weeks later, the black leader Romaine la Prophétesse occupies Jacmel with 1,300 followers.

NOVEMBER 29, 1791. The civil commissioners Frédéric Ignace de Mirbeck and Philippe-Rose Roume et d'Edmond de Saint Léger arrive on Saint Domingue from Revolutionary France, soon opening up dialogues with local black rebel leaders. Around this same time, Boukman is killed in a minor skirmish; his insurrection nevertheless survives him.

DECEMBER 11, 1791. When a delegation of mutinous troops and sailors attempt to wrest command of Grimoüard's flagship *Borée*, anchored off beleaguered Port-au-Prince, the admiral repels them. Discipline nonetheless continues to deteriorate.

JANUARY 15, 1792. Giving up on negotiations, Jean-François "Papillon" Petecou's band of Haitian rebels recaptures the Ouinaminthe district.

JANUARY 23, 1792. A rebel army under Biassou attacks Le Cap to secure ammunition and replenish their diminished resources.



Grimoüard quashes a mutinous attempt to seize the Borée off Port-au-Prince, December 11, 1791. Less than two years later, after returning to France and being promoted to rear admiral, he will be condemned to death by a revolutionary tribunal as "an aristocrat and traitor." (L'Amiral de Grimoüard au Port-au-Prince, 1937)

MARCH 4, 1792. France's Assembly issues a decree recognizing the equality of mulattoes with whites, which will create a stir on Saint Domingue.

MARCH 22, 1792. *Croix des Bouquets.* The wealthy, 50-year-old Jean-Baptiste, Comte de Caradeuc de la Caye—notorious for cruelty to his slaves—marches out of Port-au-Prince into Cul de Sac Plain to put down its mulatto-black-royalist combination. Instead, he is defeated at his Croix des Bouquets Estate by 10,000–15,000 untrained black insurgents, inspired by their 22-year-old voodoo leader Hyacinthe. This setback precipitates more uprisings around Mirebalais, Arcahaye, Petite-Rivière, Verettes, and Saint Marc.

APRIL 20, 1792. In Europe, France declares war against Austria. The semi-captive Louis XVI, his monarchist Feuillant followers, and the liberal Girondin Republicans in the National Assembly each support this action for different reasons. The Republicans hope to export Revolutionary doctrines throughout Europe, while the king believes that France's population will rally behind him during a foreign war. Prussia joins the Austrians a few weeks later. French cross-border thrusts prove ineffectual, and a stalemate ensues.

LATE JULY 1792. While visiting the Platons region in the southwestern part of the island, Governor General Blanchelande attempts to placate its 2,000 black rebels operating around Les Cayes under Armand and Martial. During a sudden storm on July 29, however, they attack Bérault Plantation—one of the white colonists' major military camps—destroying it, before rampaging through the Torbeck region and gaining hundreds of more adherents.

AUGUST 4, 1792. Blanchelande advances into the Platons' southwestern hills in three columns, searching for Armand and Martial. They confuse and ambush his forces piecemeal, obliging him to retreat back into Les Cayes four days later, having suffered 200 killed and lost two artillery pieces. By August 10, he sets sail for Le Cap and later is deported to France to be guillotined in 1793.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1792. The 28-year-old Jacobin commissioner Léger Félicité Sonthonax reaches Saint Domingue with 6,000 soldiers, bearing instructions to reimpose government order. At first, he favors the mulattoes, making no concessions to either rebel-

Valmy

On the night of August 10, 1792, in Paris, the French Revolution took a more violent turn. Backers of a radical new municipal administration known as the Commune stormed the Tuileries Palace, seizing the king and queen. In a special session of the National Assembly—attended by only a third of its deputies, mostly Jacobins—the monarchy was suspended. In a purge of opponents, the Commune also sent gangs into the prisons to “try” and butcher 1,400 prisoners. Other cities were urged to do the same.

Alarmed by these developments, the 150,000 Prussians, Austrians, Hessians, and French émigrés massed off northeastern France under Karl Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick, were ordered two days later to intervene. They pushed easily across the border, French resistance being weakened by repeated Revolutionary upheavals. The road between Longwy and Montmédy was severed on August 15, 1792, and the garrison at Fontoy was overrun four days later by 22,000 Austrians. After a three-day shelling, Longwy also surrendered on August 23. Some 60,000 Prussians then descended upon Verdun six days later, where the defenders agreed to capitulate by September 2. The road into Paris now lay open. The Revolution seemed doomed.

Desperate to halt this advance, the Jacobin Assembly removed the noble-born Rochambeau and Lafayette from command because of their suspect loyalties. Instead, Lt. Gen. Charles François Dumouriez was hastened from Valenciennes to the hamlet of Valmy near Châlons-sur-Marne with 28,000 troops. Digging in atop a nearby plateau, he urged Gen. François Christophe Kellermann to join him with 19,000 more from Metz. These reinforcements crossed the Aube River on September 19, reaching Dumouriez just in time.

The next dawn, Brunswick's vanguard of 35,000 Prussians groped through the fog, encountering a determined foe. A daylong artillery exchange failed to break the French ranks, enflamed by Revolutionary ardor. Although only 184 attackers and 300 defenders were slain by this “cannonade of Valmy,” the invaders thereupon retired, fearful of other approaching armies. The Revolution was saved. This seemingly inconsequential clash allowed the First French Republic to emerge and flourish, consequently it is today regarded as one of the Sir Edward Shepherd Creasy's *Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World* (1851).

lious slaves nor disgruntled whites (whom he suspects of being royalists). Despite his partiality, the slave rebellion nonetheless persists in the north.

The 37-year-old commissioner Donatien Marie-Joseph de Vimeur, Vicomte de Rochambeau (son of the Count of Rochambeau; see “June 20, 1780” entry in “American Revolutionary War”) encounters even sterner opposition at Martinique, being initially refused permission to disembark with his men. Instead, the island authorities write directly to the powerless king to reassert their loyalty to the Crown, while arresting proponents of change, thereby causing a flight of refugees from Martinique’s principal city of Saint Pierre to the safety of Dominica.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1792. Inspired by news of the Revolutionary victory at Valmy, the National Assembly in Paris abolishes the monarchy and proclaims the First French Republic.

DECEMBER 1, 1792. A naval expedition led by the 30-gun flagship *Félicité* of 37-year-old lieutenant Jean-Baptiste Raymond, Baron Lacrosse, appears off Martinique with explicit orders from the Convention in Paris to impose Republican rule upon the French Antilles. However, the monarchists on Martinique and Guadeloupe prove openly defiant, even declaring war against the new government. Lacrosse is therefore obliged to retire to Saint Lucia and begin issuing a stream of proclamations to the general populace, extolling the benefits of liberty.

JANUARY 5, 1793. Now promoted to captain, Lacrosse lands at Pointe-à-Pitre on Guadeloupe to receive the temporary title of governor from this island’s Republican faction, mostly comprised of free mulattoes. Four days later, the Colonial Assembly on Martinique—uneasy at its isolation—also votes to recognize the Republic, so that the monarchist governor general de Béhague and his adherents must seek sanctuary with the Spaniards on the island of Trinidad.

JANUARY 9, 1793. *Platons.* Irish-born Republican colonel Olivier Harty of the 88th Berwick Regiment from Bar-sur-Aube marches out of Les Cayes (Haiti) with nearly 2,000 troops—including 200 armed blacks under the ex-slave Jean Kina—to exterminate Armand and Martial’s rebel encampment at Platons. The latter resist desperately but are powerless to prevent four columns from closing in upon their hideout three days later. Some 3,000 black insurgents disperse higher into the mountains around Macaya, while a few hundred noncombatants—women, children, the aged, and infirm—are left

behind to be brutally massacred by the French on January 13.

JANUARY 21, 1793. Revolutionary France’s execution of Louis XVI and declaration of war against England, as well as against Spain on March 7, add confusing new undercurrents to the Haitian insurrection.

LATE JANUARY 1793. Independent maroons of Baboruco rise up in revolt, descending upon the area of Fond Parisien, while Jean Pineau leads another insurrection in the Crochus region, just outside the Cul de Sac Plain. Both uprisings are secretly incited by Hyacinthe.

FEBRUARY 3, 1793. Commissioner Rochambeau is greeted euphorically at the city of Fort Royal (Martinique), which is renamed Républiqueville in honor of the occasion, while its main defenses of Fort Louis and Fort Bourbon are changed into Fort-de-la-République and Fort-de-la-Convention, respectively. The city and its district will become generally known as Fort-de-la-République. Despite such submissiveness or the fact that Rochambeau installs his headquarters there, the city is nonetheless punished for its former monarchist sentiments by the designation of its rival Saint Pierre as the only port on the island authorized to receive merchant traffic.

APRIL 4, 1793. *Dispute for Port-au-Prince.* With Saint Domingue’s trade at a standstill because of France’s declaration of war and other radical measures, a new white leader—Auguste, formerly the Marquis de Borel—has been able to forge an alliance with rural black rebels to expel the mulatto garrison from its capital. The Jacobin commissioners Sontho-nax and Étienne Polverel respond by dispatching a half-dozen warships from Le Cap to bolster the desultory siege maintained by its 2,000 expelled mulatto troops.

The squadron anchors on April 4, yet is unable to intimidate its 3,000 mostly black defenders. The warships therefore bear down upon the defenses at dawn of April 12, unleashing a seven-hour bombardment that kills 33 people (including a dozen women and children). Fearful of the outcome, the city’s merchant guild bribes Borel to depart for Jamaica, allowing the besiegers to enter the next evening and the commissioners to disembark triumphantly by the morning of April 14.

Port-au-Prince is then purged of its most intractable white elements, almost 1,000 individuals being detained or deported over the next few weeks, while many others simply flee. Mulattoes are rewarded with municipal and military appointments, and the city regiment is reconstituted as of April 19 into a 2,000-man *légion de l'égalité* or “equality legion” under Col. Alexandre Montbrun, named the *Légion de l'Ouest* or “Legion of the West.” Yet blacks will continue to be excluded from advancement, their alienation contributing to Republican setbacks elsewhere on the island.

MAY 30, 1793. In the Spanish capital of Santo Domingo, Gov. Joaquín García Moreno officially promulgates Madrid’s declaration of war against Republican France and authorizes hostile operations against northern Saint Domingue.

SUMMER 1793. A joint army of rebellious blacks under generals Petecou and Biassou, plus Spanish militiamen out of Santo Domingo, invade northern Saint Domingue.

JUNE 20, 1793. *Le Cap Revolt.* Political prisoners held aboard ships off Le Cap (modern Cap Haïtien) rise against the Republican commissioners, being joined by almost 2,000 sailors. Together they make an armed disembarkation, capture the main arsenal, and compel Sonthonax and Polverel to flee the next day for the protection of Bréda Plantation outside the city. Behind them, fierce fighting rages through the streets, as prisons are flung open and thousands of slaves become embroiled in the carnage.

Desperate to regain control, Sonthonax and Polverel promise freedom and full French citizenship to any slaves willing to fight for the Republican government. A 3,000-man contingent under the maroon leader Louis Pierrot, part of the Hispano-black invasion force encamped in the hills beyond Le Cap, responds to this call, and on June 22—after pledging allegiance to France—Pierrot fights his way into the burning city. The commissioners themselves return by June 27, only to find many blacks skeptical of their offer. Consequently, while some abandon their Spanish allies, major leaders such as Biassou refuse to be swayed to the French because black noncombatants will remain as slaves.

AUGUST 1793. The Hispano-black forces reach Le Cap.

AUGUST 29, 1793. In a final desperate bid to reestablish Republican control, Sonthonax proclaims the total abolition of slavery throughout northern Saint Domingue, without approval from the Convention in Paris. Although this tactic wins him some additional black support—slaves forming so-called Legions of Equality—it also alienates many whites and mulattoes when announced in the west on September 21.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1793. *British Intervention.* Commo. John Ford quits Port Royal (Jamaica) with the 64-gun HMS *Europa* (flag) of Capt. George Gregory, the 14-gun French prize sloop *Goéland* under Cmdr. Thomas Wolley, and the schooner *Flying Fish* to conduct 36-year-old lieutenant colonel John Whitelocke’s 13th Foot Regiment across to Jérémie in support of its white French monarchists. This English force arrives 10 days later to a peaceful reception, Whitelocke going ashore with his 700 men to take possession of the port in the name of the French Crown.

On September 21, he and Ford continue north toward Cap du Môle, which is gripped with fear about a possible attack by black rebels. The English therefore induce its garrison—largely comprised of the 87th Dillon (Irish) Regiment—to switch sides and admit them by September 22.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1793. In a gesture of Revolutionary solidarity, Port-au-Prince is renamed Port-Républicain.

OCTOBER 4, 1793. Whitelocke and Ford attempt to seize Cape Tiburon, but the promised cooperation by white French landowners fails to appear, so the English are repulsed.

DECEMBER 1793. Black troops overrun the French outpost at Gonaïves, while shortly thereafter Spanish forces also seize Le Limbé and Port à Margot.

JANUARY 2, 1794. Ford detaches the 32-gun frigate *Penelope* of Capt. Bartholomew Samuel Rowley to offer terms of capitulation to Port-au-Prince, which are refused. Rowley therefore blockades its harbor.

JANUARY 28, 1794. A small Spanish squadron under Commo. Gabriel de Aristizábal stands into the port of Bayahá, compelling its French garrison to surrender without a struggle; booty includes

1,031 prisoners, 40 artillery pieces, and its arsenal. Santo Domingo's governor García Moreno subsequently arrives overland on February 3 with a column of troops to convert this port into his advance headquarters for a drive against Le Cap and Port-au-Prince.

FEBRUARY 2, 1794. Having been reinforced with 800 men from Jamaica, Whitelocke and Ford again make an attempt against Cape Tiburon, this time being successful and installing a small garrison the next day under Lt. George Bradford of the 23rd (Royal Welsh) Fusiliers.

FEBRUARY 4, 1794. In Paris, the Convention officially abolishes slavery throughout France's overseas colonies.

FEBRUARY 11, 1794. Whitelocke and Ford advance against Fort Acul at Léogâne, carrying it by storm on February 19.

MARCH 16–17, 1794. Upon learning of the Convention's abolition of slavery, Colonel Montbrun and his mulatto legion garrisoning Port-au-Prince—feeling that their hard-won status is being capriciously sacrificed to assuage black sentiment—kill or capture the depleted remnants of the 48th d'Artois Regiment overnight, as well as temporarily detaining Sonthonax. Numerous white noncombatants are also slaughtered.

LATE MARCH 1794. The African-born Alaou joins Sonthonax's Republican cause, but he is assassinated shortly thereafter along with 200 of his followers by the rival mulatto chieftain Bauvais. The black leader Hyacinthe is also murdered by mulattoes around this same time.

MAY 6, 1794. The 50-year-old black brigadier general Toussaint Louverture withdraws his 4,000 soldiers from the combined Hispano-rebel army in the north, preferring to join the French Republican cause—which at least promises freedom for his people, a policy that in all likelihood will be nullified by an English, Spanish, white, or mulatto victory. Toussaint's army gains control over the Artibonite region within the next two weeks, and he withdraws briefly into Mirebalais.

MAY 8, 1794. García Moreno leads his Spanish troops out of Bayahá to march upon Le Cap.

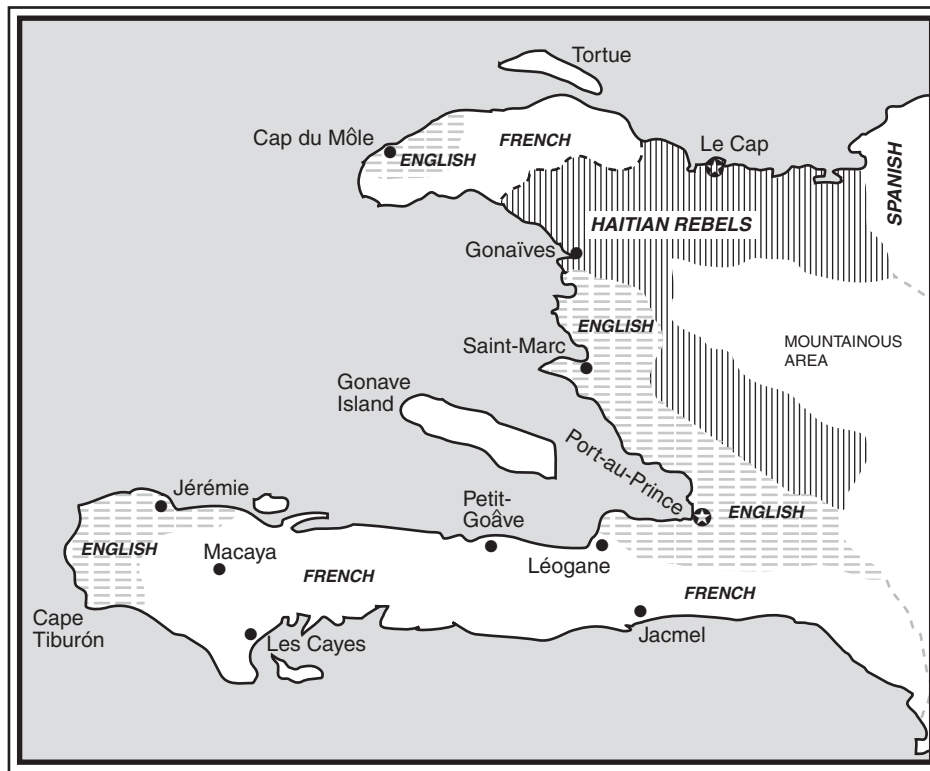
Checked by a French concentration at Yaguessi, though, he must retreat back into Bayahá four days later.

MAY 19, 1794. Brig. Gen. John Whyte arrives off Saint Domingue with three regiments aboard a dozen transports, superseding Whitelocke as British commander in chief for this theater. Together with French royalist forces ashore, they plan on overrunning the island capital.

MAY 30, 1794. *Port-au-Prince Assault.* Commodore Ford appears outside the capital's harbor with his 64-gun flagship *Europa*, the 74-gun *Irresistible* of Capt. John Henry, the 64-gun *Belliqueux* of James Brine and *Sceptre* of James Richard Dacres, 3 frigates, plus 3 sloops, escorting the 12 transports bearing 1,465 redcoats under Brigadier General Whyte. They are to assault Port-au-Prince in concert with two approaching land columns raised by exiled French monarchists: 1,000 troops being on the march from Léogâne under Col. Jean-Charles, Baron de Montalembert, plus another 1,200 from l'Arcahaie under the former planter de Jumécourt and his black adjutant Jean-Baptiste Lapointe.

The garrison has only 1,200 mulatto defenders, 400 of whom are detached the next day by Montbrun to prevent an immediate British disembarkation north of the city—two frigates and some transports having anchored menacingly at Fossé Cove. Montbrun personally reinforces Fort Bizoton on the capital's southern perimeter and assigns 24-year-old Alexandre Sabès Pétion to hold Fort l'Islet within the bay. Sonthonax meanwhile clandestinely summons Montbrun's bitter rival Martial Besse from Jacmel to assume the position of second-in-command, which will complicate matters.

On June 1, 1794, HMSS *Belliqueux* and *Sceptre*, plus the frigate *Penelope*, forge into Port Sallé Bay and pound Fort Bizoton for four hours, while 300 redcoats disembark and link up with 500 monarchist militiamen under Montalembert. A heavy downpour apparently ends fighting at 6:00 p.m., but the British clamber through a breach and carry Fort Bizoton at bayonet point. Thrice wounded, Montbrun retreats into Port-au-Prince with a few survivors, being succeeded the next day by Besse. His Légion de l'Ouest refuses to obey Besse's orders, though, and with the English and monarchists massing to press home their attack, it is decided to abandon the capital. Refugees stream out of the landward gates by noon, mostly 2,000



Maximum extent of the British occupation in Haiti.

mulatto noncombatants fleeing toward Nérètte and Jacmel.

On June 3, 1794, the 32-gun frigates *Hermione* of Capt. John Hills and *Iphigenia* of Patrick Sinclair bear down upon Pointe-à-Fortin (modern Pointe-de-la-Saline) to create a diversion for Whyte's overland thrust by bombarding Fort Touron. Its garrison scarcely resists, though, as Port-au-Prince's defenders are now openly on the verge of flight, while scared white residents congregate inside Fort Saint-Joseph on its northern fringe or board some of the 22 merchantmen anchored in the harbor to avoid the anticipated orgy of house-to-house fighting and looting. Entreaties are sent out to the besiegers, while outlying fortifications begin surrendering by nightfall. The next morning, the British disembark along the city waterfront, while monarchist columns press through the Léogâne and Saint-Joseph Gates—exacting vengeance until the English intervene and reimpose order.

Whitelocke is honored by being sent to London with dispatches announcing this victory, while Commissioner Sonthonax retreats into Jacmel. Within a month, he, too, will be driven into British hands and repatriated to France. Yet despite this capture and many conciliatory gestures, the British oc-

cupation will be doomed to failure because poor whites, mulattoes, and blacks cannot abide any return to pre-Revolutionary practices in which they enjoyed no role beyond servitude. The redcoats are also too few in number to subdue the hostile hinterland, especially after being reduced by tropical diseases. Within two months, 40 officers and almost 600 troops perish, and of the 828 soldiers still alive by the end of this year, most lie in the hospital.

JUNE 25, 1794. Louverture officially allies his army with the embattled French general Étienne Maynard Laveaux, who is fighting against English and Spanish invasions, plus monarchist and mulatto resistance. Yet only a few guerrilla skirmishes will ensue, little active campaigning being conducted, as both the British and Spanish forces are being decimated by disease, while the diverse island factions are concentrating on holding onto their individual territories.

DECEMBER 25, 1794. At dawn, a French force from Les Cayes attacks the small English garrison at Cape Tiburon, sinking the armed transport *King George* and obliging the invaders to retire to Cape Doña María.



Toussaint Louverture. (Library of Congress)

MARCH 1795. Léogâne having been reclaimed by Rigaud, he allies himself with Bauvais to besiege the English defenders holding Fort Bizoton outside Port-au-Prince. Two months' investiture will fail to dislodge its garrison.

However, the black guerrillas who dominate Cul de Sac Plain and the heights east of the capital subsequently press in as close as La Charbonnière and l'Hôpital, interrupting the city's vital water supply. The British are eventually reinforced and sally from Port-au-Prince to chase them away.

JULY 22, 1795. In Europe, Spain withdraws from the coalition against France, signing the Treaty of Basle, which—among other things—cedes all of Santo Domingo to the French in exchange for the return of other conquered territories. Paris, however, insists that the Spanish half of Santo Domingo must be surrendered to a French army rather than to black militia forces, so the actual transaction is to be deferred for a few years.

OCTOBER 17, 1795. News of Santo Domingo's transfer to French rule reaches the island, provoking massive Spanish emigration.

MARCH 20, 1796. In Le Cap, a mulatto faction arrests French general Laveaux, feeling that he is too closely aligned with the interests of black ex-slaves. Laveaux is rescued by Louverture, who marches from Gonaïves at the head of his 10,000-man army. Louverture is rewarded by being appointed deputy governor.

MARCH 21, 1796. Some 2,000 redcoats and 1,200 monarchists under Maj. Gen. Gordon Forbes have emerged the previous day from occupied Port-au-Prince aboard transports to attempt to recapture nearby Léogâne. Their flotilla is escorted by the 74-gun *Leviathan* of John Thomas Duckworth and *Swiftsure* of Robert Parker; the 64-gun *Africa* of Roddam Home; the 32-gun frigate *Ceres* of James Newman and *Iphigenia* of Francis Farrington Gardner; the 18-gun sloop *Cormorant* of Cmdr. Francis Collingwood; plus the 16-gun sloops *Lark* of Cmdr. William Ogilby and *Sirène* (French prize) of Cmdr. Daniel Guerin.

Léogâne proves to be much more strongly defended than anticipated by its mulatto garrison under Pétion, however, and the British assault is repelled on the morning of March 21 and forced to retire, with the *Leviathan* and the *Africa* considerably damaged. Nevertheless, Port-au-Prince's plight is alleviated by Forbes's thrust, so that some monarchist planters even begin reclaiming estates on Cul de Sac Plain. Re-sumed cultivation will in turn attract merchantmen into port, creating a temporary boom.

MAY 1796. Sonthonax and other commissioners return to Saint Domingue from France, now openly backing its black factions. When the mulatto general Rigaud is unwillingly compelled to attack the English at Cape Tiburon later this summer with his "Legion of Equality"—four columns of 1,200 troops apiece—they are defeated, and the French blame his leadership.

Some of his lieutenants are subsequently arrested at Les Cayes, provoking widespread rioting, with blacks and mulattoes fighting each other and its few remaining whites being massacred. Rigaud returns from his base camp near Cape Tiburon to put down this fighting with 3,000–4,000 mulatto followers, then deposes the commissioners in his district. Shortly thereafter, Toussaint Louverture does the same to

Toussaint Louverture

François Dominique Toussaint is believed to have been born on May 20, 1743, one of eight children. His father, Gaou Guinou, was a captive Dahomey commander from Benin in West Africa, sold into bondage as “Hyppolite.” Toussaint was raised on Breda Plantation near Haut du Cap, one of several properties owned by Louis Pantaléon, Comte de Noé. Although this nobleman was often absent, the small Toussaint apparently enjoyed a humane childhood. He received a rudimentary education from the free black priest, Pierre Baptiste, as well as extensive knowledge of medicinal plants and herbs from his father. Toussaint therefore became a trusted retainer to the estate manager, Bâillon de Libertat, serving as healer, coachman, and steward.

When the count married in February 1776, he freed his household servant, who took the name of Toussaint Breda. Over the next three years, he saved enough money to lease a small coffee farm with 13 slaves. Toussaint was a fervent Catholic who lived simply, was abstinent, and was a vegetarian. Around 1786, he married a woman named Suzan Simon Baptiste, who already had a five-year-old son. Together, they had a second son.

When the slave insurrection exploded in August 1791, Toussaint played no part. Instead, he helped his former master’s family escape, sent his own loved ones to safety, and prevented the burning of plantations. The first mention of his name as a rebel is not found until the next January, as the last signatory on a petition sent to Paris by the leaders Jean-François and Biassou. During these troubled times, Toussaint patiently built up an armed following. When the Spanish governor of Santo Domingo pushed across the border in early summer 1793, Toussaint was commissioned on July 9 as “colonel” of a force around La Marmelade. He also issued a recruitment call to blacks on August 29, signed “Toussaint Louverture, General of the armies of the King.” His choice of surname was never fully explained. Seeing his Spanish service as a betrayal, Jean-François and Biassou attempted to assassinate Louverture early the next year. But only his younger brother Jean-Pierre was killed.

Louverture therefore arranged for his family to depart Santo Domingo, then changed his allegiance on May 6, 1794. It is assumed that the French Assembly’s abolition of slavery on February 4 was his prime motive. British forces in the south of the island had already begun restoring former Crown policies, including slavery, while Spain’s forces in the north did not honor their promise of emancipation. Madrid’s surrender to Revolutionary France by signing a treaty on July 22, 1795, drained many more blacks into Louverture’s ranks.

By the time he moved with 10,000 men in March 1796 to rescue the French general Étienne Maynard Laveaux, seized by mulatto dissidents at Le Cap, Louverture had become the most powerful commander on the island. The grateful general appointed him lieutenant governor. Yet Louverture resisted radical measures. When the extremist commissioner Sonthonax returned from France two months later, the black warlord reacted with disgust to his proposal of massacring whites as suspect monarchists. A mature man and devout Catholic, Louverture was offended by the Jacobin’s atheism, immorality, and coarseness. Sonthonax was deported by August 1797.

The next year, the British occupiers withdrew, another commissioner was expelled, and Louverture prepared for a show-down against his southern mulatto rivals. He signed an arms and trade deal with the American administration on May 22, 1799, which was embroiled in its own quasi-war against France. After ruthlessly crushing the mulattos, Louverture, at the peak of his powers, started to resurrect colonial Saint Domingue. White émigrés were invited to return, plantations were reactivated, paid laborers were conscripted, and the Catholic faith and French customs were revived. Only slavery disappeared. Yet there was no going back. Two years later, a huge French expedition appeared, seized Louverture by treachery, and sent him to die in a lonely Alpine fort.

Sonthonax in his northern region, deporting him to France on August 22, 1797.

MID-FEBRUARY 1798. Determined to expel all foreigners from the south, Louverture helps a 2,000-man mulatto army under Pétion eradicate the 300 isolated black monarchist militiamen holding Fort de La Coupe. All British outposts are consequently withdrawn inside Port-au-Prince.

MARCH 1798. After losing 25,000 British troops in five years—mostly due to disease—Brig. Gen.

Thomas Maitland reaches Port-au-Prince and on April 23 enters into negotiations with Toussaint Louverture for the evacuation of all remaining forces from Saint Domingue.

MARCH 29, 1798. A new commissioner, Gen. Thomas Hédouville, reaches Le Cap from France. Whereas previous commissioners have favored blacks over mulattoes, Hédouville reverses this policy because of the growing power of Louverture’s black army. Louverture resists by forming a united front with the mulatto leader Rigaud in the south.

MAY 8, 1798. *British Withdrawal.* At Port-au-Prince, Maitland's last redcoats and monarchist allies row out to a waiting convoy, setting sail the next day as the 1st and 8th Demi-Brigades march in under Col. Christophe Morney to reclaim the capital under its old Revolutionary name of "Port-Républicain."

Saint Marc and Les Cayes are also evacuated, along with whatever French or mulatto inhabitants wish to accompany the departing British, in a bargain struck with Louverture. All evacuees are temporarily conveyed to Cape Saint Nicholas Môle by Royal Navy warships for eventual emigration elsewhere. On August 31, the British general will also cede Cape Saint Nicholas Môle to Haitian control, completing the British withdrawal.

However, southern mulattoes have meanwhile resented the intervention of northern black forces, especially as Morney orders Pétion to withdraw his Légion de l'Ouest from the recaptured capital Léogâne so that Louverture might make a triumphal entry on May 14 and install his own garrison.

SUMMER 1798. Hédouville presses his anti-Louverture machinations by ordering the arrest of the black leader's adopted nephew Moïse, who resists and is shot at while escaping. Furious, Louverture orders his brutal 40-year-old general, Jean-Jacques Dessalines—originally a slave born as Jean-Jacques Duclos, now nicknamed the "Tiger"—to march upon Le Cap and crush all military support for the French commissioner, who flees the island by October 22. In a parting gesture, Hédouville spitefully appoints Rigaud as "General-in-Chief of the South," thereby making this mulatto leader nominally independent from Louverture, a move sure to foment future trouble. Louverture names Roume to succeed in office as commissioner.

JANUARY 1799. At a meeting between Roume, Louverture, and Rigaud, the latter's claim to control Petit Goâve and Grand Goâve is rejected, prompting him to walk out.

MID-FEBRUARY 1799. *War of the Knives.* Rigaud announces that he wishes to reassume command over Léogâne and Jacmel from Louverture appointees, prompting the black warlord to deliver a menacing speech to a mulatto assembly in Port-Républicain's cathedral on February 21 and then to travel northward to prepare for war.

Rigaud's rebellion actually erupts on June 15–16, when two of his subordinates attack Petit Goâve,

putting many of its black defenders and residents to death. A general uprising ensues in the south against northern black rule, Rigaud's mulatto army doing quite well at first, capturing Grand Goâve and Jacmel. However, the capital Port-Républicain remains firmly under the control of Louverture's garrison, and the rebels will soon be beset by other powerful armies invading out of the north, tacitly backed by American support and local black sentiment. They will suffer so cruelly from wholesale massacres that this conflict becomes known as the "War of the Knives."

By October 1799, northern general Henry Christophe (originally born a slave on Grenada) arrives to besiege Rigaud's forces within Jacmel, while Louverture himself campaigns throughout southern territory, along with Dessalines. Jacmel resists under its garrison commander Pétion, until starvation obliges them to evacuate across enemy lines on March 11, 1800, effectively ending organized resistance. Rigaud's mulatto army virtually disintegrates while vainly awaiting a relief force, which never arrives from France.

After being pressed back upon Les Cayes in July 1800 by Dessalines's triumphal advance, Rigaud flees the next month into exile in France, leaving Louverture to appoint Dessalines as governor for the occupied south. Louverture butchers hundreds of mulattoes on suspicion of having supported the rebellion and even suppresses local black laborers.

JANUARY 25, 1801. *Santo Domingo Coup.* Learning that First Director Napoleon Bonaparte is contemplating the dispatch of an army from France to occupy the island's Spanish half (see "July 22, 1795" entry), Toussaint Louverture moves preemptively by sending an army across the border from Le Cap under Moïse, then joining it and appearing himself near the half-deserted Spanish capital by January 25 with 10,000 troops—much to the consternation of its remaining inhabitants and French refugees. Governor García Moreno, with only 650 Spanish soldiers still left under his command, evacuates Jaina and requests terms.

The next day, Fort San Gerónimo and the city of Santo Domingo are surrendered without bloodshed, a small garrison being installed. The Spanish governor will sail away with his soldiery by February 22. Having thus assumed overlordship of this territory, abolished slavery, and appointed his brother Paul as governor, the "black Spartacus" returns to the western half of Saint Domingue to continue his

reconstruction work. But, in fact, this invasion and Louverture's growing independence will goad Bonaparte into preparing a full-bore expedition to fully reestablish French control over the entire island.

LATE OCTOBER 1801. Louverture, Dessalines, and Christophe suppress a rebellion by black laborers in the Le Cap district, which has been backed by General Moïse. He is therefore executed in mid-November, along with scores of other ringleaders.

JANUARY 29, 1802. *Leclerc's Campaign.* The 29-year-old general Charles Victor Emmanuel Leclerc arrives at Samaná Bay accompanied by his wife—Bonaparte's youngest sister, Pauline—and a 20,000-man military expedition to reassert France's grip over Saint Domingue. Leclerc appears before Le Cap (modern Cap-Haïtien) with part of this force four days later and threatens to come ashore on February 3 with his 5,000 soldiers. Christophe, in command of its garrison, requests 24 hours to consult with Toussaint Louverture, but the French gen-

eral refuses. Christophe therefore evacuates Le Cap, putting it to the torch—starting with his own home—before retiring into the interior.

Meanwhile, other French contingents are disembarked at different points around the island to begin its reconquest. One column marches directly upon the Spanish city of Santo Domingo, capturing it with little difficulty (its inhabitants regarding the French as liberators). Another 3,000-man division under Gen. Jean Boudet anchors off Port-au-Prince on the afternoon of February 3 aboard six ships and two frigates under 56-year-old rear admiral Louis René Levassor, Comte de Latouche-Tréville. The surprised garrison commander, Gen. Pierre Agé, is willing to capitulate the next day, but not his subordinate, Brig. Gen. Louis Daure Lamartinière. Boudet consequently disembarks at Lamention with 3,500 men on the morning of February 5 and advances rapidly upon the capital. Lamartinière can only muster scant resistance with his 2,400 troops, not all of whom are loyal, and receives no support among the city's roughly 20,000 inhabitants. The French enter



Clash between Rochambeau's French troops and Louverture's Haitian guerrillas in Ravine à Couleuvre, a mile outside Gonaïves. (Author's Collection)

by that same evening to find that the black northern soldiers have butchered white and mulatto residents alike and set numerous fires before retreating.

The black general Dommage prepares to resist at Jérémie but is betrayed and his stronghold overrun. On February 11, Boudet sends 2,000 men to re-occupy Croix des Bouquets without resistance. Two days afterward, he disembarks at Saint Marc with 2,400 men from three ships and a frigate, the *Aigle*, the latter damaged by counterfire. With the 56 French and 13 colonial Demi-Brigades in the van under 32-year-old colonel François Nivard Charles Joseph, Vicomte d'Hénin, he seizes Mirebalais and Trianon two weeks later. This effectively ends resistance in the south, but Louverture and Christophe continue to hold out with some 10,000 black troops dispersed throughout the north, while in the west, 1,500 black guerrillas under Dessalines occupy Crête à Pierrot. Leclerc sends Boudet to besiege the latter. The French are bloodily repulsed twice before Dessalines cuts his way out and vanishes into the hills.

Resistance quickly erodes. Christophe gives himself up to the French with his 1,200 men and artillery train by April 26, followed by Louverture on May 6, and Dessalines shortly thereafter. Saint Domingue's revolutionary fortunes appear to be waning as Leclerc—his own forces now reduced by more than a third because of disease—treacherously has Louverture seized on June 7 by General Brunet (despite promises of clemency) and begins the process of disarming the black populace. Louverture is deported four days afterward to Brest aboard the ship *Héros* to die in exile.

LATE JULY 1802. Reports reach Saint Domingue that the French government has officially restored slavery on Guadeloupe, as well as reopened the transatlantic slave trade, while denying persons of color the title of “citizen.”

AUGUST 1802. Black resistance on Saint Domingue flares anew despite Leclerc's attempts to crush it through fearsome massacres and gruesome executions, such as crucifixions and being torn apart by dogs. The captive Louverture arrives in France on August 17 to die of pneumonia in the Alpine fortress of Joux, while Christophe—after serving briefly with the French—rejoins the insurrection in October, along with Dessalines and the mulatto exile Pétion. Yellow fever rages through the French ranks, killing Leclerc himself on Tortuga Island near Le

Cap by the night of November 2. General Vicomte de Rochambeau succeeds him as governor and commander in chief.

JANUARY 16, 1803. After pressing French troops back inside their garrisons, Dessalines's subordinate Nicolas Geffard briefly occupies the southern port of Anse à Veau. This victory is followed shortly thereafter by a successful assault on Cape Tiburon by 2,000 guerrillas out of its hills under the combined leadership of Gilles Bénéch, Nicolas Régnier, and Goman. When Col. Louis Marie Berger subsequently assembles the Port Salut mulatto militia to march to Tiburon's relief early in February, they also rise up in rebellion against French command.

MARCH 5, 1803. Geffard's northern army joins forces with Férou's guerrillas at Plaine des Cayes, besieging Berger's French forces within Les Cayes. A relief convoy of 1,200 freshly arrived troops from France, including the 3rd Polish Demi-Brigade under Gen. Jean Sarrazin, pauses at Cape Tiburon during its passage to attempt to secure this peninsula. Instead, they suffer 300 killed before staggering into Les Cayes, where many of them become infected with yellow fever.

MAY 1803. England renews its war against France and blockades French ports on Saint Domingue as early as June.

AUGUST 1803. Surrounded by insurrection on all sides, cut off at sea, and ravaged by disease, the French forces abandon Jérémie.

SEPTEMBER 1803. Dessalines, emerging as victor in the struggle against the French, has himself proclaimed governor general of the island for life.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1803. Facing massacre at the hands of Dessalines, the French brigadier general d'Hénin's 850-man Saint Marc garrison surrenders to Capt. James Walker of HMS *Vanguard*, being evacuated aboard three prizes for Cape Saint Nicholas Môle.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1803. Capt. John Bligh bombards the French fort guarding the entrance into Port Dauphine with his 74-gun HMS *Theseus*, then sends boats into its harbor to seize the 28-gun *Sargasse* and five other lesser prizes. Shorn of their defenses, the French garrison of General Dumont subsequently agrees to be evacuated to Cap François.

Fort La Ferrière

Traumatized by France's brief reconquest of Haiti, in 1804 the black emperor Jacques Dessalines ordered that each department erect a stronghold to resist any future invasion. Clearances began for Fort des Trois Pavillons at Port-de-Paix, Fort Campan at Léogâne, Fort Cap-Rouge at Jacmel, and so on. However, none matched the size and impregnability of the citadel envisioned by General Christophe.

A lookout point high up in the jungle was chosen, on the grounds of La Ferrière or "The Smithy" property, 17 miles south of Cap Haïtien. To reach its summit, a 5-mile uphill trek was required from the town of Milot. Christophe planned a formidable stone fortress atop this 2,600-foot limestone ridge, which was known as Mount Bonnet-à-l'Évêque or the "Bishop's Miter." By early 1805, he already had thousands of laborers stockpiling bricks and materials nearby to commence its foundations. Skilled specialists were gathered to supervise the efforts of hundreds of masons and carpenters. All work was directed by the general's chief military engineer, Henri Barré.

Despite a promising start, labor was interrupted by the emperor's assassination on October 17, 1806. The young nation was plunged back into civil war. Christophe invaded the south with 10,000 men, seeking to wrest full control of the government. After being repelled at the capital's gates by the mulatto leader Pétion, he returned to Cap Haïtien in January 1807 to assume power as president of only the "Republic of the North."

Still, he hoped that by transforming his territory into a showpiece, he would win over reluctant southerners. Economic development was therefore stressed, and work was made compulsory. Foreign experts were hired to help revive agriculture, establish schools and hospitals, and complete the extremely difficult La Ferrière project. The fort's design became grandiose: four great towers protected by eight batteries, in tiered casements of 20 guns apiece. Only its west front had no artillery because of its sheer 200-foot precipice. Some walls measured 10 feet thick. Inside were quarters for 1,500 troops, a chapel, magazines, wells, a huge cistern, and a sewage system. Christophe also commenced work in 1810 on the ornate Sans Souci Palace at nearby Milot.

When Pétion was reelected as president of the South the next March, Christophe created a monarchy in the North and declared himself "King Henry I." Cap Haïtien was renamed Cap Henry, the strict Code Henry was promulgated in February 1812, and when the fort was sufficiently complete to be garrisoned the next year, it was called La Citadelle Henry. All work was finished four years later. Its distinctive prow was christened the "Coidavid Tower" in honor of Henry's queen consort, Marie-Louise Coidavid. She was once the innkeeper's daughter at the Auberge de la Couronne, where the king waited tables as a slave in his youth.

It was said that Christophe spent many hours on the citadel battlements, gazing across the North Plain through a brass telescope. The view extended for at least 30 miles on a clear day, as far as Monte Christi. When the fortress was struck by lightning at 6:00 p.m. on August 25, 1818, starting a dangerous fire, he and his staff galloped through the rain from Sans Souci to battle the blaze, which was eventually put out. Damages were repaired by early October.

Ironically, though, this remarkable structure never saw action. Instead, it was pillaged and abandoned after Henry's suicide two years later, then was heavily damaged by the earthquake of May 7, 1842. Its roofs finally collapsed from neglect. Still, 163 guns and more than 30,000 cannonballs were found intact when the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared it a World Heritage Site and restoration work commenced in 1980.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1803. French general Brunette requests that the Royal Navy evacuate his surviving troops from Les Cayes.

OCTOBER 17, 1803. The mulatto general Geffard takes possession of Les Cayes.

LATE NOVEMBER 1803. *French Evacuation.* Given that more than 50,000 of the 58,000 French troops transferred to Saint Domingue within the past two years have died—mostly due to disease—

France's cause is lost. A massive flight of white residents occurs from Le Cap (modern Cap Haïtien), effectively ending French rule. Governor Rochambeau's ship is intercepted while leaving by the Royal Navy, resulting in his imprisonment for eight years.

On January 1, 1804, Dessalines proclaims the new Republic of Haiti (its ancient Arawak name) and orders a convention celebrated at Gonaïves to draft a new constitution. The island's population has been reduced to about half of its 1790 total by more than a dozen years of genocidal warfare.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WARS (1793–1802)

In Europe, the opening round of hostilities between Revolutionary France and an Austro-Prussian coalition in 1792 soon begins to spread when the radical new French rulers execute Louis XVI on January 21, 1793, then also declare war against Great Britain, Spain, and the Netherlands. Given Great Britain's maritime might, plus the purging of royalist elements from France's naval officer corps and its lack of any significant territorial holdings in the New World, most of the subsequent fighting is confined to European waters. Nevertheless, certain expeditions are dispatched into the Americas, especially to vie for control over the commercially rich sugar islands of the Caribbean.

FEBRUARY 1, 1793. Britain officially counters by declaring war against France.

MARCH 7, 1793. France declares war against Spain.

MARCH 18, 1793. Gen. Georges Henri Victor Collot arrives at Guadeloupe to officially assume office as its Republican governor.

APRIL 11, 1793. Nicolas Georges Jeannet-Oudin, nephew of the formidable head of Paris's "Committee for Public Safety," Georges-Jacques Danton, arrives at Cayenne from France as *Commissaire* to "republicanize" this colony. Nineteen months later, he will flee to North America after learning that his uncle has been guillotined and that slavery has been abolished by the Directorate.

When this measure is eventually promulgated in French Guiana three months later, it will cause an utter economic and social collapse as most planters flee into the city of Cayenne, while their slaves devastate the plantations and scatter into the jungle.

APRIL 12, 1793. At Bridgetown (Barbados), British troops of the 86th "Shropshire Volunteers" Regiment of Foot under Maj. Gen. Cornelius Cuyler go aboard the 50-gun HMS *Trusty* of Vice Adm. Sir John Laforey (and its flag captain John Drew), the 16-gun sloop *Nautilus* of Cmdr. Lord Henry Paulet, the armed schooner *Hind*, and the hired merchantman *Hero*, to attack French Tobago. Arriving off that coast two days later, they call upon its governor Laroque de Monteil to surrender, but he refuses. The troops are therefore disembarked in Great Courland Bay on the evening of April 14, and at 1:00 p.m. the next day, Fort Scarborough is carried by assault, the English suffering 3 killed and 25 wounded. The en-

tire island then capitulates, and William Myers is installed as military governor.

This seizure is followed by a British attempt against much larger Martinique, in conjunction with some French loyalists, which proves unsuccessful. Naval support consists of the recently arrived, 50-year-old rear admiral Alan Gardner's 98-gun HMS *Queen* (and its flag captain John Hutt); the 90-gun *Duke of Commo*. George Murray; the 74-gun *Hector* of George Montagu and *Monarch* of Sir James Wallace, bearing a large contingent of troops from Barbados under Major General Bruce. This attack miscarries, and many of the French monarchists are left to their fate.

MAY 7, 1793. A small British military force is embarked at Halifax (Canada) to proceed toward the nearby French islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, escorted by the 28-gun frigate *Alligator* of Capt. William Affleck and armed schooner *Diligente*. They capture the French outposts without resistance on May 14.

LATE JANUARY 1794. A large British expedition under 59-year-old vice admiral Sir John Jervis and 64-year-old lieutenant general Sir Charles (later 1st Earl) Grey reaches Barbados from England to spearhead a renewed offensive against French possessions in the West Indies.

FEBRUARY 5, 1794. *Jervis's Sweep.* Three days previously, Vice Admiral Jervis has set sail from Barbados with his 98-gun flagship *Boyne* under the flag captain George Grey; the 74-gun vice-flagship *Vengeance* of Commo. Charles Thompson under the flag captain Lord Henry Paulet and the 74-gun *Irresistible* of John Henry; the 64-gun *Asia* of John Brown and *Veteran* of Charles Edmund Nugent; the 40-gun

frigate *Beaulieu* of John Salisbury (later Edward Riou); the 36-gun frigate *Santa Margarita* of Eliab Harvey; the 32-gun frigates *Blonde* of John Markham, *Solebay* of William Hancock Kelly, *Quebec* of Josiah Rogers, *Ceres* of Richard Incleton, and *Winchelsea* of Viscount Garlies; the 28-gun frigate *Rose* of Edward Riou (later Matthew Henry Scott); the 16-gun sloops *Nautilus* of Cmdr. James Carpenter, *Rattlesnake* of Cmdr. Matthew Henry Scott, *Zebra* of Cmdr. Robert Faulknor (later Richard Bowen), and *Avenger* of Cmdr. James Milne (later Henry William Bayntun); the 8-gun bomb vessel *Vesuvius* of Charles Sawyer; the 24-gun storeship *Dromedary* of Sandford Tatham; and the 44-gun store ship *Woolwich* of John Parker. They are furthermore escorting transports bearing 6,100 troops under General Grey.

This expedition arrives off Martinique by February 5, finding only the 32-gun French frigate *Bienvenue* anchored before Fort Royal (modern Fort de France), and an 18-gun corvette at Saint Pierre. The troops are therefore disembarked at three different places against little opposition, and by March 16

they have General Rochambeau's 600 defenders besieged within forts Louis and Bourbon, the rest of the island being in English hands (at a cost of 71 dead redcoats and 196 wounded or missing). The capital's main citadel of Fort Louis is stormed by March 20, Commander Faulknor working his sloop *Zebra* in so close during its bombardment that he leaps ashore with a landing party and carries a crucial part of its works. Once this garrison falls, Rochambeau surrenders Fort Bourbon on March 22, and Martinique passes entirely into British hands. (The frigate *Bienvenue* is incorporated into the Royal Navy as the *Undaunted*, and Faulknor is promoted as its new captain.)

By March 31, most of the British army is reembarked, and Jervis and Grey strike out toward Saint Lucia. They arrive the next day and again disembark their forces at three different places by evening, obliging General Ricard to surrender by April 4. A garrison is installed under Sir Charles Gordon, and the greater part of the troops thereupon return to Martinique the next day, gathering greater strength



Faulknor captures Fort Louis, Martinique, under covering fire from his 16-gun sloop Zebra; oil painting by William Anderson. (National Maritime Museum, London)

for an assault against Guadeloupe. Reinforcements continually swell the British fleet, including the 44-gun frigates *Assurance* of Capt. Velters Cornwall Berkeley and *Roebuck* of Capt. Alexander Christie; the 44-gun storeships *Experiment* of Cmdr. Simon Miller and *Ulysses* of Cmdr. Richard Morice; the 32-gun frigates *Terpsichore* of Capt. Sampson Edwards and *Blanche* of Capt. Christopher Parker (later of Robert Faulknor); the 28-gun frigate *Resource* of Cmdr. (acting captain) Charles Herbert; the 16-gun sloop *Inspector* of Cmdr. Wyndham Bryer; the 14-gun sloop *Bulldog* of Edward Browne; the 14-gun cutter *Seaflower* of Lt. William Pierrepont; plus the gunboats *Tickler* of Lt. Henry Wray, *Vernon* of Lt. Thomas Henry Wilson, *Teaser* of J. Hope, *Vexer* of R. Smith, *Spiteful* of John Hindes Sparkes, and *Tormentor* of William Wells.

On April 8, Jervis sets sail for Guadeloupe, detaching the frigates *Quebec*, *Ceres*, and *Rose*, plus a sloop, to occupy the adjoining Saintes two days later, without loss. That same evening of April 10, the first contingent of Jervis's main fleet anchors in Guadeloupe's Gosier Bay, some troops disembarking the next day under covering fire from the frigate *Winchelsea*. The transports arrive on April 12, *Fleur d'Épée* being taken by Major General Dundas and Captain Faulknor. Fort Saint Louis, Pointe-à-Pitre, and the Islet à Cochon battery are abandoned shortly thereafter by the French, whereby Grande Terre passes entirely into British hands. The army reembarks and circles around westward to Petit Bourg (Basse-Terre) on April 14, again landing without opposition and compelling General Collot to surrender the entire island by April 20. Dundas is installed as military governor, after which Jervis and Grey's expedition withdraws to Saint Kitts.

MARCH 27, 1794. The fledgling American government, threatened by the depredations of Algerine corsairs and further informed that the Royal Navy will prohibit all neutral trade to the French West Indies, authorizes the construction of six large frigates to reconstitute the U.S. Navy. Three will be launched three years afterward: the 44-gun *United States* at Philadelphia and *Constitution* at Boston, as well as the 36-gun *Constellation* at Baltimore.

JUNE 2, 1794. *Hugues's "Brigand War."* The frigates *Thétis* and *Picque*, the "brick" or brig *Espérance*, plus six transports arrive in the Windward Islands from Aix at La Rochelle under the 35-year-old commodore Corentin Urbain de Leissègues, bear-

ing the expedition of radical commissioners Jean-Baptiste Victor Hugues and Pierre Chrétien, which is intended to recuperate the French Antillean possessions. Deciding to start with Guadeloupe, they begin by disembarking the 1,100 troops of Gen. Claude Aubert, Brig. Gen. Jean-Baptiste Jacques Cartier, and the adjutant general Charles Étienne Rouyer at Pointe des Salines in Gosier Bay the next day, completing this operation by the afternoon of June 4. Two nights later, Aubert directs a nocturnal assault by 25-year-old lieutenant colonel Jean Boudet's column against the nearby 16-gun Fort Fleur d'Épée, whose enfeebled garrison retreats beyond the Salée River.

The 21-year-old British commander for Guadeloupe's Grande Terre region, Lt. Col. Gordon Drummond, is subsequently obliged to withdraw all his men by boat to Basse-Terre. However, news of this French counteroffensive has reached Jervis and Grey at Saint Kitts by June 5, and they immediately set sail to the island's relief with what forces they can muster, arriving two days later. Grey disembarks, while Jervis proceeds with HMSS *Boyne*, *Vanguard*, *Vengeance*, and *Veteran* to assist the 4,000-man garrison holding the main port city of Pointe-à-Pitre—too late, though, as Hugues has carried it by storm on June 6, slaughtering more than 800 of its British and 900 French royalist defenders (of whom 100 are black). The English will nonetheless mount a counterattack by disembarking 2,000 men in Gosier Bay on June 10, but they cannot win around Boudet's 200 defenders at Fort Fleur d'Épée.

Nine days later, two battalions of British seamen under Capt. Lewis Robertson of HMS *Veteran* also counterattack by landing at Anse à Canot on Grande Terre. After several minor skirmishes, they reembark by July 3, having suffered 7 killed—including Robertson—29 wounded, and 16 missing. Neither side is sufficiently strong to drive the other off the island, hence several months of desultory campaigns ensue, during which Chrétien and Cartier die of yellow fever, along with numerous other French officers and men. On July 30, French forces reoccupy the nearby island of La Désirade.

Finally, after freeing and recruiting large numbers of local mulattoes and blacks, as well as receiving an additional 2,000 reinforcements on September 27 from France, Hugues disembarks several contingents the next day at Basse-Terre's Guyonneau and Lamentin to attack the main British encampment at Berville. Its 2,000 defenders hold out until October 6, when they agree to surrender the next day;

the English commanders are deported 14 months afterward to France aboard the *Andromaque*. Some 300 of their 800 French royalist allies are massacred outright, along with 100 of 900 mulatto troops. Hugues will furthermore proclaim the abolition of slavery on November 1, as voted by the Convention in Paris as of February 4, 1794, which will attract even more mulatto and black volunteers into his ranks.

Only besieged Fort Saint Charles or Mathilde remains in British hands, finally being evacuated by Capt. Richard Bowen of HMS *Terpsichore* during the night of December 11–12, 1794, thereby leaving Guadeloupe once more entirely in French possession. Hugues thereupon installs a Revolutionary tribunal, renames Pointe-à-Pitre as “Port-la-Liberté,” and pursues his radical measures with such ruthless zeal—aided by a guillotine brought from France—as to earn himself the sobriquet of the “Colonial Robespierre.” Given the limited military and naval resources at his disposal, he opts to discomfit the British throughout this theater by encouraging slave uprisings with promises of freedom, a policy dubbed the “Brigand’s War” by his outraged foes. Lt. (later Gen.) William Dyott, for example, described the brigands as “emancipated slaves, and whites of extreme democratic principles.”

NOVEMBER 1794. Jervis returns home to England, being relieved in the Lesser Antilles by Vice Adm. Benjamin Caldwell.

JANUARY 1795. In Europe, French Revolutionary armies overrun the Netherlands, helping to install a satellite government known as the “Batavian Republic.”

Also in January, French forces make a raid upon the British island of Saint Vincent.

JANUARY 4, 1795. At daybreak, the 32-gun, 198-man frigate HMS *Blanche* of Captain Faulknor sights the 36-gun, 265-man French frigate *Picque* of Captain Conseil outside Pointe-à-Pitre (Guadeloupe), which advances beyond range of Fort Fleur d’Épée’s batteries at 12:30 p.m. upon perceiving *Blanche*’s interception of an American blockade-running schooner arriving from Bordeaux. Both warships maneuver warily until an hour past midnight, when a heated engagement erupts and persists until 5:15 a.m. on January 5, when the dismasted *Picque* strikes. The Royal Navy warship suffers the death of its captain, plus another 7 dead

Jay Treaty

Great Britain’s declaration of war against Revolutionary France early in 1793 set the stage for resolving Britain’s disputes with the United States. Ever since the United States had won its independence a decade earlier, frictions had simmered. American vessels did not enjoy access to British ports, most especially in the West Indies, once a lucrative destination. Differences also emerged regarding the exact border with Canada, while southern plantation owners were still demanding compensation for the slaves that they had lost.

The detention of some 350 U.S. merchantmen by Royal Navy blockaders during 1793–1794 brought matters to a boil. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison called for “commercial hostility” against British interests, believing that London could not retaliate militarily. President George Washington and Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, though, preferred to send Chief Justice John Jay to London to negotiate a settlement.

Although the new nation could not pose a serious naval challenge, London wished to retain the neutrality of its large merchant marine. For his part, Hamilton desired to restore normal trade relations with England and its empire.

The Jay Treaty of November 19, 1794, between Great Britain and the United States, which permitted the Royal Navy to confiscate French goods found aboard American vessels, was viewed in France as a “betrayal and violation” of the 1778 accord between Paris and the Continental Congress. American vessels in French ports were consequently ordered to be impounded, and French privateers were authorized to begin making captures on the high seas.

and 21 wounded; French losses totaled 76 dead and 110 injured.

JANUARY 5, 1795. Off Désirade, the 74-gun *Belona* of Capt. George Wilson and the 32-gun frigate *Alarm* of Charles Carpenter intercept a French troop convoy bound from Brest toward Guadeloupe under escort by the 50-gun *Hercule*, 36-gun frigate *Astrée*, two corvettes, and some armed ships. The Royal Navy pair is only able to capture the 20-gun, 70-man *Duras*, bearing 400 troops as passengers, thereby allowing 3,000 reinforcements to reach Hugues at Pointe-à-Pitre the next day. Of these troops, some 700 are former French West Indian residents—500 whites and 200 mulattoes—organized into the so-called *Bataillon des Antilles*.

MARCH 2, 1795. At dawn, several hundred slaves—inspired by promises of freedom sent by the French commissioner Hugues and led by the mulatto planter Julien Fedon—revolt on the British-occupied island of Grenada, overrunning the towns of Marquis (modern Grenville) and Gouyave (Charlotte Town), massacring their detachments, and seizing Gov. Ninian Home, his family, and entourage. British garrisons are nonetheless able to resist elsewhere throughout the island, so a stalemate ensues, with the rebel slaves operating from Fedon's remote estate of Belvedere atop Mount Saint Catherine.

MARCH 8, 1795. Gov. James Seton calls for a Carib assembly on the formerly French island of Saint Vincent; a revolt erupts when the Garifuna or “Black Carib” inhabitants sweep down through the British plantations along its leeward coast under their chieftain Joseph Chatoyer, while the “Yellow Carib” natives of Chief Duvalier do the same down its windward side. A French contingent from Martinique joins the rebels at Chateaublanc, and all their forces muster at Dorsetshire Hill in anticipation of an attack against the island capital of Kingstown.



Chief Joseph Chatoyer of Saint Vincent with two of his wives, by Agostino Brunias. (Institute of Jamaica)

However, a recently arrived battalion of British troops advances against this rebel position on March 14, and Maj. Alexander Leith slays Chatoyer during a clash that evening. The rebels therefore retire into the island's interior, and a guerrilla struggle ensues over the next 15 months.

MAY 3, 1795. The British sloop HMS *Zebra* arrives at Stabroek (Essequibo, Guiana), bearing a letter from the exiled Prince of Orange that directs its colonial authorities to recognize England as Holland's ally. Gov. Albertus Backer is willing to comply, yet the planters demur, so the vessel retires with the Dutch official aboard.

Toward the end of this same month, nine British warships appear off the Demerara River mouth to renew this offer, which is again refused, although the pro-Batavian planters soon regret their decision as a blockade is imposed and the French commissioner Hugues begins enacting measures in the region to free and arm slaves.

MAY 8, 1795. During a rainstorm on Grenada, a surprise British offensive against Fedon's mountain strongholds fails, during which the captive governor Home, his family, and 47 other British hostages are murdered.

JUNE 19, 1795. After being invaded the previous day by French forces from Guadeloupe, the tiny English garrison on Saint Lucia under Brigadier General Stewart—still holding Vieux-Fort and Rabot but severely depleted because of disease and guerrilla strikes by runaway French slaves and soldiers—is evacuated by the armed storeship *Experiment* of Lt. John Barrett and another transport.

JULY 22, 1795. In Europe, Spain and Prussia cease hostilities against the French.

AUGUST 17, 1795. On the Knip Plantation in western Curaçao, a few dozen slaves led by one named Tula refuse to commence work at dawn; instead, they begin marching upon the island capital Willemstad to lay their complaints before the Dutch governor, in the process freeing other slaves on adjoining estates and taking up arms. Soon numbering more than 1,000 strong, they position themselves at Porto Marie, from where they are dispersed on August 20 by a column of troops (including free black and mulatto militiamen) under Captain van Westerholt.

The rebels subsequently flee into the hills near Fontein, then later ensconce themselves atop the steep heights of St. Christoffelberg, until finally forced to surrender when van Westerholt launches a large-scale sweep on August 31. Tula—with a price upon his head—is captured by another Knip slave on September 19, thus bringing this rebellion to an end.

OCTOBER 10, 1795. The three-month-old French campaign on Grenada is hampered when Capt. Henry Warre's 32-gun frigate, the *Mermaid*, intercepts the 10-gun sloop *Brutus*, as well as the 18-gun *Républicaine* four days later, as they are bearing a French general and troops toward that contested island. Enough reinforcements nevertheless win through that the rebels are able to seize several boats and press in upon its capital of Saint George's by February 1796.

MARCH 22, 1796. A British counterattack on Grenada led by General Nicholls retakes Post Royal Hill from the French rebels, during which clash their leader, Fedon, is wounded.

APRIL 21, 1796. The 48-year-old rear admiral Sir Hugh Cloberry Christian, having recently been created a knight of the Bath, reaches Carlisle Bay (Barbados) with two ships of the line and five lesser men-of-war, escorting the remnants of a convoy—scattered by a storm—bearing a large contingent of troops under 61-year-old lieutenant general Sir Ralph Abercromby (a graduate of both Rugby College and Edinburgh University). After uniting with Vice Adm. Sir John Laforey, commander in chief of the Leeward Islands, this fleet proceeds the next day to Marin Bay (Martinique), where it drops anchor by April 23. Laforey resigns his command to Christian the next day and sails for England aboard the 74-gun HMS *Majestic*.

APRIL 23, 1796. Commo. Thomas Parr appears off the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Essequibo with his 54-gun flagship *Malabar*, the 64-gun *Scipio* of Francis Laforey, the 40-gun frigates *Undaunted* of Henry Roberts and *Pique* of David Milne, plus the auxiliary *Babet* of William Granville Lobb. This squadron has been detached eight days previously by Vice Admiral Laforey to convey a contingent of troops under Maj. Gen. John Whyte to occupy these Dutch possessions. The force easily accomplishes this mission, furthermore seizing Berbice on May 2, along

with the 24-gun frigate *Thetis* and 12-gun sloop *Zeemeeuw* plus several richly laden merchantmen.

APRIL 26, 1796. *Offensive down the Windward Islands.* General Abercromby's expedition quits Martinique aboard a large number of transports, escorted by Admiral Christian's 74-gun flagship *Thunderer* under Capt. James Bowen, *Canada* of George Bowen, *Vengeance* of T. M. Russell, *Minotaur* of Thomas Louis, *Ganges* of Robert McDowall, and *Alfred* of Thomas Durry; the 54-gun *Hindustan* of Thomas Bertie, *Madras* of J. Dilkes, and *Abergavenny* of Edward T. Smith; the 44-gun frigate *Charon* of J. Stevenson; the 40-gun frigate *Beaulieu* of L. Skinner; the 38-gun frigates *Arethusa* of Thomas Wolley and *Hebe* of M. H. Scott; the 36-gun frigate *Undaunted* of H. Roberts; the 32-gun frigate *Astrea* of R. Lane; the 28-gun frigate *Laurel* of Robert Rolles; the 16-gun brigs *Fury* of H. Evans, *Bulldog* of G. F. Ryves, *Pelican* of John Clarke Searle, *Victorieuse* of Jemmett Mainwaring, and *Beaver* of S. G. Warren; the 44-gun storeship *Woolwich* of Daniel Dobree; the 20-gun *Tourterelle* of Edward Fellows; and the 8-gun bomb vessel *Terror* of D. Douglas.

The next morning, this fleet appears off French-held Saint Lucia, a disembarkation being effected at once in Longueville Bay under covering fire from the *Ganges* and the *Pelican*. Another landing is made at 10:30 a.m. on April 28 in Choc Bay—the same day on which Morne Chabot is carried—and by the next day, a third disembarkation is completed in Anse La Raye. The French nonetheless continue to resist vigorously, repelling an attack against some of their advance batteries on May 3, then against Vigie on May 17, with heavy losses to the invaders. After being driven back atop Morne Fortunée, though, 2,000 Frenchmen have no choice but to offer to surrender on May 24, the entire island capitulating at noon two days later.

Abercromby and Christian detach the *Arethusa*, the *Hebe*, the 32-gun frigate *Mermaid* of Capt. Robert Waller Otway, the *Pelican*, and the *Beaver* to the British West Indian island of Grenada with a contingent of troops to bring an end to its French-inspired rebellion, while the main fleet pauses to do the same at Saint Vincent. (In late June, Christian will be relieved by Rear Adm. Henry Harvey, returning to England in October aboard *Beaulieu*.)

Abercromby reaches and reconnoiters Grenada on June 9. The encampments of Fedon atop Mount Qua Qua are surrounded and compelled to request terms the next day, surrendering on June 11. The

leader disappears, but 38 of his followers are executed on July 6–8, while 120 French soldiers are deported to England. To extirpate any seeds of future rebellion, most blacks or Caribs are subsequently hunted down, and 4,644 are deported to Baliceaux Island by October. A little more than half of them later are allowed to resettle around Sandy Bay in the northeastern corner of Saint Vincent, while the 2,026 most defiant are taken aboard eight transports and marooned on distant Roatán Island in the Gulf of Honduras on April 11, 1797.

AUGUST 18, 1796. In Europe, France and Spain sign an alliance at Madrid, which is ratified in Paris as of September 12. Immediately thereafter, Great Britain imposes an embargo upon all Spanish shipping.

AUGUST 28, 1796. The 38-year-old French rear admiral (and former nobleman) Joseph de Richery arrives unexpectedly off Newfoundland with a squadron, finding only Capt. Thomas Graves's 32-gun frigate *Venus* inside Saint John's. The British brace for an immediate assault, but Richery instead bears away southward, entering Bay Bulls on September 4 to destroy its fishing camps. The next day, he detaches his 34-year-old rear admiral Zacharie Jacques Théodore, Comte Allemand, to raid the Bay of Castles in Labrador with the *Duquesne*, the *Censeur*, and the *Friponne*, while Richery himself proceeds to Saint Pierre and Miquelon with his main body to visit a like treatment upon its shore establishments. Because of contrary winds, Allemand does not gain Labrador until September 22, then burning its largely deserted fishing bases. Both French contingents then recross the Atlantic safely, Allemand entering Brest by November with numerous prizes and 1,800 prisoners taken from a British convoy out of Quebec City, which he has intercepted.

OCTOBER 1796. Revolutionary France, angry at American ratification of John Jay's treaty with Great Britain—despite American insistence that the 18-year-old Franco-American alliance is still in effect—begins harassing U.S. shipping. Over the next eight months, 316 American vessels are seized upon the high seas.

OCTOBER 6, 1796. Spain, as an ally of France, declares war against Great Britain. Maritime traffic to and from its Spanish American colonies will be seriously hampered by Royal Navy blockades, opening up trade opportunities for American and other neutral carriers.

NOVEMBER 25, 1796. The 28-gun British frigate *Lapwing* of Capt. Robert Barton hastens out of Saint Kitts, having been summoned to help repel a French disembarkation on nearby Anguilla. The next day, it obliges the invaders to attempt to retire aboard their 20-gun sloop *Décus* and 10-gun *Vaillante*, the former being captured after a one-hour firefight during which 120 of the 336 men aboard are either killed or wounded. The *Vaillante* is beached and destroyed by the *Lapwing's* guns.

FEBRUARY 12, 1797. *Trinidad.* Admiral Harvey sets sail southward from Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique), being reinforced off Carriacou Island two days later, thereby bringing his total strength to the 98-gun *Prince of Wales* (flag) of Capt. John Harvey; the 74-gun *Bellona* of George Wilson, *Vengeance* of Thomas Macnamara Russell, and *Invincible* of George William Cayley; the 64-gun *Scipio* of Charles Sydney Davers; the 38-gun frigate *Arethusa* of Thomas Wolley; the 32-gun frigate *Alarm* of Edward Fellowes; the 16-gun sloops *Favourite* of Cmdr. James Atholl Wood, *Zebra*, and *Thorn* of Cmdr. John Hamstead; the 12-gun sloop *Victorieuse* of Cmdr. Edward Stirling-Dickson; plus the 8-gun bomb vessel *Terror* of Cmdr. Joseph Westbeach. They are moreover escorting 40 transports bearing 6,750 soldiers under General Abercromby, who has returned after visiting England for an attempt against the Spanish sugar island of Trinidad.

The British sight their objective early on February 16, steering for the Gulf of Paria by way of Boca Grande or the Dragon's Mouth. At 3:30 p.m., just as the expedition clears the channel, they discover Spanish rear admiral Sebastián Ruiz de Apodaca anchored inside Chaguaramas Bay with his 80-gun flagship *San Vicente* of Commo. Jerónimo González de Mendoza; the 74-gun *Gallardo* (official name, *San Juan de Sahagún*) of Gabriel Sorondo and *San Dámaso* of José Jordán; the 68-gun *Arrogante* of Rafael Benazar; the 34-gun frigate *Santa Cecilia* (alias *Concha*) of Manuel Urtizabal; plus the brigantine *Galgo*. This Spanish squadron has recently arrived in reply to Gov. José María Chacón's request for reinforcements, but their crews have been so decimated by disease—suffering more than 700 deaths—that the *Gallardo* and the *Arrogante* have not even been able to continue to Cartagena as planned.

Given that the batteries on Gaspar Grande Island cover both entrances into Chaguaramas Bay with 20 guns and 2 mortars, Harvey anchors offshore in the Gulf of Paria, while directing Abercromby's transports to find a berth about five miles from the

island's capital of Puerto España or "Port of Spain" and the *Arethusa*, the *Thorn*, and the *Zebra* to patrol overnight. The outnumbered Spaniards are so demoralized that, during these hours of darkness, Ruiz de Apodaca holds a council aboard his flagship and orders the batteries spiked and the warships scuttled before retreating inland to join Governor Chacón. The British are surprised to see the Spanish men-of-war burst into flames at 2:00 a.m. on February 17, managing to save only the *San Dámaso* the next morning and incorporate it into the Royal Navy.

Meanwhile, Abercromby disembarks three miles outside Port of Spain, without any opposition from Chacón's troops—reduced from the expected 2,000 to fewer than 600 because of the failure of the island militias to muster. The capital is therefore occupied that same evening, and, on February 18, the Spanish governor agrees to capitulate the entire island nine days later. Losses total 7 Spaniards killed and a single Briton wounded. For the feeble resistance, both Chacón and Ruiz de Apodaca are subsequently cashiered upon their repatriation to Spain, while their subordinates are suspended for four years.

APRIL 8, 1797. *Puerto Rico.* After being reinforced by the 74-gun *Alfred* of Capt. Thomas Totty, the 38-gun frigate *Tamer* of Thomas Byam-Martin, plus several lesser craft, Harvey's fleet steers toward Puerto Rico, escorting Abercromby's transports. These 60 vessels arrive on April 17, probing San Juan's shoreline before anchoring off Cangrejos Beach that same evening, then disembarking numerous troops under Abercromby the next morning against slight opposition.

The Spanish governor, Brig. Gen. Ramón del Castro—although commanding only 200 regulars—nonetheless mounts a vigorous defense on the basis of his capital's natural impregnability and some 3,800 volunteers. The San Antonio Bridge is fortified in addition to the city's other major defenses, while a half-dozen floating batteries are launched out in the harbor under frigate captain Francisco de Paula Castro. Even 100 French privateersmen under captains Barron and Paris are pressed into service ashore.

After reconnoitering San Juan's defenses, Abercromby institutes formal siege proceedings, yet is unable to discomfit its garrison. Castro makes a sally with 800 militiamen and two troops of cavalry on the night of April 29–30, compelling the British to break camp and lift their siege the next day, sailing away by May 2 after suffering 31 killed, 70 wounded, and 124 captured or missing.

XYZ Affair

The French Revolutionary government was angered by Washington's signing of the Jay Treaty, which smoothed Anglo-American relations while war was raging between both European powers. President John Adams's criticism of some of the more radical actions of the "Reign of Terror," which brought the Directory into power, further soured relations between Paris and Washington. As a result, France refused to receive Charles Cotesworth Pinckney as U.S. ambassador in 1796. French warships and privateers also began seizing neutral American vessels on the high seas for steering toward British ports or bearing British goods. Soon, more than 300 vessels were intercepted in the Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Caribbean.

Even some leading figures in Adams's own Federalist Party, such as Alexander Hamilton, called for a declaration of war. But given the United States's naval weakness, the president instead sent John Marshall and Elbridge Berry in 1797 to join Pinckney in Europe to attempt to patch up matters diplomatically. After several deliberate delays, the U.S. delegates were approached in Paris in October by three agents of French foreign minister Charles Maurice de Talleyrand Périgord—later identified only as "X," "Y," and "Z," but actually Jean Conrad Hottinguer, Pierre Bellamy, and Lucien Hauteval. They demanded a large bribe simply to initiate talks. They also indicated that Washington would have to provide a huge loan to France and that President Adams would have to issue a formal apology for his offensive comments. The commissioners rejected these demands and instead offered France many of the same provisions granted to Britain in the Jay Treaty. The Directory responded by sending the American delegates home.

In the aftermath to this humiliating rebuff, the president's political opponents suggested that his delegates might have been at fault, so they insisted that all the official papers be made public. When Adams released his report in April 1798, a firestorm of anti-French sentiment erupted. Insulted by the mistreatment suffered during the so-called XYZ Affair, the U.S. Congress authorized the president to acquire 12 more warships. One month later, a bill was passed creating the Department of the Navy. Many Americans' former affection for France was greatly weakened by these revelations, paving the way for hostilities.

MAY 20, 1798. A Spanish squadron—except Capt. Sancho de Luna's 40-gun royal frigate *Minerva* (flag), which turns back—reluctantly quits Campeche to sail to Cozumel, there detaching the 8-gun sloop *Feliz* of the senior lieutenant Francisco de Fuentes

Bocanegra and the brigantine *Príncipe de la Paz* of the junior lieutenant Pedro Grajales to proceed into Chetumal by July 28 with a troop convoy. This force is to attack the English logwood establishments in Belize.

MAY 28, 1798. *Quasi-War with France.* As a result of continuous maritime frictions, the U.S. Congress authorizes American warships to capture armed French vessels hovering off the coast of the United States. Diplomatic relations with Paris are also severed on July 7, and that same Saturday evening the 20-gun U.S. sloop *Delaware* of Capt. Stephen Decatur captures the 12-gun, 70-man French privateer schooner *Croyable* near Egg Harbor (New Jersey).

The scope of American naval operations is expanded two days later when warships are authorized to make captures anywhere on the high seas and the issuance of privateer commissions is sanctioned—although neither Washington nor Paris openly declares war against the other. Because of the distance separating both belligerents, the resultant hostilities will prove to be a low-grade commercial struggle, with American warships protecting traffic from French commerce raiders.

JUNE 3, 1798. Spanish governor Arturo O'Neill de Tyrone marches out of Mérida de Yucatán with four militia companies, plus two half-companies of black troops, to reinforce San Felipe de Bacalar and launch an offensive into Belize.

AUGUST 30, 1798. Disgruntled because of the eight months' arrears in their pay, the garrison at Cayenne in French Guiana mutinies, being placated five days later by a forced contribution extorted by the desperate authorities from the town's unhappy merchants.

AUGUST 31, 1798. *Belize.* O'Neill's 2,000-strong army advances from Bacalar (Yucatán), skirmishing its way into Belize, which is garrisoned by detachments of the 63rd and 6th West Indian regiments under Lt. Col. Thomas Barrow. The Spanish expedition is soon reinforced by a flotilla that joins it off the coast, the only Royal Navy warship in these waters being the 16-gun sloop *Merlin* of Cmdr. John Ralph Moss, although the colony also boasts the gunboats *Tickler*, *Towzer*, and *Mermaid*, plus the schooners *Teaser* and *Swinger*, and eight other gunboats. They are sufficient to repel attacks off Montego Key on September 3, 4, and 5, and off Saint George's Key on the 6th.

On September 10, O'Neill orders naval lieutenant de Fuentes to lead his flotilla into battle against the English vessels anchored off Saint George's Key, but that officer refuses. The governor therefore delegates de Fuentes to command the transports, while he personally leads an attack with four gunboats crammed with troops under junior naval lieutenant Pedro Grajales, artillery lieutenant colonel Leandro Poblaciones, naval ensign Feliciano Mallón, the Yucatecan militia captain Manuel de Negroe, José Díaz, Sub Lt. José Maldonado, Capt. Juan Bautista Wall of the Castilla Battalion, and Capt. Pedro de Elizalde. They are supported by the sloop *San Román* of Capt. Manuel Meléndez; the schooners *Santa Isabel* of Lt. José María Rosado, *Concepción* of militia captain Juan José Gálvez, and *San Joaquín* of Lt. José Román, as well as two launches under Lt. Joaquín Traba.

At 2:00 p.m. on September 10, the Spaniards advance, passing between Saint George's and Cocina keys to open fire against a portion of the British flotilla. When the *Merlin* and others weigh to join this action, Grajales hoists the withdrawal signal after an hour's fighting, the attackers retreating until nightfall. The Spaniards remain off Chapel Key until September 15, when their land contingent draws off for Bacalar and de Fuentes's flotilla returns toward Campeche.

DECEMBER 1798. Having largely driven French raiders out of American waters, 21 U.S. Navy warships are assigned by the secretary of the navy, Benjamin Stoddert, to rid the West Indies of these privateers.

FEBRUARY 9, 1799. At noon, Thomas Truxtun's 36-gun, 1,280-ton USS *Constellation* sights the 36-gun *Insurgente* of "Citizen" Michel-Pierre Barreaut 15 miles east-northeast of Nevis and engages two and a half hours later, just as a sudden squall snaps the *Insurgente's* main topmast. The hapless French vessel strikes by 4:30 p.m., having suffered some 70 casualties, compared to 1 killed and 2 injured aboard the *Constellation*.

JULY 31, 1799. Vice Adm. Lord Hugh Seymour sets sail from Fort Royal (Fort de France, Martinique) with his 98-gun flagship *Prince of Wales* under Capt. Adrian Renou; the 74-gun *Invincible* of George William Cayley; the 38-gun frigates *Tamer* of Thomas Western and *Unité* (French prize) of John Poo Beresford; the 32-gun frigate *Siren* of Thomas



Thomas Truxtun's USS Constellation battles the Insurgente, by Henry Scott. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

Le Marchant Gosselin; the 28-gun frigates *Lapwing* of Thomas Harvey and *Amphitrite* of Charles Ekins; the 20-gun sloop *Daphne* of Richard Matson; and the 12-gun sloop *Requin* (French prize) of Lt. William Wood Senhouse. They furthermore carry numerous troops under Lt. Gen. Thomas Trigge for an operation against the last remaining Dutch colony in South America, Suriname.

Seymour and Trigge arrive off Suriname by August 11, convincing its Dutch governor to capitulate on August 20. Fort Amsterdam's garrison marches out the next day with full honors of war. By August 22, all important points in Suriname—including its capital, Paramaribo—are occupied, and the 16-gun brig-sloop *Kemphaan* and the 20-gun French *Hussard* are seized, becoming incorporated into the Royal Navy.

FEBRUARY 1, 1800. This evening, Truxtun's USS *Constellation* brings to action the 52-gun *Vengeance* of Captain Pitot, outward bound from Guadeloupe toward France. The Americans kill 28 and wound 40 of the French crew during five hours of noctur-

nal exchanges before the *Vengeance* limps off toward Curaçao. The Americans suffer 14 dead and 25 injured, as well as losing their mainmast, sailing to be repaired at Port Royal (Jamaica).

MAY 11, 1800. An American boat party under Lt. Isaac Hull penetrates the harbor at Puerto Plata (Hispaniola), cutting out the French privateer *Sandwich* and spiking the guns of the Spanish fort.

JULY 23, 1800. Two French brigs and three schooners from Guadeloupe attempt to enter Santa Anna Bay (Curaçao), supposedly to reinforce their Dutch allies against an English threat but actually to secure this island; instead, they are rebuffed by suspicious governor Johan Rudolph Lausser. Negotiations between both groups drag on uneasily for several weeks, while the French gradually build up their strength offshore to more than 1,200 men aboard 13 vessels.

Since the Dutch outpost refuses to endorse arrangements made in the name of the puppet "Batavian Republic," the French finally move up the coast on September 3 and seize St. Michiel Bay, disembarking

their troops to march overland and occupy Otrobanda four days later. From there they open a bombardment against the capital, Willemstad, opposite it. On September 13, the Dutch are relieved by the blockading frigate HMS *Nereide* of Capt. Frederick Watkins, whom they have contacted out at sea—preferring to surrender to the British Navy rather than to the French Republican privateers. With Watkins's help, the defenders eventually compel the French to lift their siege by dawn of September 23, leaving behind much destruction and 200 dead (mostly due to disease). The English remain in possession of Curaçao until peace is declared two years later.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1800. After seven months of negotiations between William Murray and First Consul Napoleon Bonaparte, the United States and France sign the Convention of Mortefontaine, which will halt the “Quasi-War” as of January 1, 1801. It will be officially ratified as of December 21. The French give up their insistence that the 1778

treaty of alliance is still in force, which would have required the United States to refrain from dealing with British interests and to defend French colonies in the West Indies, while the Americans drop their demand for \$20 million in compensation. Public displeasure in the United States about these terms nonetheless proves so profound that John Adams loses that autumn's presidential election to Thomas Jefferson.

EARLY 1801. In Europe, Britain reacts against the “League of Armed Neutrality,” organized during the previous winter by Czar Paul I as a counter-measure against the Royal Navy's blockade of France. Consequently, the English take action against Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia.

MARCH 20, 1801. On instructions from London, an expedition under 53-year-old rear admiral John Thomas Duckworth, veteran commander of the Leeward Islands's station (see “March 21, 1796” entry in “Haitian Revolution”), and General Trigge occu-

First Barbary War

Until the American Revolution, American merchantmen sailing the Mediterranean were protected by the Royal Navy. A year after gaining independence in 1783, though, the new U.S. government began to prepare for extortion from the “Barbary State” rovers. These were four port cities in North Africa that had preyed upon non-Muslim shipping ever since the religious conflicts of previous centuries. They included the independent sultanate of Morocco, plus the semi-autonomous regencies of Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. Although all were nominally part of the Ottoman Empire, they acted on their own.

In 1785, the Bey of Algiers took two American ships, demanding \$60,000 to release their crews. Despite protests from Thomas Jefferson, then the U.S. ambassador in France, this sum was paid. More ransoms ensued; the American government was soon obliged to pay as much as \$1 million a year to ensure safe passage. By 1800, these payments totaled 20 percent of the government's annual revenues.

Shortly after Jefferson was inaugurated as president early in 1801, Pasha Yusuf Karamanli of Tripoli demanded \$225,000 from his new administration. Jefferson refused, so the pasha launched hostilities by having the flagstaff outside the U.S. Consulate cut down on May 14. The other Barbary States followed suit. The president did not respond with a declaration of war. Instead, he dispatched Commo. Richard Dale to Gibraltar with the new, powerful frigates *President* of 54 guns, *Essex* of 46 guns, and *Philadelphia* of 36 guns, plus the 12-gun schooner *Enterprise*, to protect American interests.

Four years of blockades, ship duels, and bombardments ensued. American warships were rotated regularly to the Mediterranean, yet they could not subdue the Barbary States. Finally, a land offensive threatened the pasha's rule at Tripoli. William Eaton, the U.S. consul who had been expelled from Tunis, had contacted Karamanli's exiled elder brother Hamet in Egypt. He proposed a joint expedition to restore him to the throne. Escorted by seven U.S. marines under Lt. Presley N. O'Bannon, Eaton marched across the Libyan desert with 500 mercenaries to be joined by three American warships under Capt. Isaac Hull. On April 27, 1805, they stormed the town of Derne, or Derna. When the pasha's counterattack of May 13 failed to dislodge this foothold, he sought terms.

A treaty was therefore signed by Jefferson's delegate Tobias Lear aboard USS *Constitution* on June 4, 1805, and ratified six days later by the pasha. The First Barbary War had ended. Although terms were disappointing and captures soon resumed, the United States greeted Eaton, O'Bannon, and other returning officers as heroes. Because the marine lieutenant was presented with a “Mameluke” sword by Hamet, graduating officers are still today given a similar sword, with the engraved words “The Shores of Tripoli.”

pies the tiny Swedish colony of Saint Bartholomew, then Saint Martin four days later. The Danish outposts of Saint Thomas and Saint John (Virgin Islands) are seized by March 29, and Saint Croix capitulates to the English as well two days later.

APRIL 16, 1801. The French are obliged to evacuate the islands Sint Eustatius and Sabá of their Dutch allies. The islands are then seized by Capt. John Perkins of the 20-gun sloop *Arab*, with a few troops under Colonel Blunt of the 3rd Buffs. (Perkins is apparently a mulatto naval officer commissioned in the West Indies, known as “Jack Punch” because one of his earliest commands was the schooner *Punch*.)

MAY 29, 1801. Lacrosse, now promoted to rear admiral and bearing an appointment as captain general of Guadeloupe, reaches that island with 400 French regulars and immediately begins to reorganize its 4,100 defenders. Numerous black militia officers and troops, which were raised during its lengthy blockade, quickly come to resent Lacrosse’s wholesale dismissal of their services, as well as reductions in pay, deportations of those adjudged as too radical “neo-Jacobins,” and the return of white landowners. When the black troops’ commander, General Béthencourt, dies on August 5 and Lacrosse refuses to promote the 35-year-old ex-slave, Col. Magloire Pélage, to fill his post, a brief mutiny erupts three days afterward among conscripts assembled at Basse-Terre.

OCTOBER 12, 1801. In Europe, Britain and France agree to a temporary cessation of hostilities.

OCTOBER 21, 1801. Suspicious of the designs of Colonel Pélage and other black officers at Pointe-à-Pitre, Lacrosse moves to arrest them. However, a popular insurrection three days afterward frees the captives and instead deposes Lacrosse in favor of Pélage.

NOVEMBER 5–6, 1801. This night, Lacrosse is deported from Guadeloupe toward France aboard a Danish ship, which is intercepted by a Royal Navy man-of-war. The British authorities deposit him on Dominica, from where he issues a series of proclamations denouncing the black “rebels” who have removed him from office on Guadeloupe.

JANUARY 5, 1802. The 35-year-old mulatto officer Louis Delgrès deposes the white port captain and other French functionaries still at Basse-Terre (Guadeloupe), accusing them of collusion with La-

crosse. Two days afterward Delgrès assumes office himself.

FEBRUARY 13, 1802. A small naval expedition under the 45-year-old ex-privateer Charles Cathérin Serizat arrives out of the Atlantic to seize the island of Marie-Galante and restore French rule. He is soon joined from Dominica by Lacrosse.

FEBRUARY 15, 1802. Fearful of a French invasion intended to undo Guadeloupan autonomy, the mulatto officers Delgrès and Massoteau arrest a dozen or so of the remaining white officers at Basse-Terre, deporting them the next day, after which the mulatto leaders also muster numerous black troops to resist a potential invasion. However, Pélage will order them to stand down by the next month, worried by their radical methods.

MAY 6, 1802. *Reoccupation of Guadeloupe.* The 32-year-old general Antoine Adolphe Richepanse and his 41-year-old, Guadeloupan-born subordinate, Brig. Gen. Jacques Nicolas Gobert, arrive off Grande-Terre from Brest with 3,500 soldiers to restore French rule over the island and disarm any unauthorized black formations. Some mulatto officers such as Pélage are willing to acquiesce, but others such as Delgrès, Massoteau, and the 33-year-old Joseph Ignace decide to resist. On May 8, the 800-man Merlen Battalion advances overland to directly invest the main rebel stronghold of Basse-Terre.

Major combat erupts two days later when Richepanse’s remaining soldiers disembark at Baillif and fight their way across the Pères River, in the face of spirited opposition. Black rebel troops under Palerme and Jacquet meanwhile check the Merlen advance at Dolé, but Richepanse drives all rebel forces out of the lower portions of Basse-Terre and forges past République Battery to reach the Herbes River banks by May 11, while Merlen also seizes Palmiste. Serizat having in the meantime arrived from Marie-Galante, his own contingent presses inland from Pointe-à-Pitre on that same date, uniting with Merlen by May 13. Fighting rages along the Herbes River until Serizat overruns Morne Houël and drives a rebel band under Louis Isseris from L’Espérance Manor on May 14, thus linking up by sundown with Gobert’s column at Vermont. This junction allows Richepanse to officially assume office as island captain general, while leaving Delgrès trapped inside Basse-Terre’s citadel of Fort Saint Charles. Rebel thrusts by Palerme to break this stranglehold

on May 18, directed against the L'Espérance and Ducharmoy manors, are repelled by Serizat.

The French siege of the main stronghold climaxes when four batteries open fire against Fort Saint Charles's hapless defenders on May 21, and Delgrès and Ignace must evacuate overnight. The loss of their principal citadel (today renamed Fort Louis Delgrès) effectively dooms all organized black resistance on Guadeloupe, as French columns hunt down poorly armed rebel bands. Fleeing from Dolé, Palerme's group is defeated by Gobert's pursuers on May 25 near Baie Mahault, scattering into the Lamentin Forest. Ignace torches numerous inland plantations and assembles a mass of raw recruits at Baimbridge, only to himself suffer defeat the next day, at the cost of his life. The last rebel concentration under Delgrès is smashed when d'Anglemont Manor near Matouba is carried by assault on May 28, Delgrès dying when its magazine is blown up.

Summary trials and executions then ensue, while even loyal mulatto officers such as Pélage—who has

fought on behalf of Richepanse—and 34 others are arrested on June 28, to be deported to Brest a fortnight later aboard the warships *Fougueux* and *Redoubtable*. French units and native auxiliaries continue to hunt the few small, half-starved rebel bands hiding in the mountains, the rebels powerless to prevent the virtual reintroduction of slavery and revocation of all mulatto rights to citizenship as of July 17. On September 3, Richepanse dies of yellow fever and is succeeded as captain general by Lacrosse.

In Europe, the Treaty of Amiens has been signed as of March 27, 1802, marking a temporary halt to hostilities. By its terms, the islands of Saint Pierre, Miquelon, Tobago, Martinique, and Saint Lucia are to be restored to France, while the Netherlands are to receive back Demerara, Essequibo, Berbice, Suriname, and Curaçao. The tiny Swedish and Danish colonies in the Virgin Islands are also to be returned by Great Britain—which thus only retains Trinidad for its efforts. This truce will last less than 14 months before fighting flares anew.

NAPOLEONIC WARS (1803–1810)

Hostilities resume between Britain and France on May 16, 1803—the Netherlandic “Batavian Republic” joining their French allies on June 25—and the Royal Navy reimposes its blockade upon Continental ports and transatlantic traffic.

JUNE 17, 1803. Late this evening, the 41-year-old commodore Samuel Hood reaches Barbados with an English squadron to escort Lt. Gen. William Grinfield's expeditionary force against objectives in the West Indies. The commodore immediately detaches Capt. James O'Bryen of the 36-gun frigate *Emerald* to blockade French Saint Lucia with some consorts, while Grinfield's troops are being embarked.

JUNE 19, 1803. *Saint Lucia.* Hood sets sail from Barbados with his 74-gun flagship HMS *Centaur* and the *Courageux*, the 44-gun *Argo* and *Chichester*, plus the 16-gun *Hornet* and 18-gun sloop *Cyane*, escorting Grinfield's troop convoy toward Saint Lucia. HMS *Emerald* and the 18-gun *Osprey* join the next morning, bearing the 36-year-old major general George Prevost (governor of Dominica and eldest son of Franco-Swiss-born Augustine Prevost; see “December 23, 1778” entry *et seq.* in “American

Revolutionary War”). The whole British flotilla anchors in Choc Bay by 11:00 a.m. on June 21.

The 2nd Battalion of the Royals under Brig. Gen. Robert Brereton is landed by 2:00 p.m., along with two fieldpieces, followed by Grinfield with the rest of his small army, while a contingent of marines occupies nearby Gros Islet. After emplacing themselves at La Vigie and Castries, the invaders call upon the island's French governor, Brig. Gen. Jean Francois-Xavier Noguès, to surrender. Being rebuffed, the British carry the main Morne Fortunée stronghold by storm at 4:30 a.m. on June 22, leading to a general capitulation of the entire island. Brereton is installed as military governor.

JUNE 31, 1803. Hood and Grinfield capture Tobago.

JULY 24, 1803. At 6:00 p.m. on this squally Sunday, the French 74-gun *Duquesne* and *Duguay Trouin*

slip out of Cap François (modern Cap Haïtien) with the frigate *Guerrière* in an attempt to elude Capt. John Loring's 74-gun HMS *Bellerophon* and the rest of his blockading squadron. The 74-gun HMS *Elephant* of Capt. George Dundas pursues this trio westward, along with the 32-gun frigates *Æolus* and *Tartar*, while the English *Theseus* and *Vanguard* of 74 guns lag behind.

During the night, Captain Kerrangel's *Duquesne* doubles back eastward and surrenders at 3:30 the next afternoon to the *Theseus* and the *Vanguard*, after a token exchange of shot during which a single English seaman is killed and another wounded. Loring's squadron also snaps up Lieutenant Druault's 16-gun, 60-man schooner *Oiseau* between Tortuga and Saint Domingue.

AUGUST 31, 1803. *Capture of Demerara.* Having learned at Barbados of the month-old rupture in Anglo-Batavian relations, General Grinfield leads a small army aboard Hood's *Centaur* (flag), *Chichester*, *Alligator*, transport *Brilliant*, auxiliaries *Heureux* and *Netley*, plus several smaller store ships, to set sail the next morning and attack the Dutch settlements on the Wild Coast.

This British expedition arrives off Demerara's roadstead by the evening of September 18, Lieutenant Lawrence's *Netley* probing its shoreline and capturing 24 boats to disembark the troops. A surrender demand is also sent ashore to Gov. Gen. A. Meerteks, who requests terms the next morning. The *Hornet* and the *Netley* then sail upriver by evening of September 19, taking possession of Fort Willem Frederick, the 18-gun Batavian corvette *Hippomenes*, and a dozen prizes, the actual capitulation of Demerara and Essequibo being formalized the next day.

Immediately, Capt. Loftus Otway Bland of the *Heureux* departs to obtain the surrender of Berbice as well, with a detachment of troops and marines under Lt. Col. Robert Nicholson aboard the *Alligator*, the *Netley*, and the *Brilliant*.

OCTOBER 19, 1803. Spain signs a secret alliance with France, which is to be made public once its treasure ships arrive safely from the Americas.

JANUARY 6, 1804. *Diamond Rock.* This evening, Hood's 74-gun flagship HMS *Centaur* under Capt. Murray Maxwell anchors off Diamond Rock—a small strategic islet a mile southwest of Martinique—and the next morning sends a party of British seamen ashore to occupy it and begin installing heavy batteries to hold it against an enemy counterattack.

By February 3, a 120-man garrison is installed, and for administrative purposes the British commission this outpost as "His Majesty's sloop of war *Fort Diamond*" (later changed to the *Diamond Rock*). Martinique's governor—the 56-year-old vice admiral Louis Thomas, Comte Villaret de Joyeuse—is unable to muster any effective countermeasures.

MARCH 1804. Fearful of a possible invasion of Haiti by France—which has not yet relinquished its claims to this island—Governor General Dessalines massacres almost all its remaining whites, plus numerous mulattoes.

APRIL 5, 1804. Commodore Hood departs Barbados with HMS *Centaur* (flag), the 44-gun frigates *Pandour* and *Serapis*, the 28-gun *Alligator*, the 14-gun *Drake*, the 16-gun sloops *Hippomenes* and *Guachapin*, as well as the 10-gun schooner *Unique*, escorting a convoy bearing 2,000 troops under Maj. Gen. Sir Charles Green to attack Dutch Suriname. Captain O'Bryen's HMS *Emerald* joins en route.

APRIL 25, 1804. *Suriname.* Hood and Green arrive off this Dutch colony, and an advance division of 700 men is immediately disembarked under Brigadier General Maitland at Warapa Creek. The next evening, HMSS *Emerald*, *Pandour*, and *Drake* cross the bar and bombard the seven-gun Dutch battery at Braam Point, allowing Brigadier General Hughes's division to wade ashore and capture its 43-man garrison (3 of whom are wounded).

On the morning of April 27, Hood and Green transfer from the *Centaur* aboard the *Emerald* and proceed to the mouth of Suriname's river to call upon its authorities—inland at Paramaribo—to surrender. The French commissioner-general, or governor Pierre Berranger, Lt. Col. B. A. Batenburg, and Willem Otto Bloys van Treslong refuse the next day, so the English squadron slowly forges upstream.

Hughes's division also presses overland, overrunning Leyden Redoubt on the morning of April 30, after being disembarked at Resolution Plantation by a Royal Navy boat party. The Dutch garrison fires the magazine and withdraws, inflicting numerous casualties when the British enter unwarily and it detonates. Meanwhile, Maitland closes in from the west, and Hood's shallow-draught warships arrive off Fort New Amsterdam by evening of May 5. Batenburg has already requested terms the previous evening, and on the 6th the Dutch capitulate, surrendering their colony along with the 32-gun frigate *Proserpine*, 18-gun corvette *Pylades* (captured from



Diamond Rock. (Department of Tourism, Martinique)

the English earlier in this war), three merchantmen, the 10-gun sloop *George*, and seven gunboats.

OCTOBER 5, 1804. Capt. Graham Moore, with the Royal Navy frigates *Amphion*, *Lively*, *Medusa*, and *Indefatigable*, intercepts the Spanish frigates *Medea*, *Clara*, *Mercedes*, and *Fama* as they approach Spain from the Americas under Brig. Gen. José Bustamante y Guerra, governor of Montevideo. The latter are bearing treasure from Manila, Callao, and the River Plate, which Moore demands they surrender. When the Spaniards resist, the English open fire, and the *Mercedes* explodes before the other three give up.

OCTOBER 8, 1804. Dessalines proclaims himself Emperor Jacques I of Haiti.

DECEMBER 2, 1804. In Paris, First Consul Bonaparte crowns himself Emperor Napoleon I.

DECEMBER 12, 1804. Spain officially declares war against Great Britain.

FEBRUARY 19, 1805. The British frigate HMS *Surveillante* captures the Spanish schooner *Guadalupe* and brigantine *San Román* off Campeche, then two days later enters the Mexican port itself and cuts out the anchored vessels *Icaro*, *Aurora*, *San Rafael*, and *Bautista*.

FEBRUARY 20, 1805. The 48-year-old French rear admiral Edouard Thomas de Burgues, Comte de Missiessy, appears off St. Lucia with his 120-gun flagship *Majestueux*; the 74-gun ships of the line *Jemmapes*, *Lion*, *Magnanime*, and *Suffren*; the 40-gun frigates *Armide*, *Gloire*, and *Infatigable*; the 16-gun corvettes or brigs *Acteon* and *Lynx*; as well as a schooner. His squadron has exited Rochefort on January 11 and eluded its British blockading squadron.

Missiessy chases a British convoy being escorted by HMS *Alligator* into St. Lucia and receives an exaggerated account from a prisoner as to the strength of the island defenses. The French therefore steer for Martinique to consult with Governor Villaret de Joyeuse. Missiessy's squadron is also bearing 3,300 troops, with which he is to conduct diversionary

attacks in the West Indies before disembarking them and hastening back to Europe.

FEBRUARY 22, 1805. *Assault on Dominica.* Before dawn, British lookouts manning the small, five-gun fort at Scott's Head on the southernmost tip of this island sight some approaching vessels, so they fire a warning shot to rouse the defense. Dawn reveals Missiessy's squadron, flying false English colors and guided by Martinican pilots. The defenders under Major General Prevost are not deceived, their batteries opening fire when Missiessy bears down on the capital of Roseau.

Shortly after 7:00 a.m., 19 boats begin pulling toward shore, bearing 900 French troops under General Lagrange. Their landing three miles south of Roseau near Michel is at first thwarted by St. Luke's Independent Militia Company, the 1st West India Regiment's light company, and the 46th Regiment of Foot's grenadier company. However, when 3 French frigates bear down to offer supporting broadsides, these British troops must fall back closer to Roseau. The town is already being bombarded by Missiessy's main squadron, despite heavy counterfire from the five-gun Melville Battery along the waterfront and the eight-gun Fort Young on the high ground behind the capital. Blazing wads discharged from the latter's muzzles soon set fire to many wooden homes below.

Lagrange meanwhile comes ashore, but his initial advance upon the capital is checked by a British concentration under Maj. A. A. Nunn of the 1st West India Regiment, bolstered by two, 6-pounder fieldpieces. A second French landing at 9:00 a.m. under Colonel Barbot, a mile and a half north of Roseau, succeeds in overrunning the 120 militiamen and single 3-pounder holding Morne Daniel. By early afternoon, Prevost realizes that his outnumbered force cannot hold off both French thrusts, so he orders his troops to evacuate Roseau and re-concentrate at Fort Cabril, at Dominica's northwestern harbor of Prince Rupert's Bay. It will take the bulk of his small army four days to make this march, over very rough trails.

The French meanwhile spare the civilian population of Roseau in exchange for a levy of £7,500, while Missiessy seizes 22 anchored prizes. Lagrange then throws down the capital's defenses and moves up the coast to demand the surrender of Fort Cabril on February 26. Prevost refuses, and after Missiessy probes the defenses around Prince Rupert's Bay the next day, the entire expedition sails away for Martinique on February 28.

LATE FEBRUARY 1805. *Haitian Offensive.* To attack French general Jean-Louis Ferrand, still holding out in Santo Domingo, black emperor Jacques I (formerly Dessalines) advances along both northern and southern shores of this island toward the Spanish capital. Santo Domingo is reached on March 8 by 21,000 Haitian troops and besieged for three weeks.

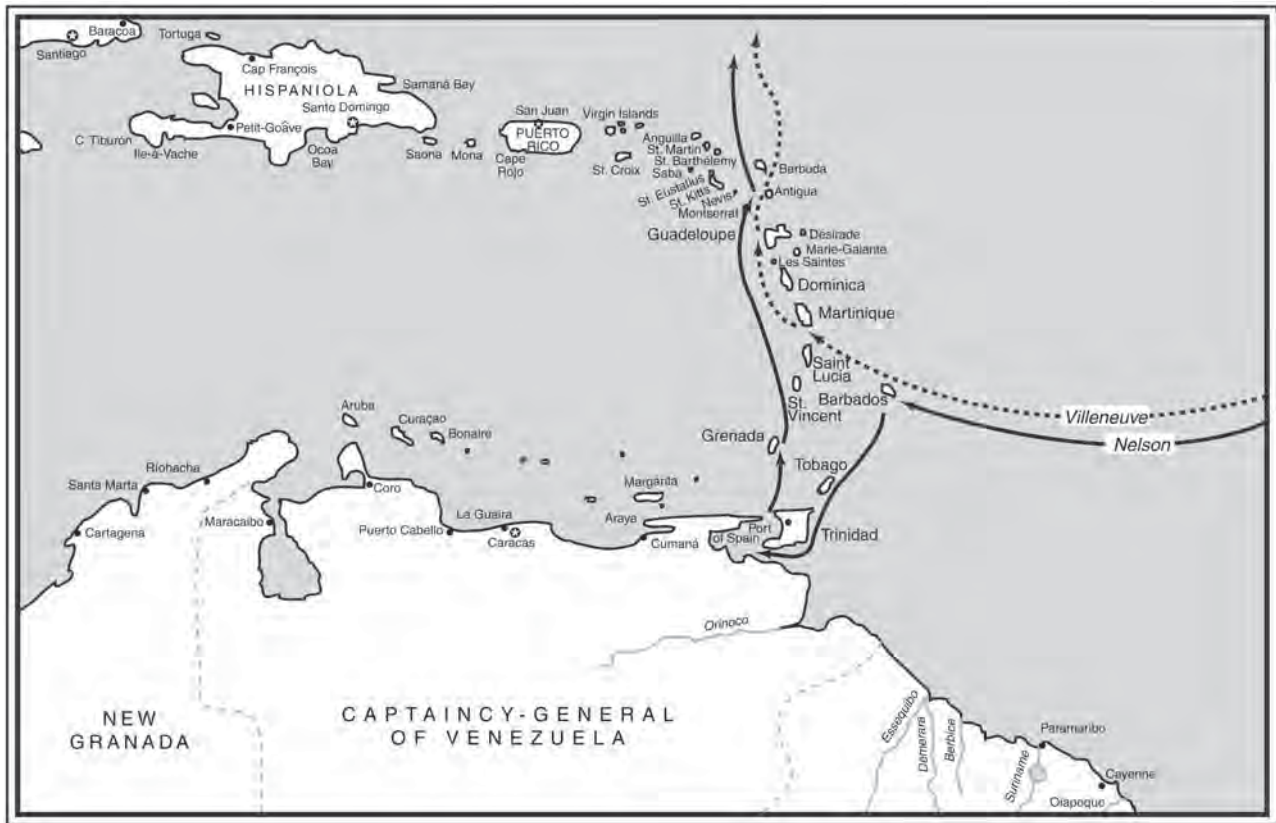
Only the chance appearance of Missiessy's small squadron on March 26 breaks this siege, as Jacques I fears that it portends a French invasion of Haiti during his absence. (Actually, though, Missiessy is simply homeward bound for France, having quit Martinique on March 22, and will exit the Caribbean six days later.) The Haitians nonetheless raise their siege and fall back through the interior, laying waste to Monte Plata, Cotui, and La Vega, while also slaughtering the inhabitants of Moca and Santiago.

MARCH 1805. Local French forces launch raids against Saint Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat.

APRIL 3, 1805. The 46-year-old rear admiral Sir Alexander Forrester Inglis Cochrane (Knight of the Bath and uncle to Thomas, Lord Cochrane; see "November 28, 1818" entry in "Latin American Insurgencies") reaches Barbados with the 74-gun HMS *Northumberland* and four other British ships of the line, having traversed the Atlantic in pursuit of Missiessy. Within two days, he incorporates another ship and four frigates into his command, then stands away toward Santo Domingo. Finding his foe already gone, Cochrane proceeds to Jamaica to reinforce Rear Adm. James Dacres.

APRIL 25, 1805. Cochrane quits Port Royal (Jamaica) with his squadron to take up station in the Leeward Islands.

MAY 14, 1805. *Villeneuve vs. Nelson.* A Franco-Spanish fleet arrives at Fort de France (Martinique) from across the Atlantic under the 41-year-old vice admiral Pierre Charles Silvestre de Villeneuve and his 34-year-old second-in-command, Rear Adm. Pierre Étienne René, Comte Dumanoir Le Pelley. The French contingent has escaped from the Mediterranean port of Toulon and consists of the 80-gun *Bucentaure* (flag), *Neptune*, *Formidable*, and *Indomptable*; the 74-gun *Pluton*, *Mont Blanc*, *Berwick*, *Atlas*, *Swift-sure*, *Scipion*, and *Intrépide*; the 40-gun frigates *Cornélie*, *Rhin*, *Hortense*, *Hermione*, *Sirène*, and *Thémis*; plus two gun brigs and the British sloop *Cyane*



Nelson's pursuit of Villeneuve through the Lesser Antilles.

(captured 150 miles to windward of Barbados). The French crews are fleshed out with several hundred soldiers and, furthermore, carry 3,332 troops under Gen. Jacques Lauriston. The 48-year-old admiral Federico Carlos Gravina y Nápoli has joined out of Cadiz and leads the Spanish ships of the line *Argonauta* (flag), *Terrible*, *América*, *España*, *San Rafael*, and *Firme*, with 1,930 soldiers over and above their usual complements.

This formation's objective is to lure a major British fleet across the ocean in its wake, then immediately return to Europe and gain a temporary advantage in the Channel for a projected invasion of England. Over the next two weeks, Villeneuve remains at anchor in Fort de France, blockading its offshore English base of Diamond Rock while awaiting the arrival of an additional fleet from Brest under 49-year-old vice admiral Honoré Joseph Antoine, Comte Ganteaume.

MAY 29, 1805. *Reclamation of Diamond Rock.* At 5:30 p.m., the French *Pluton* of 43-year-old commodore Julien Marie, Baron Cosmao-Kerjulien, the *Berwick* of Captain Carmas, the frigate *Sirène* of Cap-

tain Chabert, the brig *Argus* of Captain Taillard, and the schooner *Fine* of Captain Meynard tow 11 gunboats out of Fort de France (Martinique), bearing 240 troops under Major Boyer to attack Diamond Rock. After circling that small islet, the French squadron closes at 7:00 a.m. on May 31, opening fire an hour later. Capt. James Wilkes Maurice offers a spirited resistance with his 128-man garrison, destroying 3 gunboats and continuing to shell the French troops once they wade ashore. Finally, although having suffered only 2 killed and 1 wounded, the exhausted British magazines oblige the defenders to request terms at 4:30 p.m. on June 2, capitulating the next day and being repatriated to Barbados by June 6.

Meanwhile, the French frigate *Didon* has reached Martinique on May 30 with new orders from Napoleon I, instructing Villeneuve to land his troops as reinforcements for the West India garrisons, ravage the British colonies as a further diversionary tactic, then steer quickly for Europe. On June 4, the French 74-gun *Algésiras* and *Achille* also arrive under the 41-year-old rear admiral Charles René Magon de Médine, having escaped from Rochefort,

and at 4:00 a.m. the next morning the combined fleet weighs for Guadeloupe. Several hundred local troops are taken aboard there on the afternoon of June 6 before the expedition presses on toward Antigua.

JUNE 8, 1805. At 10:00 a.m., while rounding Antigua, the combined Franco-Spanish fleet spots 15 British merchantmen setting sail for Europe. These are easily captured, but upon interrogating some of its crew members, Villeneuve learns that Nelson's fleet has arrived four days earlier at Carlisle Bay (Barbados). Assuming that the British admiral has brought 12 to 14 ships of the line with him—rather than the 10 Nelson actually commands, plus 3 frigates—the French commander fears they will be added to Cochrane's 6 in the Windward Islands to produce a force equal to his own.

Villeneuve therefore holds a hurried conference with Gravina, at which both agree to abandon their diversionary scheme and return forthwith to Europe. The colonial volunteers are rapidly disembarked, no regular troops are landed, prizes are dispatched toward Martinique, and the Franco-Spanish fleet (now including the ship of the line *Aigle*) disappears into the Atlantic by June 11.

Nelson has meanwhile incorporated Cochrane's only two ships of the line at Barbados—plus 2,000 local troops—into his force, but because of faulty intelligence, he steers southwest toward Trinidad under the impression that he will find his enemy there. Dawn of June 8 reveals his mistake, and it is not until the next afternoon when he calls at Grenada that the British admiral finally discovers the combined fleet's true heading. Racing northward, he arrives off Antigua by June 12, only to learn a

Trafalgar

When Admiral Villeneuve's storm-tossed fleet, homeward bound from its Caribbean foray, sighted Cape Finisterre off northwestern Spain on July 22, 1805, it found 15 British ships of the line waiting under Vice Adm. Sir Robert Calder. They fought an indecisive battle in poor visibility that same evening, during which two Spanish ships were captured. After hovering within sight of each other for another two days, Calder retreated. He was later relieved, court-martialed, and reprimanded for not having crippled the combined fleet.

Villeneuve meanwhile anchored in Vigo Bay on July 27, 1805. His combined fleet reemerged four days later, its Spanish ships entering Ferrol, while the French went into La Coruña. While resting there, Villeneuve received a stream of messages from Napoleon I urging him to move quickly. The combined fleet was to help Ganteaume's blockaded French squadron escape from Brest, then mass together before the emperor's invasion camp at Boulogne. His 160,000-man army, already assembled, needed only a few days of naval dominance in the Straits of Dover to board its 2,350 small boats and disgorge in the British Isles.

Villeneuve, however, became very uncertain. Orders written to him by the more cautious French naval minister, Denis Decrès, allowed the option of steering for safety in Cadiz. When Villeneuve exited on August 13, 1805, he veered around southward only two days later, perhaps misled by false reports of British strength in the Bay of Biscay. The combined fleet therefore entered Cadiz on August 20, and three days later an angry Napoleon I cancelled his invasion. He instead departed Boulogne with his army on August 27 to campaign against Austria. One month later, Villeneuve received fresh orders to lead the combined fleet into the Mediterranean.

Nelson, in the meantime, enjoyed leave in England, and on September 29, 1805, assumed command over the blockading fleet outside Cadiz. Hoping to lure his opponents out to sea, he kept only a few frigates close in, with the bulk of his warships hidden 50 miles below the horizon. Nelson also instructed his captains to charge directly into an enemy line in two columns so as to produce a general fight in which the superior British gunnery and seamanship would tell. When Villeneuve learned on October 18 that Vice Adm. François Rosily had reached Madrid, coming to relieve him, he ordered the combined fleet to prepare to sail immediately.

Demoralized, his 33 French and Spanish ships of the line did not head southeast toward the Strait of Gibraltar until two days later. On the morning of October 21, 1805, they were overtaken by Nelson with 27 of the line. Shortly after noon, twin British columns drove into the Franco-Spanish line and annihilated the combined fleet by evening. Villeneuve lost 22 ships, representing the deaths of 4,480 crewmen, 2,250 wounded, and 7,000 captured. British casualties totaled 449 dead and 1,214 wounded, and no ships were lost. Although Nelson was among the fallen, the crushing nature of his final victory ensured that no more major expeditions could come out from Spain or France to the West Indies for the remaining 10 years of this conflict.

few days later that Villeneuve and Gravina have forsaken the West Indies altogether. Nelson thereupon disembarks his own colonial forces and refreshes supplies before sailing in Villeneuve's wake.

JANUARY 12, 1806. Duckworth—now a vice admiral and Knight of the Order of the Bath—arrives at Carlisle Bay (Barbados) with a Royal Navy squadron, having vainly chased a small French force across the Atlantic. He is joined by Cochrane with the *Northumberland* and the *Atlas*, reaches Saint Kitts by January 21, then on February 1 learns that his enemy is off the coast of French-held Santo Domingo so sails to overtake. After passing through the Mona Passage, Duckworth is joined on the afternoon of February 5 by the frigate *Magicienne* bearing intelligence, then steers toward Santo Domingo.

FEBRUARY 6, 1806. *Duckworth's Action.* At dawn, British scouts sight a French squadron anchored off Santo Domingo, so Admiral Duckworth stands in to engage with his weather division consisting of the 74-gun flagship *Superb* under Capt. Richard Good-

win Keats, Cochrane's vice-flagship *Northumberland*, and the *Spencer* under the Hon. Robert Stopford, as well as the 64-gun *Agammemnon* of Sir Edward Berry. Rear Adm. Thomas Louis follows with his lee division, comprised of his own 84-gun *Canopus* (formerly the French *Franklin*), the *Donegal* (ex-French *Hoche*) under Malcolm, and the *Atlas* of Pym. They are trailed by the 40-gun frigate *Acasta* of Dunn, the *Magicienne* of McKenzie, as well as the 16-gun *Kingfisher* of Nathaniel Day Cochrane and the 14-gun *Epervier*.

Surprised and outnumbered, the 47-year-old French vice admiral Corentin de Leissègues orders his ships to slip their cables at 7:30 a.m. and run westward before the wind past Point Nisao, to shelter under the Ocoa Bay batteries. French strength consists of the 120-gun flagship *Impérial* (ex-*Vengeur*) of Captain Le Pigot, the 84-gun *Alexandre* of Garreau and *Diomède* of Henri, and the 74-gun *Brave* of Condé and *Jupitre* of Laignel. Closer inshore are the 40-gun frigates *Félicité* and *Comète*, plus the corvette *Diligence*.

Shortly after 10:00 a.m., the *Superb* overhauls the lead French ship *Alexandre*, and battle is joined.



Leissègues's *Impérial* (center) losing its mainmast as his squadron is defeated by Duckworth off Santo Domingo. (National Maritime Museum, London)

After an hour and a half of fighting, Leissègues steers his flagship—only its foremast still standing—in toward land, deliberately running aground near Punta Catalán by 11:40 a.m. The *Diomède* soon follows, while the *Brave*, the *Alexandre*, and the *Jupitre* have already struck to the British, suffering 760 total casualties. Duckworth sustains 74 killed and 264 wounded. He burns the beached *Impérial* and *Diomède* on February 8, then detaches Stopford to sail to Jamaica with the vessels *Spencer*, *Donegal*, *Atlas*, and his three prizes, while Cochrane returns to the Leeward Islands with a jury-rigged *Northumberland* and *Agamemnon*.

MARCH 1806. Commo. Louis de la Marre, Vicomte de la Meillerie, having survived the Battle of Trafalgar and escaped out of Cadiz in late February with his 40-gun frigates *Hortense*, *Hermione*, and *Rhin* and the 36-gun *Thémis*, briefly visits Cayenne (French Guiana) before returning to France.

APRIL 27, 1806. *Miranda's Landing.* The wealthy, 51-year-old, Caracas-born revolutionary, Sebastián Francisco de Miranda Rodríguez, arrives west of Puerto Cabello (Venezuela) aboard Captain Lewis's *Leander*, hired in New York with the help of American backers Col. W. S. Smith and S. G. Ogden. He is accompanied by two schooners chartered at Santo Domingo.

Having participated as a Spanish military officer in the conquest of Pensacola and the Bahamas during the American Revolutionary War, as well as rising to maréchal in the French Revolutionary armies, it is Miranda's dream to raise a similar revolt against Spanish rule in his homeland. But when he attempts to disembark at Puerto Cabello with 150 followers, they are repelled by its local garrison, and two vessels and 60 men are lost. Miranda therefore retires toward Barbados to ask for help from British rear admiral Cochrane.

JUNE 8, 1806. *River Plate.* The 43-year-old English commodore Sir Home Riggs Popham arrives off Cape Santa María (Uruguay) with the 32-gun frigate HMS *Narcissus* to reconnoiter the approaches to Buenos Aires for an impending assault. When he earlier helped conquer the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch, Popham had learned from Capt. T. Wayne of the American slaver *Elizabeth* that the River Plate's residents are resentful of Spanish rule, so he has persuaded Gen. Sir David Baird to lend him a contingent for an independent campaign.

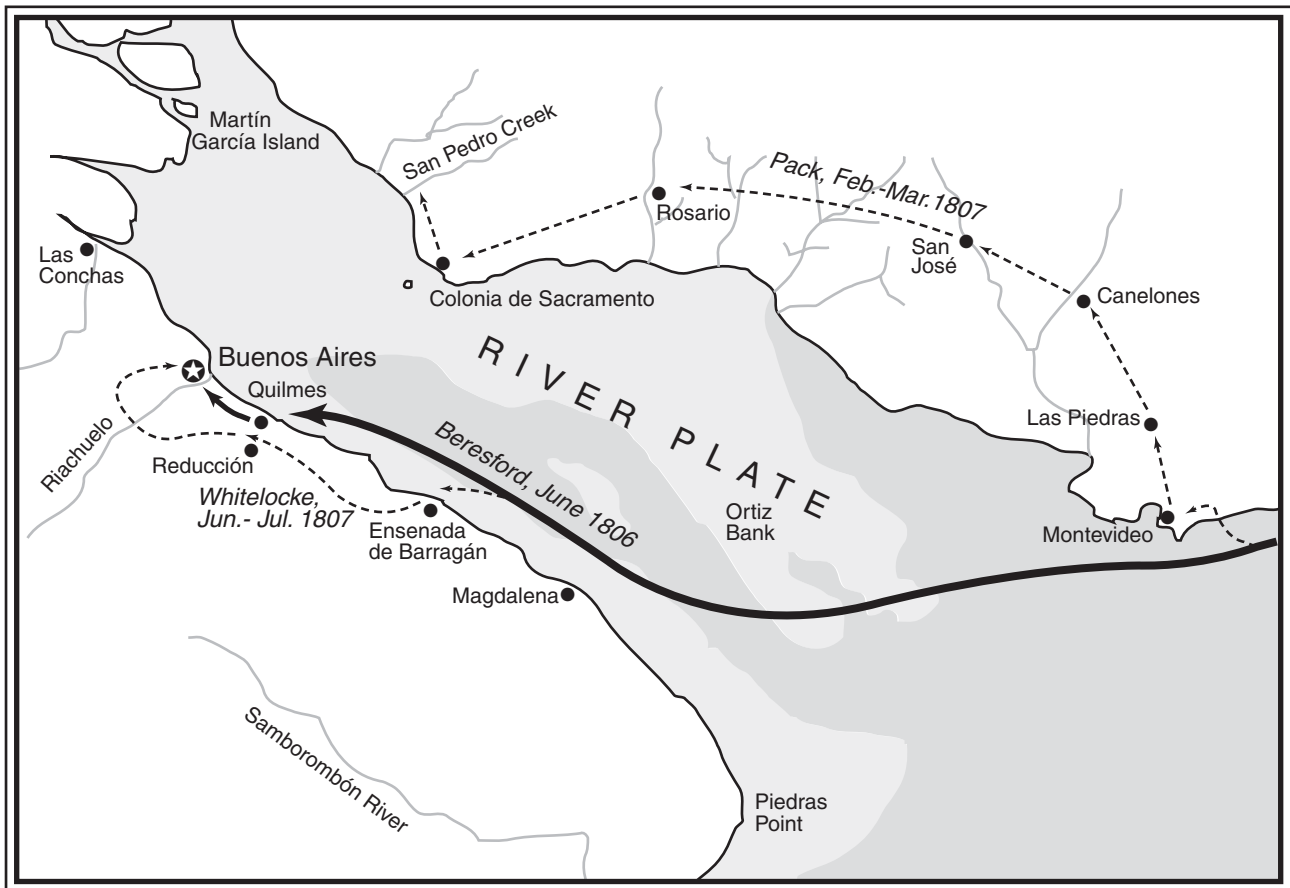
Great American Brotherhood

The first Masonic "lodges" met in England in 1717. They were groups of men from a common profession or background who would gather regularly in private to pursue a particular goal or ideal. Their purpose was to encourage one another, and they were morally bound by principles of "brotherly love, relief, and truth." Lodges soon spread into Ireland, France, Scotland, and North America. Because of their origin in Protestant Britain, though, they were banned from most Catholic countries by papal bulls as early as 1738.

As the 18th century advanced, the secretive nature of these societies proved well-suited for discussion of new ideas. Many Masons came to embrace the Age of Reason, some even referring to their meetings as "temples of Philosophy and the Arts." The Venezuelan exile Francisco de Miranda became a Mason at Philadelphia in 1783. After a dozen years of travel, he approached the Grand Lodge in Paris in March 1795 and—amid the euphoria of change unleashed by the French Revolution—asked permission to found a lodge for Latin American members. Because of the many uncertainties in that turbulent time and city, he could not actually do so until he regained London in June 1797.

Miranda's aim was to create a private forum for individuals to plan the independence of Spanish America. This forum was to be known as the *Logia de Caballeros Racionales* or "Lodge of Rational Knights." Miranda sponsored Bernardo O'Higgins as a new member early the next year. When O'Higgins returned to Cadiz in late April 1798, he founded another new lodge there. It took the name *Logia Lautaro*, in honor of the 16th-century Chilean chieftain who resisted the Spanish conquistadors. Miranda meanwhile sustained the movement from London, raising funds and chartering more lodges. His organization became known as the *Gran Reunión Americana* ("Great American Gathering") or the *Gran Hermandad Americana* ("Great American Brotherhood").

After Napoleon I invaded Spain and toppled its monarchy in spring of 1808, the number of Masonic lodges grew. Given the alliance with Britain, lodges for Spanish Americans were able to operate more openly and recruit more actively. Among the many Masons who played a significant future role in the liberation of Latin America were José de San Martín, Carlos María de Alvear, José Matías Zapiola, Juan Martín de Pueyrredón, and Bernardo de Monteagudo of Argentina; Bernardo O'Higgins of Chile; and Santiago Mariño, Andrés Bello, Luis López Méndez, and Simón Bolívar of Venezuela. Once independence was achieved, many lodges transferred to Latin America where their members exerted considerable influence on national politics.



British invasions of the River Plate estuary.

One week later, Popham's main body joins him near Montevideo, consisting of the 64-gun flagship HMS *Diadem* and *Raisonnable*, the *Diomedé* of 50 guns, the 38-gun frigate *Leda*, and the brig *Encounter*, escorting the transports *Triton*, *Melantha*, *Willington*, and *Walker* with 1,200 soldiers under 37-year-old brigadier general William Carr-Beresford. Beresford's army consists mostly of the 1st Battalion of the 71st Highland Light Infantry Regiment under 34-year-old lieutenant colonel Dennis Pack, plus a dragoon squadron, artillery company, and other auxiliaries. This expedition is furthermore accompanied by the merchantman *Justina*.

Popham convinces Beresford that, to take advantage of the element of surprise, Buenos Aires must be assaulted first, so they transfer all marines and troops aboard the lighter vessels by June 16, then—after detaching the *Raisonnable* and the *Diomedé* to blockade Maldonado (Uruguay) and the *Diadem* to do the same off Montevideo—advance deeper into the fog-shrouded River Plate.

On the evening of June 24, Buenos Aires's viceroy—Rafael, Marqués de Sobremonte—is sum-

moned from the theater by the arrival of pilot José de la Peña from Montevideo with news that an English expedition is about to invade. The next morning, the regional militia is mustered, only to behold the small English army already coming ashore in the distance at Quilmes, bolstered by 340 marines, 100 sailors, 16 horses, and 8 fieldpieces. Beresford marches quickly upon Buenos Aires, brushing aside the ill-equipped contingents sent to bar his path. By the morning of Sunday, June 27, he easily crosses the Riachuelo, despite the presence of 400 Spaniards manning a six-gun battery under the military engineer, Lieutenant Colonel Gianini.

The very swiftness of this English approach unmans Sobremonte, who exits Buenos Aires with his remaining 600 troops—allegedly to attack the English from the rear but actually to flee inland to Córdoba. Command is left to Brig. Gen. José Ignacio de la Quintana, who surrenders to Beresford that same afternoon. At 4:00 p.m. on June 27, English troops peacefully occupy strongpoints throughout the city in a driving rainstorm, seizing more than 90 guns, 7,000 firearms, and other goods. The official capitu-

lation is signed on July 2, and two weeks later an exultant Popham dispatches the *Narcissus* to England with glowing accounts of this land's wealth, plus more than a million pesos' worth of booty.

JULY 2, 1806. French raiders strike the West Indian island of Montserrat.

AUGUST 1, 1806. Having perceived the weakness of the English forces occupying Buenos Aires, Spaniards from outlying districts begin mustering outside the city to expel these invaders. Warned of this plan after returning from the theater, Beresford sallies at 1:30 a.m. with 550 soldiers under Pack and six fieldpieces, defeating one such force under 30-year-old Juan Martín de Pueyrredón at Perdriel Manor outside Buenos Aires at 8:00 that same morning.

AUGUST 3, 1806. Reinforced with British contingents from both Barbados and Trinidad, the revolutionary Francisco Miranda returns to Coro (Venezuela) with 10 vessels and 500 men, disembarking 300–400 of them and occupying its port, while the defenders flee inland. His call for a South American revolt falls upon deaf ears, though, being perceived as a British stratagem. Ten days later, after being attacked by Coro's regional militias, Miranda is forced to retire toward Aruba.

AUGUST 4, 1806. *Argentine Reconquest.* The 53-year-old, French-born naval captain and commander of the Ensenada de Barragán garrison—Santiago de Liniers y Bremond, Knight of the Order of Malta—disembarks 20 miles outside Buenos Aires at Las Conchas with another Spanish relief force, transported from Montevideo by a flotilla under Juan Gutiérrez de la Concha. Once ashore he joins de Pueyrredón's defeated contingent. Together, they muster 2,500 troops, with which de Liniers marches against Buenos Aires through a cold rain. On August 11, he encounters Beresford's defenders at Retiro, so he installs his Spanish siege artillery and throws a cavalry screen around the city.

The next day, in a sharp two-hour fight during which the Spaniards suffer 205 casualties (as opposed to 157 British), the Spanish fight their way into Buenos Aires, pressing back the outnumbered English. By 3:00 p.m. on August 12, Beresford and his 1,300 men have no choice but to surrender, eventually being interred at Luján in Argentina's interior. Popham's vessels retire from the roadstead, and—because of this Spanish victory—de Liniers is popu-

larly acclaimed acting viceroy of Buenos Aires in place of the disgraced Sobremonte.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1806. Having reunited off Cape Henry (Virginia) after an Atlantic storm, the 74-gun HMSS *Bellona* and *Belleisle*, and the 36-gun frigate *Melampus*, sight the 74-gun French *Impéteux* limping toward Chesapeake Bay under a jury-rig. The British give chase, compelling Captain Belair to run *Impéteux* ashore and strike his colors; the wreck is then burned. Later, the French warships *Eole* and *Patriote* gain refuge in the Chesapeake, while the *Valereuse* enters the Delaware.

OCTOBER 12, 1806. *Maldonado.* A belated English relief convoy appears off the River Plate from the Cape of Good Hope under Lieutenant Colonel Backhouse: 913 soldiers from the 38th Infantry Regiment, 770 from the 47th, 116 in one company of the 54th, 215 troopers in two squadrons from the 20th Dragoons, 158 troopers from the 21 Dragoons, plus 6 gunners. Their four transports are escorted by HMS *Lancaster* of 64 guns, the 32-gun frigate *Medusa*, the sloop *Howe*, the brig *Protector*, and the detained American brig *Rolla*. Popham advises this force of Buenos Aires's fall and persuades Backhouse to attempt an assault against smaller Montevideo. The English fleet (the vessels *Triton*, *Hero*, *Royal Charlotte*, *Columbine*, *Fanny*, *Encounter*, *Protector*, *Leda*, *Medusa*, *Diomedes*, and *Lancaster*) approaches Montevideo's harbor by the morning of October 28 but, finding its waters too shallow to approach and silence its batteries, withdraws after a three-hour exchange of shots.

Popham next steers for Maldonado (Uruguay), setting 400 soldiers of the 38th Regiment ashore southeast of this place under Lieutenant Colonel Vassal on October 29, backed by a company of marines and sailors. At a cost of 2 dead and 4 wounded, they overwhelm Captain Borrás's 230 militia defenders, inflicting more than 50 casualties, and capturing two of the Spaniards' four guns. Vassal thereupon overruns the 12-gun battery at Punta del Este on October 30, while Popham seizes the 20-gun battery on Gorriti Island; the English thereby secure a defensible encampment at Maldonado to await further reinforcements.

Some time later, the Spanish naval lieutenant Abreu is sent from Montevideo with 400 riders to invest the British base, only to be defeated and killed near San Carlos. Lt. Col. José M. Moreno subsequently inaugurates harassing raids with *gaucho* cavalry, preventing the invaders from foraging inland.

DECEMBER 4, 1806. Rear Adm. Charles Stirling reaches Maldonado from England aboard HMS *Sampson* of 64 guns, with the Indiamen *Earl Spencer*, *Sir Stephen Lushington*, and some victuallers, relieving Popham, who returns to England to stand trial for his unauthorized campaign into this theater (eventually being “severely reprimanded,” which does not affect his popularity or subsequent career).

DECEMBER 23, 1806. Less than a month after a sortie from Port Royal (Jamaica), Capt. Charles Brisbane’s 38-gun frigate *Arethusa*, Lydiard’s 44-gun *Anson*, and Wood’s 38-gun *Latona* rendezvous off Aruba with the frigate *Fisgard* in anticipation of surprising the Dutch island of Curaçao at dawn on New Year’s Day.

JANUARY 1, 1807. *Curaçao.* At 1:00 a.m., Brisbane’s frigates pause outside the strongly defended entrance to Santa Anna Bay, which leads past the island capital Willemstad into the Schottegat. Having distributed a landing force into boats, the Royal Navy quartet resumes its advance four hours later and tows these craft into the channel at sunrise, catching the Dutch defense completely unprepared.

Despite sporadic counterfire from 60-gun Fort Amsterdam, Fort Republic (modern Fort Nassau atop Sablica Hill), several lesser batteries, plus the moored 36-gun frigate *Kenau Hasselaar* of Captain Evertsz and the 22-gun corvette *Suriname* of Captain van Nes, the English warships anchor opposite their preselected targets and send a surrender demand ashore. When no answer is forthcoming, Brisbane orders his vessels to open fire at 6:15 a.m., carrying all the defenses after several point-blank broadsides plus a half-hour bombardment of more distant Fort Republic. British losses total 3 killed and 14 wounded, compared to 200 Dutch casualties. Thanks to Brisbane’s boldness (for which he is later knighted), Curaçao will remain in English hands for the next nine years.

JANUARY 5, 1807. British reinforcements arrive off Maldonado (Uruguay), totaling 3,600 troops under 50-year-old brigadier general Sir Samuel Auchmuty (a New York-born American Loyalist) and escorted by the 64-gun HMS *Ardent*, the 32-gun frigate *Unicorn*, and the sloop *Cherwell*. His army consists of 706 troopers of the 17th Dragoons; 215 of the 20th; 158 of the 21st; 1,125 infantrymen from the 40th Regiment of Foot; 901 from the 87th; 116



Capt. Charles Brisbane’s quartet of Royal Navy frigates surprise the Dutch defenders of Willemstad at dawn on New Year’s Day. (Author’s Collection)

from the 54th; 258 in three companies from the 95th Rifles; plus 131 artillerymen for six fieldpieces.

Finding Colonel Backhouse's Maldonado base hard-pressed by *gaucho* guerrillas, Auchmuty orders it evacuated on January 13, leaving only a small garrison behind to hold Gorriti Island offshore with support from the *Lancaster* and the *Diomedé*. Escorted by Stirling's *Diadem* (flag), *Raisonné*, *Ardent*, and *Lancaster*; the frigates *Leda*, *Unicorn*, *Medusa*, and *Daphné*; the sloops *Pheasant* (of 16 guns), *Howe*, and *Cherwell*; plus the brigs *Encounter*, *Protector*, *Staunch*, and *Rolla*, the main English body then veers westward to attack Montevideo.

JANUARY 8, 1807. *Haitian Civil War.* This island nation has been plunged into conflict between the black General Christophe, Dessalines's successor in command of its northern armies, and the 36-year-old southern mulatto leader Anne-Alexandre Sabès Pétion. Christophe, who invaded with 10,000 men, has bloodied a surprise sally out of Port-au-Prince by Pétion with 3,000 men at Sibert on January 1. He now closes in to besiege the capital.

The guerrilla chieftain Yayou mounts a desperate defense until Pétion can return and repulse Christophe's major assault on January 8. The northerners thereupon withdraw, sowing a path of destruction as they recross Cul de Sac Plain toward Cap Haïtien to acclaim Christophe president of the "Republic of the North." Pétion is meanwhile proclaimed president of a southern republic as of March 9, and he strengthens Port-au-Prince's defenses and augments its garrison to 8,000 men. Christophe, however, hopes that by transforming his northern territory into a model state, he might win over reluctant southerners. André Rigaud, moreover, will return from exile in France in 1810 and create a third division around his southern birthplace of Les Cayes.

JANUARY 16, 1807. *Montevideo.* Around noon, Auchmuty disembarks his troops at Mulata or Verde Beach, between Manzo and Gorda points, six miles east of this Uruguayan capital (population 10,000). Viceroy Sobremonte detaches Colonel Allende with 800 lancers and six fieldpieces to bolster the few defenders resisting atop Carretas Point, but they are unable to make much effect. Over the next two days, the British bring their entire 5,500-man army ashore, plus six guns and 800 marines and sailors. Opposing them are 3,500 troops inside Montevideo under Gov. Pascual Ruiz Huidobro, consisting of four companies of regulars, a militia battalion, four

volunteer battalions (three called Carlos IV under Maj. Nicolás de Vedia), Catalan irregulars, three squadrons of Buenos Aires dragoons, Mordeille's "hussars"—from the French privateers *Reine Louise* and *Orient* in the harbor—180 regular gunners, a battalion of militia artillerymen, plus numerous seamen. Outside the city, another 2,500 Uruguayan riders muster under Viceroy Sobremonte.

By January 19, Auchmuty strikes toward Montevideo in three columns. Sobremonte with 1,300 troops falls upon the English vanguard, supported by Allende's cavalry on both flanks. Lieutenant Colonel Brownrigg drives off this attack with a brilliant countermaneuver, which captures a piece and compels the Spaniards to retire inside their city with 100 casualties, as opposed to 25 British losses (Auchmuty having a horse shot out from beneath him). This skirmish allows the invaders to gain Tres Cruces Heights by that afternoon, overlooking the city. The next dawn, Ruiz Huidobro sends out 270 Buenos Aires foot, 260 dragoons, 650 volunteer infantrymen, 422 artillerymen, 300 hussars, 200 militiamen, 60 chasseurs, and 200 seamen under Brig. Gen. Bernardo Lecoq to launch a coordinated assault against the English in conjunction with 1,700 riders under Sobremonte, who are to attack from inland. The resulting pincer movement is intended to cut Auchmuty off from the sea. The Spanish infantry collide with the British left flank at Cristo del Cordón, its trailing columns hurrying toward this objective even as Auchmuty deploys his Light Brigade and 95 riflemen in cornfields along the line of march, ambushing the Spaniards in a crossfire. Lecoq's troops stream back into Montevideo, having suffered 200 killed, 400 wounded, plus 200 men and a gun captured, as opposed to 149 English casualties. Sobremonte's cavalry—viewing this action from a safe distance—retire into their Las Piedras encampment without engaging, from whence many subsequently desert.

That same afternoon of January 20, the British seize the Aguada Wells outside Montevideo and begin constructing siege works. Without sufficient strength to entirely surround the city, nor equipment to dig through its flinty subsoil, Auchmuty hopes to batter Montevideo into submission. Stirling sends hundreds of sailors ashore to install and man heavy batteries, the first of which opens fire on January 23. On February 2, more than 500 Spanish reinforcements slip into the city from Buenos Aires under Brig. Gen. Pedro de Arce; however, seeing that an 11-yard-wide breach has been pounded



Auchmuty's troops storming Montevideo's ramparts before dawn. (National Maritime Museum, London)

along Montevideo's southern ramparts, Auchmuty decides to storm this spot the next dawn regardless.

The assault commences at 3:30 a.m. on February 3. Spaniards Ruiz Huidobro and de Arce are captured after fierce hand-to-hand combat during which 800 Spaniards are killed and another 500 wounded. The entire garrison capitulates by 5:20 a.m., another 2,000 Spanish troops surrendering. British losses total 121 dead and 276 wounded. The 22-gun Spanish frigates *San Francisco de Paula* and *Fuerte*, 10-gun brigs *Héro*, *Dolores*, and *Paz*, and another 52 vessels are seized by Stirling, while a 28-gun frigate and 3 armed launches lie scuttled in the harbor. Military booty includes 345 guns, 2,500 muskets, and much ammunition.

FEBRUARY 1807. A mulatto-dominated assembly at Port-au-Prince results in conflict and divided rule. President Christophe governs the "State of Haiti" in the north, while Pétion and a mulatto clique hold sway in the "Republic of Haiti" to the south.

FEBRUARY 6, 1807. Auchmuty is reinforced at Montevideo by another 711 troopers of the 9th Dragoons, who arrive from Cape Verde (West Africa)

aboard four transports and three hired merchantmen escorted by the frigate *HMS Nereide*.

FEBRUARY 10, 1807. Because of his ineffectual actions outside Montevideo, Sobremonte is deposed as viceroy of the River Plate.

FEBRUARY 25, 1807. Beresford and his staff reach Montevideo, having escaped from their imprisonment in Uruguay's interior.

FEBRUARY 26, 1807. Auchmuty dispatches Lieutenant Colonel Pack west from Montevideo with six companies of the 40th Foot, four companies of light infantry, three companies of the 95th Rifles, and a squadron of the 9th Dragoons to seize Colonia (Uruguay) and impede any possible Spanish counterattack from Buenos Aires. Pack succeeds, overwhelming Colonia's 2,800 inhabitants without opposition.

MARCH 25, 1807. After 20 years of lobbying by committed abolitionists, the British Parliament passes "An Act for the Abolition of the Slave Trade." As of May 1, any British vessels caught carrying slaves on the high seas will be treated as pirates.

A similar American law is to come into effect on January 1, 1808. However, Royal Navy efforts are concentrated in other theaters, and frictions will soon escalate between Washington and London; hence, no effective steps are immediately taken.

APRIL 22, 1807. At 1:00 a.m., Col. Francisco Javier de Elío—recently arrived from Spain with fresh troops—attempts a surprise attack with 1,500 men against Pack’s garrison inside Colonia (Uruguay). The English repel this assault after suffering 1 dead and 3 wounded, as opposed to 8 Spaniards killed and 8 injured. Elío’s retreating columns are pursued as far as Real de San Carlos.

MAY 10, 1807. The veteran lieutenant general John Whitelocke (*see* “September 9, 1793” entry in “Haitian Revolution”) and his second-in-command, Maj. Gen. John Leveson-Gower, reach Montevideo from England aboard the frigate HMS *Thisbe*, superseding Auchmuty in command of all British expeditionary forces in this theater the next day.

JUNE 7, 1807. At 3:00 a.m. this Sunday, Pack steals out of Colonia (Uruguay) with 541 infantrymen of the 40th Regiment, 225 of the 95th, 278 skirmishers, 61 troopers of the 9th Dragoons, 34 gunners, and 2 fieldpieces to surprise Colonel Elío’s encampment at San Pedro. The British arrive four hours later to find 2,000 Spaniards drawn up in battle array with 16 guns. Without pause, Pack drives straight into Elío’s army, scattering it with a loss of only 5 English dead and 40 wounded. Spanish casualties total 120 killed, numerous wounded, and 105 captives, plus 8 guns and 250 muskets lost.

JUNE 15, 1807. The 43-year-old brigadier general Robert Craufurd (having been diverted from an expedition against Chile) reaches Montevideo with 940 soldiers of the 5th Infantry Regiment, 925 of the 36th, 956 of the 45th, 898 of the 88th (Connaught Rangers), 410 (five companies) of the 95th Rifles, 336 troopers of the 6th Dragoons, 273 gunners, and 18 fieldpieces. They are traveling aboard 33 transports escorted by 48-year-old rear admiral George Murray’s 64-gun *Polyphemus* (flag) and *Africa*, the 36-gun frigate *Nereide*, the 16-gun sloop *Saracen*, the brig *Haughty*, the schooner *Flying Fish*, and the storeship *Camel*. The frigates *Medusa*, *Unicorn*, and *Daphne* are awaiting them at Montevideo.

General Whitelocke, having decided to attack Buenos Aires immediately upon the arrival of these

reinforcements, does not allow them to disembark but, rather, leaves 1,500 men—the 47th Regiment, two companies from the 38th, part of the 20th and 21st Dragoons, and a company of marines—to garrison Montevideo under Colonel Dean of the 38th Foot. He then goes aboard ship with another 4,000 soldiers by June 21 to steer toward his objective.

JUNE 22, 1807. Off Chesapeake Bay, the 50-gun HMS *Leopard* intercepts 39-year-old American commodore James Barron’s frigate USS *Chesapeake* of 40 guns, firing three heavy broadsides and compelling it to strike 15 minutes later for refusing to allow a party aboard to search for Royal Navy deserters. Three Americans are killed and 18 wounded, this incident provoking a downturn in Anglo-American relations.

JUNE 26, 1807. Colonel Pack’s garrison abandons Colonia (Uruguay), joining Whitelocke’s expedition against Buenos Aires.

JUNE 28, 1807. *Buenos Aires.* This Sunday, Whitelocke disembarks 9,000 men, 350 horses, and 16 fieldpieces at Ensenada de Barragán to march the 30 miles southeastward against Buenos Aires. Five fieldpieces and many horses are left behind, mired in the muddy terrain. Leveson-Gower’s vanguard reaches Reducción de Quilmes by July 1 in a steady rain, finding its Spanish battery already withdrawn. While Whitelocke’s main body and rearguard recuperate, Leveson-Gower advances from Bernal and fords the Riachuelo River the next day at 9:30 a.m., with 2,600 men and 4 fieldpieces.

South of this river, de Liniers waits at Barracas with 6,900 men and 53 fieldpieces, having sortied from Buenos Aires to offer battle. Realizing that Leveson-Gower is now between him and his capital, the Spanish commander rushes his vanguard to Misere Ranch to prevent an immediate assault against Buenos Aires. His men dig in with 11 pieces by 5:00 p.m., only to be displaced by Craufurd in a clash in which the Spaniards suffer 60 casualties, 80 prisoners, and the loss of all their artillery. The English, in contrast, suffer only 14 dead and 30 wounded.

However, the English vanguard—unaware that Buenos Aires lies defenseless—remains encamped at Misere awaiting the arrival of their main body, which gives de Liniers time to recall his other troops and organize resistance amid the capital’s barricaded streets. By July 3, the English have gathered 6,900 men in the western suburbs, probed the defenses, then called

upon the Spaniards to surrender the next day. Being rebuffed, Whitelocke sends eight battalions—comprising 5,800 men in 13 columns—into the streets at 6:30 a.m. on July 5. The invaders underestimate the Spanish garrison at 6,000 men rather than the more than 7,000 actually under arms, and they overestimate the urban population at 70,000 civilians instead of the actual 42,000. The invaders' aim is to avoid Buenos Aires's central core around its citadel and great square, while panicking the population into stampeding out of their city. The British right wing gets possession of Hospicio de la Residencia, and their left wing gains the bullring; but the 88th Regiment and the Light Brigade under Craufurd then meet stout resistance in the city center from Spanish regulars and militiamen firing from rooftops. Gradually, this column becomes surrounded and surrenders, the day costing Whitelocke 311 killed, 679 wounded, 208 missing, plus 1,600 prisoners. The defenders suffer 600 casualties and 700 prisoners.

That same evening of July 5, de Liniers proposes a cessation of hostilities and the mutual restoration of captives if the defeated British will evacuate the entire River Plate—including Montevideo—within two months. Whitelocke accepts after consulting with Leveson-Gower and Auchmuty, convinced his remaining strength is insufficient to subdue Buenos Aires and the viceroyalty's inland provinces. His army therefore gathers at Retiro and begins reembarking by July 9, sailing away on the 12th—much to the disgust of Whitelocke's men, who take to toasting, "Success to gray hairs, but bad luck to white locks."

JULY 24, 1807. General Ackland reaches Montevideo with more than 1,800 British troops—1,125 of them from the 89th Foot—but given Whitelocke's recent debacle and retirement before Buenos Aires, they are dispatched directly toward India one week later, along with the 47th and the 87th.

JULY 27, 1807. A small British squadron appears before Baracoa, hoping to take this small Cuban port by surprise. However, its garrison commander, Capt. José Repilado—with only 20 Spanish regulars, 70 militiamen, and 100 French allies, plus 6 cannon in Punta and Matanchín forts—has been forewarned of this enemy's approach, so he ambushes them on the beach. A dozen raiders are slain and another 84 captured, the rest retiring out to sea.

AUGUST 8, 1807. The 88th (Connaught Rangers) and 95th Rifles evacuate Montevideo for England.

LATE AUGUST 1807. In Europe, a British fleet opens hostilities against Denmark for once more having joined the "Continental System," designed by Napoleon I to hamper English commerce.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1807. Whitelocke evacuates Montevideo with his remaining 6,500 men, returning to England with his defeated army by November 7, where he is court-martialed and cashiered.

OCTOBER 17, 1807. The hated Jacques I—formerly General Dessalines—is murdered at sunrise by mutinous troops at Pont Rouge (Haiti), and his body is defiled.

EARLY NOVEMBER 1807. In Europe, a French army marches through Spain and attacks Britain's ally, Portugal.

DECEMBER 15, 1807. Early this Tuesday morning, the British sloop-of-war *Fawn* reaches Barbados with dispatches announcing the official declaration of war against Denmark. The next day, Rear Admiral Cochrane has Gen. Henry Bowyer's final troops embark—this expedition having been preparing for some weeks—and orders other contingents from Saint Kitts, Antigua, and Grenada to assemble off Danish Saint Thomas. He then sets sail on December 16 with his 74-gun flagship *Belleisle* and consorts.

DECEMBER 21, 1807. *Danish Virgin Islands.* After touching at Sandy Point (Saint Kitts), Cochrane and Bowyer arrive off Saint Thomas, sending Brig. Gen. Sir Charles Shipley and naval captain William Charles Fahie close inshore with HMS *Ethalion* to call upon Gov. W. von Scholten to capitulate. The Dane does so the next day, terms being agreed upon in negotiations with Maj. Gen. Frederick Maitland and *Ramillies's* Capt. Francis Pickmore. A 300-man garrison from the 70th Regiment is then installed under Brigadier General Maclean and 67 prizes seized in the roadstead. The British expedition then steers toward nearby Saint Croix by the evening of December 23, repeating this procedure and occupying the latter island by Christmas Day, gaining another 21 vessels from Christiansted.

EARLY MARCH 1808. The French island of Marie-Galante is captured by the British, followed by La Désirade.

JULY 4, 1808. The 20-gun British sloop *Wanderer* of Capt. E. Crofton, plus the 12-gun schooners

Elizabeth of Lt. Charles Finch, 10-gun *Subtle* of Lieutenant Senhouse, and 4-gun *Ballahou* of Lt. George Mills, make an abortive 135-man disembarkation on the French West Indian island of Saint Martin, being repelled with heavy losses.

DECEMBER 1808. An Anglo-Portuguese expedition led by Rear Adm. Sir William Sidney Smith's subordinate, Capt. James Lucas Yeo of the 22-gun sloop *HMS Confiance*, and the Portuguese artillery lieutenant colonel Manoel Marques occupies Oiapoque in the border region between French Guiana and Brazil.

DECEMBER 12, 1808. Less than a month after departing France as escort for four supply ships, the 18-gun, 140-man “brick” or brig *Cygne* of Captain Defresne is sighted off Martinique by a Royal Navy blockading squadron led by the 32-gun frigate *HMS Circe* of Capt. Francis Augustus Collier. As the *Cygne* and two schooners are being towed along the coast by troops toward the anchorage at St. Pierre, the *Circe* attacks along with the 18-gun brig *Stork* of Capt. George Le Geyt and the 12-gun brig *Morne Fortunée* of Lt. John Brown, so the French brig beaches near some batteries to resist. An evening assault by three boatloads of 68 boarders is repelled with the deaths of 9 British seamen, 21 wounded, and 26 missing.

Collier nonetheless resumes the pursuit the next morning, December 13, the 18-gun brig *Amaranthe* of Capt. Edward Pelham Brenton closing in when the *Cygne* is again beached beneath some more batteries near Prêcheur. Upon fighting their way aboard, the Royal Navy sailors discover that the ship has already been set ablaze and is taking on water, so they retire and watch the *Cygne* burn down to its waterline.

JANUARY 6, 1809. This morning, Yeo and Marques appear outside the roadstead of Cayenne (French Guiana) with 550 Portuguese troops and 80 British marines and sailors crammed aboard the brigs *Voador* and *Infante*, the cutters *Lion* and *Venganza*, plus several smaller boats. Pushing upchannel under cover of darkness, they surprise two French batteries at Grande Cane and Fort Diamant the next dawn, carrying them by storm, along with another pair of batteries a mile away that same afternoon.

Meanwhile, Brig. Gen. Victor Hugues, France's colonial governor, sorties from Cayenne—a dozen miles upriver—with several hundred defenders, but he is unable to recuperate his lost batteries, despite a three-hour firefight that afternoon. On the morning of January 8, the invaders overrun Hugues's fortified plantation, then press on toward the town of Cayenne proper, arriving outside it the next day.



British boat parties fighting their way aboard the burning French brig *Cygne* off Martinique. (Author's Collection)

The French request terms and agree to capitulate by January 12, Yeo and Marques entering the gates two days afterward as 400 French regulars, 600 militiamen, and 200 black auxiliaries lay down their arms. (For this exploit, Yeo is subsequently knighted.)

On January 13, the 48-gun, 330-man frigate *Tôpaze* of Captain Lahalle appears off the coast with 100 troops as belated reinforcements from France, only to be chased away. This vessel is intercepted nine days later south of Pointe Noire (Guadeloupe) and captured by HMSS *Cleopatra*, *Jason*, and *Hazard* under Capt. Samuel John Pechell, suffering 12 killed and 14 wounded. British losses are only 2 dead and 1 injured.

JANUARY 28, 1809. *Martinique.* At noon, Rear Admiral Cochrane departs Barbados with the ships of the line *Neptune* (flag), *Pompée*, *Belleisle*, *York*, *Captain*, and *Intrepid*; the frigates *Acasta*, *Penelope*, *Ethalion*, *Æolus*, *Circe*, *Ulysses*, and *Eurydice*; and the lesser warships *Gorée*, *Wolverine*, *Cherub*, *Stork*, *Amaranthe*, *Haughty*, *Express*, *Swinger*, *Forrester*, *Recruit*, *Star*, *Éclair*, *Ringdove*, and *Frolic*. They are escorting a troop convoy bearing the 12,000-man army of Lt. Gen. George Beckwith, to attempt the conquest of Martinique.

On the morning of January 30, Capt. Philip Beaver of the *Acasta* leads the principal British contingent into Cul de Sac Bay, dropping anchor and disembarking 4,500 redcoats by sunset. The rest of Beckwith's and Maj. Gen. Sir George Prevost's main body comes ashore the next morning, while a second unit under Major General Maitland is also landed at Sainte Luce under the supervision of Captain Fahie of the *Belleisle*. As both columns push inland, a further 600 men disembark from HMS *York* under Major Henderson of the Royal York Rangers to secure the French batteries on Salomon Point and Pigeon Island (Ilot aux Ramiers) so the invasion fleet might anchor in safety.

On February 1, Beckwith—while advancing upon the commanding Surirey Heights—defeats a French concentration under the island governor and captain general Villaret de Joyeuse, thereby gaining this strategic high ground and compelling the defenders to evacuate Fort de France in favor of 113-gun Fort Desaix (formerly Fort Bourbon). Meanwhile, Maitland encounters no resistance, so he reaches Lamentin by February 2, effecting a juncture with Beckwith's main body. Brigadier generals Shipley and Edward Stehelin simultaneously besiege the isolated, 136-man French garrison left on

Pigeon Island, obliging it to surrender by sunrise of February 4, thanks to fire from two, 5-gun naval batteries installed by Commo. George Cockburn of the *Pompée*. Beckwith subsequently institutes a formal siege against Villaret de Joyeuse's 2,250 defenders inside Fort Desaix (their backbone being provided by regulars of the 26th and 82nd regiments). Heavy rains slow the British deployment until their first four batteries can open fire from its western side at 4:30 p.m. on February 19. Over the next three days, captains Robert Barton and Christopher J. W. Nesham employ 400 seamen and marines from HMSS *York* and *Intrepid* to manhandle another four 24-pounders and four mortars atop Mount Surirey on the fort's eastern side. Before they can join the general bombardment, Villaret de Joyeuse requests terms on February 23, the capitulation being arranged the next day.

The French officially lay down their arms on February 25, Martinique passing under British control at a cost of more than 400 casualties among the invaders' ranks, plus 435 sick. For this success, Beckwith is created a knight of the Order of the Bath, and Cochrane is promoted to vice admiral.

APRIL 12, 1809. *The Saintes.* The 74-gun French ships of the line *Courageux*, *Polonais* (ex-*Glorieux*), and *d'Hautpoul* of Commo. Aimable Gilles Troude, plus the frigates *Félicité* and *Furieuse*, are intercepted while bringing reinforcements out from Lorient, then blockaded at the Saintes by Cochrane's fleet. These actions prompt a British expedition to depart Fort Royal (modern Fort de France) on occupied Martinique to subdue the outpost on the Saintes. The invasion force consists of 2,000–3,000 men of the 3rd and 8th West India, the 15th, 60th, and 64th regiments, the Royal York Rangers, and the York Light Infantry Volunteers, plus an artillery train, all under the command of Major General Maitland.

Their convoy is led by Captain Beaver of the *Acasta*. After examining the Saintes's shoreline on April 13 and being scattered by a brief storm, the British make their disembarkation—virtually unopposed—at 10:00 a.m. on April 14 in Bois Joli Bay under covering fire from HMSS *Intrepid*, *Gloire*, *Acasta*, *Narcissus*, *Circe*, and *Dolphin*. The invaders easily push their way up 800-foot Mount Russel, gaining a commanding view over the three small French forts and harbor. As two British eight-inch howitzers commence a galling fire against the French squadron that same evening, Troude's three ships of the line weigh at 10:00 p.m. and stand out of the west

channel, followed the next morning by the two frigates via the eastern exit, all hoping to elude Cochrane's blockaders. On April 15, Maitland reembarks part of his army and disgorges it in Vanovre Bay, to outflank the French defenders under Col. M. Madier. By the next day, the British have the island's 700–800 defenders bottled up inside forts Napoléon and Morelle, so Madier requests terms at noon on April 17. The next day, his garrison surrenders, Maitland having suffered 6 killed and 68 wounded during this campaign.

Meanwhile, Cochrane pursues the fleeing three French ships as far as Puerto Rico's Cape Rojo, bringing the sternmost—the brand-new, 74-gun *d'Hautpoul* of Capt. Amand Leduc, Knight of the Légion d'Honneur—to battle at 3:30 a.m. on April 17. This vessel is battered into submission within less than two hours by Captain Fahie's 80-gun HMS *Pompée*, plus Commander Roberts's sloop *Castor*, inflicting 80–90 casualties among its 680-man crew. British losses total 11 killed and 41 wounded. The other two ships get away.

JUNE 7, 1809. Santo Domingo. Maj. Gen. Hugh Lyle Carmichael quits Jamaica with the 2nd West India, the 54th, the 55th, and the Royal Irish regiments to aid Britain's newfound Spanish allies in reducing the isolated French garrison besieged in southeastern Hispaniola (see "September 28, 1808" entry in "Latin American Insurgencies"). His convoy is escorted by Capt. William Price Cumby's HMSS *Polyphemus* (flag), *Aurora*, *Tiveed*, *Sparrow*, *Thrush*, *Griffin*, *Lark*, *Moselle*, *Fleur de la Mer*, and *Pike*.

Carmichael disembarks 30 miles west of Santo Domingo at Polingue on June 28, hastening ahead of his army to confer with his Spanish counterpart—General Sánchez, commander of a Puerto Rican regiment plus numerous local guerrillas—who for the past eight months has been investing the 1,200-man French garrison of Brig. Gen. Joseph David, Comte de Barquier. Despite having 400 of their 600 regulars sick, the Spaniards nonetheless advance on June 30 at Carmichael's behest to seize San Carlos Church on the outskirts of the capital. They also cut off communications between the city of Santo Domingo and Fort San Jerónimo two miles to its west, and simultaneously secure a beach from which to be supported by Cumby's squadron.

The demoralized French defenders have already requested an armistice and been rebuffed; they repeat this suggestion on July 1, just as the first British

troops arrive overland (having been hampered in their march by torrential rains). As negotiations progress, Carmichael maintains pressure by installing heavy siege batteries around the city circuit, then masses his forces for an assault. As a result, the capitulation is finalized on July 6, Barquier pointedly surrendering to the British rather than to the Spaniards. The next day, redcoats occupy the city and Fort San Jerónimo, and the French defenders are transported directly to Port Royal (Jamaica), without any loss of life on either side.

JANUARY 22, 1810. Guadeloupe. Beckwith and Cochrane quit Fort Royal (modern Fort de France, Martinique) with units from the 3rd, 4th, 6th, and 8th West India regiments, plus the 13th, 15th, 25th, 63rd, and 90th Foot, the Royal York Rangers, the York Light Infantry Volunteers, 300 artillerymen, and a siege train to conquer the last major enemy outpost in the West Indies—Guadeloupe—which has been blockaded over the past several weeks by the Royal Navy. After rendezvousing with further contingents in Prince Rupert's Bay (Dominica) on January 24, the British move against their primary objective two days later in two divisions: Brig. Gen. George William Richard Harcourt and Commodore Ballard of HMS *Sceptre* lead one such 2,450-soldier convoy toward the nearby Saintes Islands to await the French defenders' reaction, while Beckwith and Cochrane sail their 3,700-man main army directly against Guadeloupe.

At noon on January 27, the flagship HMS *Pompée* drops anchor off the port of Gosier. The next dawn Maj. Gen. Thomas Hislop of the 8th West India Regiment leads the first wave of redcoats ashore at Sainte Marie, landing without resistance. That same afternoon, the 3rd Brigade strikes south toward Capesterre, while the 4th drives north on Grande Rivière, and the British reserve protects this beachhead. Bananiers River is forded by January 29, and Trou-au-Chien Pass is breached the next day by the invaders, who thus threaten the main town of Trois Rivières.

The previous afternoon, Cochrane has directed Ballard's squadron to make a feint against the far side of this latter place, before depositing Harcourt's division nine miles north of the town of Basse-Terre at dawn of January 30. The outnumbered French subsequently abandon Trois Rivières without a fight, leaving behind some of their artillery. After being resupplied, Beckwith resumes his advance on February 2, the strategic Palmiste and d'Olot Heights



British troops fighting their way across the Bananiers River, on the island of Guadeloupe. (Author's Collection)

being occupied uncontested by his twin columns, along with Morne Hoüel by Brig. Gen. Charles Wale's Royal York Ranger vanguard at 8:00 that same night. Everywhere else, the French defenses are found empty, their guns spiked.

Under cover of darkness, Wale further turns the French left flank in the heights above Matouba on the evening of February 3, suffering 40 casualties and receiving a severe wound himself. Basse-Terre is occupied by Commodore Fahie around that same time, using a detachment of marines from his fleet offshore. As a result of all these swift penetrations, Capt. Gen. Manuel Louis Jean Baptiste Ernouf requests terms the next morning. By 8:00 a.m. on Monday, February 6, all resistance ceases, and 3,500 defenders lay down their arms. The British win control over the entire island and claim the Imperial Eagle of the French 66th Regiment among their booty.

FEBRUARY 14, 1810. Following the fall of Guadeloupe, Brigadier General Harcourt appears off the island of Saint Martin with a large detachment of troops, convoyed by Fahie's HMSS *Abercrombie* (flag),

Vimeira, *Snap*, *Morne Fortunée*, *Frolic*, *Surinam*, *Supérieure*, and *Ringdove*. A company of the 25th Regiment under Captain Beattie is disembarked in Mari-got Bay by Captain Scobell's brig *Vimeira* to demand the surrender of its 18-man French garrison, which promptly capitulates.

A similar disembarkation in Little Cool Bay this same evening persuades the 76 soldiers on the Dutch half of the island to also give up two days later, just as Harcourt is closing in upon their principal town of Phillipsburgh. After securing the island, Fahie weighs anchor at dawn of February 21 for nearby Sint Eustatius, arriving at midday and demanding the surrender of its Dutch garrison. They comply at 9:00 the next morning, Maj. J. N. Karesboom's 56 soldiers laying down their arms as the 25th Regiment's grenadier company occupies their lone fort.

Although Napoleon I is not to be crushed in Europe and sent into exile on Elba until the spring of 1814, the Royal Navy's dominance in the Atlantic precludes any further hostilities in the New World for the remaining four years of this Anglo-French conflict. Upon the ascension of Louis XVIII to France's throne, most of France's overseas colo-

nies are restored by Britain. When Napoleon I subsequently escapes from confinement and briefly regains power in March 1815, only Guadeloupe comes to his support in the Americas, replacing the Bourbon white *fleur-de-lys* with the tricolor flag on June 17. The next day, Napoleon I is defeated at Waterloo and again abdicates by June 22.

A British envoy eventually reaches Guadeloupe on August 3, calling for the island's resubmission to the French king. Colonel Boyer refuses to comply, but a strong British force disembarks on August 9, and after some skirmishes—during which few losses are inflicted on either side—the disheartened defenders finally capitulate by August 10.

LATIN AMERICAN INSURGENCIES (1808–1826)

Early in November 1807, a 23,000-man French army under Gen. Andoche Junot marches through Spain to attack Portugal, which has refused to implement Napoleon's "Continental System" by closing its ports to English vessels. The ensuing winter will witness a series of pivotal events for both Central and South American history. Lisbon is occupied by December 1—its royal family having escaped to Brazil only two days previously—and the marshal Joachim Murat then brings another massive French army into Spain by March 1808 and overruns its major cities and captures its monarchs, who dally too long before attempting flight.

On March 19, King Charles IV of Spain officially abdicates in favor of his son Ferdinand VII, but both Bourbon monarchs are soon imprisoned in France—sparking a short-lived anti-French uprising in Madrid on May 2—after which Joseph Bonaparte is installed as Spain's new ruler on June 7. Although this crude usurpation of power is initially resisted by most of Spain's American vassals, it will eventually lead to a weakening of the traditional bonds between the home country and its empire.

For many years, Spain's American citizens have been growing disenchanted with governance from distant Madrid, whose self-serving dictates have not only thwarted their own commercial development but whose positions of influence have been routinely denied to Creoles in favor of peninsular-born Spaniards. Nevertheless, there is at first little sentiment in favor of outright New World independence but, rather, support for the liberal *junta* or "council" formed at Aranjuez on September 25, 1808, to spearhead resistance against the French and uphold the incarcerated Bourbons' cause. However, out of the ensuing years of uncertainty and turmoil, there will emerge a new Latin American will for freedom.

JANUARY 22, 1808. The 40-year-old Portuguese prince regent João (later King João VI) arrives at the Brazilian port of Salvador in Bahia to a warm reception, having fled Lisbon aboard his flagship *Príncipe Real*, accompanied by 8 other warships, 8 lesser men-of-war, and 30 merchantmen, and further escorted by the 98-gun HMS *London*, plus the 74-gun *Marlborough*, *Monarch*, and *Bedford* of Rear Adm. Sir Sidney Smith. Virtually the entire Portuguese court, government, treasury, and 1,600 marines are aboard this expedition, totaling 10,000–15,000 refugees. Six days later, the prince proclaims Brazil's ports open to British merchantmen, helping start a trade boom.

After a few weeks, João transfers to his Brazilian capital of Rio de Janeiro, arriving on March 7 to install his imperial government (as well as to offer a permanent naval base to his British allies, complete with Royal Navy-controlled storehouses and support facilities). The escape of Portugal's ruling family has a profound effect not only upon Brazil but also on surrounding South American regions, for the prince regent is accompanied by his Spanish-born, domineering wife, Carlota Joaquina—sister of the imprisoned Ferdinand VII—who offers to rule Spanish America temporarily on behalf of her brother, adding to the confusion already gripping its



Royalist medal of the Order of Isabel la Católica. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

authorities. Soon, Spanish officers in the River Plate will become especially concerned by Brazilian designs upon its *Banda Oriental* or “Eastern Shore” (that is, modern Uruguay).

JULY 14, 1808. The French brig-of-war *Serpent* reaches the Venezuelan port of La Guaira, and the next day its captain Paul de Lamanon ascends to the capital of Caracas to present Gov. Juan de las Casas with the announcement that Joseph Bonaparte has been crowned king of Spain. This usurpation is rebuffed by a popular outburst, and when Lamanon returns to La Guaira, he finds the 48-gun British frigate HMS *Acasta* of Capt. Philip Beaver at anchor, who informs the Venezuelans of Spain’s resistance against the French and seizes the *Serpent*.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1808. In Mexico City, 300 armed peninsular Spaniards led by the conservative merchant Gabriel de Yermo penetrate its vice regal palace at night and depose José de Iturrigaray, fearful that he is about to declare total independence from Madrid. The retired, octogenarian *mariscal de campo* or “field marshal” Pedro de Garibay is instead temporarily substituted, so that the peninsulars can shift Mexico’s financial and logistical support behind the Spanish factions opposing France in Europe.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1808. An ultraloyalist junta is established at Montevideo by the 41-year-old Spanish officer Francisco Javier de Elío, who not only upholds the rule of Ferdinand VII but furthermore doubts the loyalty of Buenos Aires’s acting viceroy—French-born Santiago de Liniers—simply on account of the latter’s birth and his having been approached by a Bonapartist agent the previous month. When the trusted admiral Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros y Latorre (a 50-year-old veteran of Trafalgar) is sent out from Seville some months later to replace de Liniers, the Montevideo junta is dissolved.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1808. *Dominican Reconquest.* After a couple of months quietly preparing the Spanish residents of Santo Domingo to rise against their French occupiers, the rich *hacendado* or “estate owner” Juan Sánchez Ramírez is informed by a message from the governor of Puerto Rico, Gen. Toribio Montes, which reaches Macao aboard the schooner *Monserate*, that military supplies will soon arrive. In concert with the guerrilla bands already operating with Haitian assistance in southwestern Santo Domingo under their chieftains Ciriaco Ramírez and Cristóbal Uber Franco, Sánchez Ramírez peacefully gains several Dominican towns, then enters the town of Seibo on October 26. Three days afterward, the hired brigantine *Frederick*, the schooner *Reindeer*, and two gunlaunches arrive at the mouth of the Yuma River from Puerto Rico with 200 Spanish volunteers, 400 muskets, 200 sabers, plus munitions.

At this juncture, Governor Ferrand sorties with 600 French soldiers from the city of Santo Domingo, hoping to smother the rebellion in its incipient stages. Sánchez Ramírez therefore contacts Capt. Charles Dashwood of the 36-gun frigate HMS *Franchise* and requests British assistance in securing the port of Samaná, in cooperation with the guerrilla chieftain operating in the Sabana de la Mar district, Diego de Lira. Sánchez Ramírez meanwhile continues his march back toward Seibo (“Seybo” to the French), organizing and arming his inexperienced throngs of volunteers. Upon regaining the town on November 5, he receives a threatening ultimatum from Ferrand, who has now drawn near with his small army. The next day, therefore, the 2,000 Dominican insurgents advance through heavy rains to take up defensive positions at Sabana de Palo Hincado, a plain a mile and a half west of Seibo.

At dawn of November 7, Sánchez Ramírez deploys his volunteers in a battle line extending from



Latin America on the eve of independence.

his command post atop a hillock, held by 300 musketeers under one of his few experienced military officers, Lt. Francisco Díaz. The outnumbered French appear, and their cavalry attacks the Dominican left at noon, only to be engulfed by a countercharge led by Capt. Antonio Sosa. A horde of Dominican riders under Capt. Vicente Mercedes on the right thereupon smashes into the French, and although both these officers are slain, the French are quickly decimated in close-quarters combat. Ferrand reels backward in defeat, his few surviving troops eluding the pursuing Dominican cavalry under Col. Pedro Santana by crossing the torrents in Guaquía Canyon, after which the shaken French governor commits suicide by shooting himself in the head.

The victorious Sánchez Ramírez will subsequently march upon the capital, but its remaining French defenders mount a desperate resistance under Brigadier General Barquier, which the Dominicans—without any siege artillery—cannot overcome. An eight-month encirclement therefore ensues, supported by a Royal Navy blockade out of Jamaica. (This campaign becomes known as Santo Domingo's *guerra de la reconquista* or “war of reconquest.”)

NOVEMBER 11, 1808. Captain Dashwood, having chanced upon the British frigates *Aurora* and *Dædalus*, plus the brigs *Reindeer* and *Pert*, leads them this morning along with his own Royal Navy frigate *Franchise* to mount a surprise descent against Samaná Bay, which French privateers have been using as their base of operations. Its 900 startled inhabitants offer scant resistance, instead streaming board the 100-ton schooner *Échange* and 90-ton *Guerrier* to attempt to row away. They are intercepted by four boatloads of British sailors and boarded, while the harbor castle and three other prizes are also seized. Dashwood thereupon hands the port over to the Dominican guerrilla chief Diego de Lira, sailing for Port Royal (Jamaica) a couple of weeks later with his captures.

NOVEMBER 24, 1808. This evening, a group of disgruntled wealthy Caracans reiterate their proposal to Governor de las Casas for the establishment of a Venezuelan junta, similar to the “Supreme Junta” spearheading resistance against the French from Seville. With the support of four companies of black rural militiamen, they are arrested and confined, and this incident is remembered as the Mantuano Conspiracy.

JANUARY 1, 1809. A coup is attempted against Viceroy de Liniers in Buenos Aires and is easily put down.

MAY 25, 1809. At Chuquisaca, the provincial capital of “Upper Peru” (modern Sucre, Bolivia), a university conference has considered and rejected the offer made by the Spanish-born Portuguese queen, Carlota, to rule Spanish America on behalf of her captive brother Ferdinand VII. Afterward, the uneasy local intendant—80-year-old Ramón García de León y Pizarro—attempts to muster troops against any further deliberations and also requests military aid from Gov. Francisco de Paula Sanz of Potosí.

Instead, the elderly Pizarro is deposed by a popular uprising, and a provisional junta is established on May 25 at Chuquisaca under the leadership of agitators such as Argentine-born Bernardo de Monteagudo. Military command is bestowed upon the 38-year-old general Juan Antonio Álvarez de Arenales.

JULY 7, 1809. Santo Domingo's exhausted French garrison surrenders to its British blockaders rather than to its Dominican besiegers (*see* “June 7, 1809” entry in “Napoleonic War”). The latter are then annoyed to learn that they will have to pay the English to recuperate their capital.

JULY 16, 1809. After the annual religious procession honoring the Virgen del Carmen, a group of political activists led by Pedro Domingo Murillo occupy the government offices at La Paz (Bolivia), deposing the regional governor-intendant Tadeo Dávila, the bishop, and most peninsular-born officials in favor of Creoles. A municipal junta is subsequently founded eight days later, whose membership—while recognizing the legitimacy of Ferdinand VII—nonetheless aspires to greater self-government.

AUGUST 10, 1809. This dawn, Manuel Urries, Conde Ruiz de Castilla—president of the *real* audiencia of Quito—is deposed by a group of 45 local Creoles, who establish their own junta *soberana* or “sovereign assembly” headed by the wealthy landowner Juan Pío María de Montúfar y Larrea, Marqués de Selva Negra, whose desire to exercise regional power in the name of Ferdinand VII eventually prompts the Peruvian viceroy José Fernando de Abascal y Sousa to dispatch troops up into the Andes under Gen. José Manuel de Goyeneche y Barrera for its suppression, as well as against the junta operating in La Paz (Bolivia). The Quito assembly finally

dissolves amid internal bickering; Ruiz de Castilla reassumes office by October 25.

OCTOBER 1809. General Goyeneche, now acting in his additional capacity as president of the audiencia of Cuzco, approaches La Paz (Bolivia) with a small but disciplined army of 3,200 troops, obliging its outlaw junta to collapse and flee. Murillo organizes some rural bands of armed Creole adherents into an extemporized “army” and clashes with the royal troops on October 19.

NOVEMBER 11, 1809. Goyeneche and his army confront Murillo’s Creole throng at Irupana in the Yungas Valley (Bolivia) and easily best and disperse their untrained foes. Murillo and numerous ring-leaders are captured and subsequently hanged, while the rebel general Álvarez de Arenales is spared, although he endures 20 months of incarceration. Goyeneche installs a strong royalist garrison under Col. Juan Ramírez at La Paz before departing.

A similar royalist expedition under the field marshal Vicente Nieto, comprised of troops of the Patriotics Regiment, has also been dispatched up into the Andes from Buenos Aires. They are received without resistance by the audiencia of Charcas, and Nieto assumes office as its intendant.

DECEMBER 4, 1809. His authority now bolstered by the royalist contingents that have arrived from Lima and Santa Fe, the restored president of the audiencia of Quito—Ruiz de Castilla—orders the arrest of 70 participants in the unauthorized junta of August 10.

FEBRUARY 14, 1810. Spain’s supreme junta having been driven almost completely out of that country and onto León Island near Cadiz, a general legislative assembly called the *cortes* is convoked with membership throughout its overseas empire. The process of electing these delegates reinforces many Creoles’ desire for full independence.

APRIL 19, 1810. Leading Caracan Creoles—made desperate by the imminent collapse of Spain’s junta general before Bonaparte’s advancing armies—depose the royal captain general Vicente Emparan and establish their own junta. Initially, they vow continued loyalty to the captive Ferdinand VII, but they also resolve to act independently of the mother country until such time as he can be set free. Most of Venezuela soon follows suit, only Coro

and Maracaibo remaining loyal to the Spanish junta in Cadiz.

MID-MAY 1810. An expedition of 3,000 men prepares to quit Caracas under Brig. Gen. Francisco Rodriguez, Marqués del Toro, to advance through the Aragua Valleys, Barquisimeto, Carora, and Urumaco to subjugate the recalcitrant province of Coro.

MAY 22, 1810. A three-man junta is formed at Cartagena (Colombia).

Also on this day, bowing to popular demand, Viceroy Hidalgo de Cisneros authorizes the establishment of a Creole junta at Buenos Aires, with himself as its president. This entity is constituted two days later; but on May 25 he is deposed, and control passes to militia colonel Cornelio Saavedra and the radical politician Mariano Moreno in the so-called May Revolution. A circular is then sent throughout the viceroyalty on May 27, calling for delegates to attend a congress.

JUNE 20, 1810. When the royalist intendant Nieto at Charcas (Bolivia) learns of Viceroy Hidalgo de Cisneros’s deposal by a Creole junta at Buenos Aires, he confers with his colleague Sanz of Potosí, then rejects the revolutionaries’ overtures and instead proposes transferring Upper Peru to the authority of the viceroy at Lima.

JULY 9, 1810. Realizing that not all provinces of the Viceroyalty of the River Plate are willing to acknowledge the authority of the newly proclaimed junta at Buenos Aires, 1,150 Argentine volunteers depart the capital under Col. Francisco Ortiz de Ocampo and Lt. Col. Antonio González Balcarce to spread their revolutionary policy into the interior.

JULY 20, 1810. A junta is set up at Bogotá, initially including New Granada’s (modern Colombia’s) viceroy Antonio Amar y Borbón, but dispensing with his services five days later.

JULY 24, 1810. At a meeting chaired by Gov. Bernardo de Velasco y Huidobro in Asunción (Paraguay), local functionaries and citizens refuse to acknowledge the authority of the junta at Buenos Aires, instead agreeing to obey the Regency Council in Spain.

AUGUST 2, 1810. This afternoon, the royalist troops from Lima and Santa Fe, who have been occupying

Quito (Ecuador) since the previous year, conduct a purge of its jails and streets searching for insurgent sympathizers, massacring some 200 civilians.

AUGUST 8, 1810. Ortiz de Ocampo and González Balcarce's small army gain Córdoba (Argentina) and arrest the leaders of a loyalist counterrevolutionary conspiracy centered around the ex-viceroy de Liniers. On direct orders from the radical Buenos Aires junta, the ringleaders—including de Liniers—are shot by firing squad on August 26 at Cabeza de Tigre, after which González Balcarce succeeds Ortiz de Ocampo in command of the patriots' so-called Army of the Andes, which presses on toward Upper Peru (modern Bolivia).

AUGUST 19, 1810. The junta at Buenos Aires severs all traffic upriver to Asunción (Paraguay), which has refused to recognize its authority. Secret instructions are also sent to Paraguayan conspirators, who are arrested by Governor de Velasco the next month.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1810. The Buenos Aires junta appoints one of its members—the wealthy, 40-year-old lawyer Manuel Belgrano—to lead a body of cavalry over to the *Banda Oriental* or “Eastern Shore” of the River Plate estuary and persuade its inhabitants to resist the blandishments from the royalist enclave at Montevideo. Eighteen days later, though, Belgrano receives new instructions to penetrate Paraguay and execute Governor de Velasco, the bishop, and other members of Asunción's recalcitrant leadership.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1810. In the city of Querétaro (Mexico), a seven-month-old Creole conspiracy—hatched by the wealthy 57-year-old village priest at Dolores, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, and aimed at sparking an uprising on October 2 that will lead to outright independence—is revealed to the authorities by one of its plotters, Capt. Joaquín Arias, and confirmed three days later at Guanajuato by the drum major Juan Garrido. The Spanish intendant for the province, Juan Antonio Riaño y Bárcena, consequently orders Hidalgo's arrest.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1810. *Hidalgo's Uprising.* Learning the previous night from Lt. Juan Aldama that his insurrectionist plans have been discovered by the royal authorities at Guanajuato, Hidalgo leads his workmen before sunrise of September 16 in seizing the local jail and armory. He then rouses a few hundred local supporters at Sunday dawn by pealing Dolores's church bells and calling for Mexi-

can independence (becoming known as *el grito de independencia*).

Numerous local monarchists are thereupon arrested, and by 11:00 a.m., 400 riders and 400 men on foot have formed up under 41-year-old captain Ignacio María de Allende y Unzaga of the “Reina” Dragoon Regiment to march with Hidalgo to nearby Atotonilco and San Miguel el Grande. The insurgents encounter no resistance and, in fact, are joined by hundreds more adherents as they advance.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1810. An independent Chilean junta is established at Santiago.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1810. Having stripped San Miguel el Grande's church and royal offices, Hidalgo's throng departs to occupy Celaya by the next day. Here, he is acclaimed “Captain General” of his movement, installs a rebel government, and calls upon Intendant Riaño to surrender the provincial capital of Guanajuato—which is rejected.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1810. A second junta is founded at Quito (*see* “August 10, 1809” entry).

SEPTEMBER 23, 1810. Hidalgo's followers quit Celaya, overrunning Salamanca, Irapuato, and Silao as they advance upon the city of Guanajuato. Four days later, they reach the Burras Hacienda, again vainly calling upon Riaño to surrender.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1810. *Alhóndiga de Granaditas.* After swarming through the towns of Venta de la Purísima, Santiaguillo, Puenteillas, Estanco del Pulque, Retiro, and Marfil, Hidalgo's 20,000–25,000 badly armed and undisciplined adherents circle around Cuarto and San Miguel Hills to fall upon the city of Guanajuato by 1:00 p.m. As the insurgents surge down Nuestra Señora de Guanajuato Avenue, Intendant Riaño seeks shelter inside its recently completed granary—a formidable stone building called the Alhóndiga de Granaditas—with a few loyal troops and all of Guanajuato's peninsular-born Spaniards.

After a desperate resistance, they are overwhelmed when a young miner named Juan José María Martínez (alias the “Pípila”) crawls through a hail of bullets with a stone slab tied to his back, setting the granary's wooden doors ablaze with a torch. As evening falls, they crumble, and the insurgents fight their way inside, slaughtering some 600 monarchists by dawn of September 29. This pitiless massacre will cloud the rebels' reputation, alienating many segments of Mexican society.

Miguel Hidalgo

Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla was born on May 8, 1753, at the Hacienda of San Diego de Corralejo, near Pénjamo (Guanajuato). He was the second of five sons born to that estate manager's first marriage. Young Miguel's mother died when he was nine, and three years later he and his older brother José Joaquín were sent to the Jesuit College of San Francisco Xavier in Valladolid (modern Morelia, Michoacán). Their studies were interrupted when the Jesuit order was expelled from New Spain in the summer of 1767, so their father came to retrieve them.

Yet by the year's end, both boys were re-enrolled in San Nicolás Obispo College at Valladolid. Miguel proved to be such a clever student that he was nicknamed *El Zorro* or "The Fox" by his classmates. He received his bachelor's degree before the age of 17 and continued to excel while studying toward the priesthood. He learned the native Otomí, Tarasco, and Náhuatl languages in addition to Latin, French, and Italian. He received full religious orders as a presbyter by September 1778, and he taught at San Nicolás for the next 13 years. He rose to become college rector and changed his signature to "Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla" to differentiate himself from an older priest named Miguel Hidalgo in Durango.

He also became quite wealthy; he stocked his personal library with expensive foreign books and bought three ranches near Irimbo for family members. Hidalgo, moreover, sired at least two children out of wedlock and enjoyed gambling. Gossip finally obliged him to renounce the rectorship on February 2, 1792, and to serve for eight months as priest at the Pacific port of Colima. Although the scandal prevented his return to Valladolid, Hidalgo's wealth, urbane education, and local connections ensured a warm welcome at San Felipe parish near Guanajuato. Soon, his parties were being attended by such luminaries as the immensely rich Marqués de Rayas and the royal intendant Riaño.

When Hidalgo's older brother José Joaquín died on September 19, 1802, while serving as village priest at Dolores, he arranged to take over this post himself two weeks later. Hidalgo arrived at Dolores with two more illegitimate daughters, as well as several other family members. He became so immersed in pet projects such as a pottery, a tannery, saddler's works, a forge, a carpentry shop, weavers' looms, and even bee keeping that he delegated religious duties to an assistant.

Still vigorous at the age of 55, Hidalgo was among the Creole leaders who, in the summer of 1808, believed that Mexico could govern itself until the French invaders were expelled from Spain and Ferdinand VII was restored to the throne. From talks over the next year and a half, however, he came to embrace outright independence. He and Captain Aldama secretly visited Dr. Manuel Iturríaga at Querétaro in February 1810, agreeing to lead his proposed insurrection. The revolt was planned for December 1 at San Juan de los Lagos, when more than 100,000 pilgrims would be attending its annual religious festival.

Returning to Dolores, Hidalgo ordered his workshops to begin discreetly producing thousands of blades and spears, as well as experimental cannons (supposedly to accompany religious celebrations). During a second visit to Querétaro in early September 1810, the plotters agreed to move up their date to October 2. But when their plans were revealed, Hidalgo responded boldly. The result was a massive outpouring of pent-up anger, which he scarcely was able to control. Even his execution 10 months later failed to quench the struggle for liberty that he had unleashed.

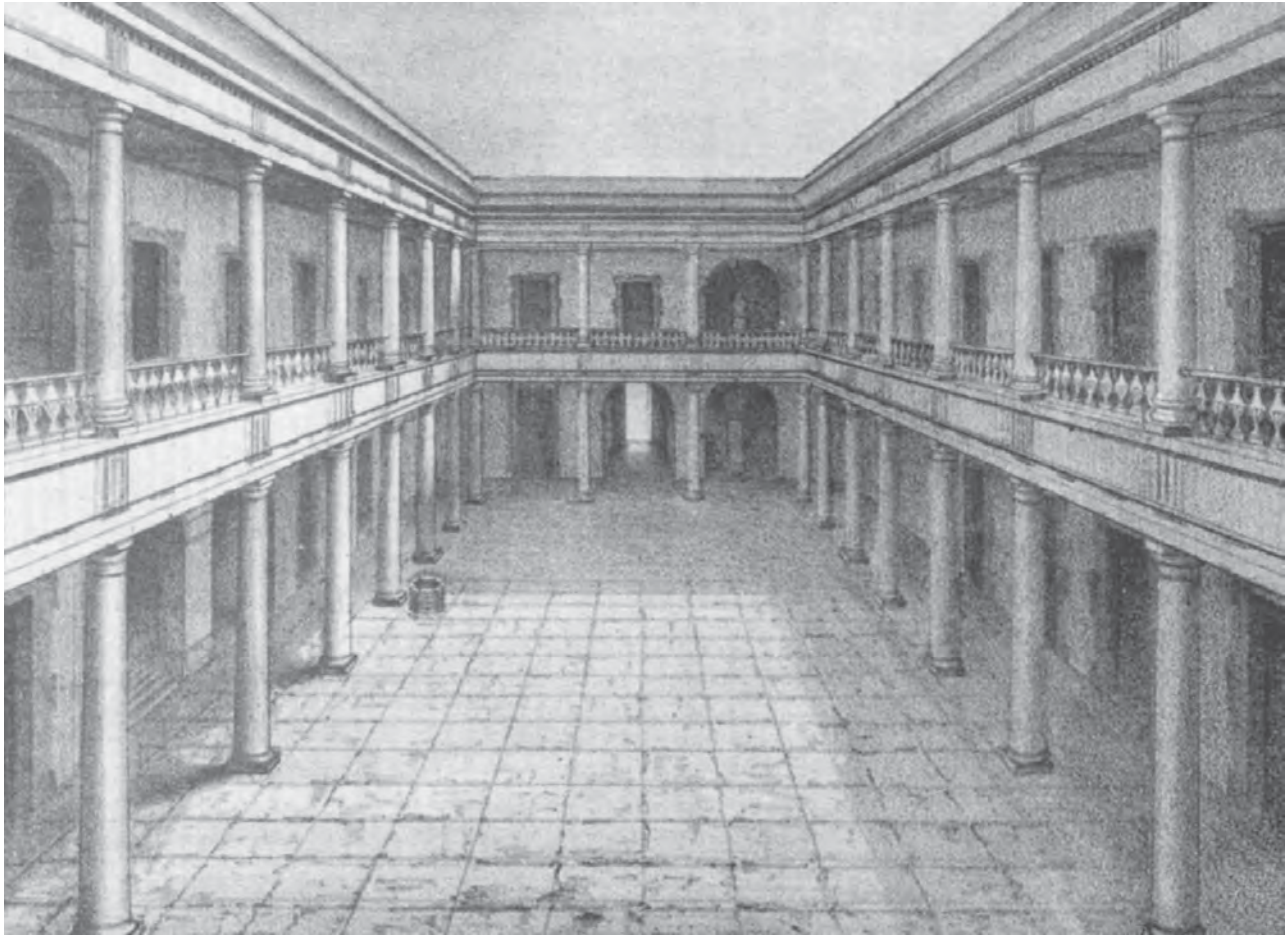
EARLY OCTOBER 1810. Having brought an Argentine revolutionary army of 950 men and six field-pieces from San Nicolás de los Arroyos and Santa Fe, Belgrano strikes across Bajada del Paraná into Paraguay to attempt to win this province over to the cause of the Buenos Aires junta. Reports lead him to believe that this can be achieved "with paper and ink," rather than by fighting. After traversing the difficult Mesopotamia district and reaching Curuzú Cuatiá on November 7, Belgrano presses on through the Iberá Swamps for San Jerónimo opposite Apipé Island by December 4.

OCTOBER 8, 1810. After returning to Dolores, Hidalgo learns that the Spanish authorities in neighboring Michoacán have been detained at Acámbaro

on orders from the woman insurgent María Catalina Gómez de Larrondo, so he sends José Mariano Jiménez with 3,000 men to her support.

Hidalgo soon follows with his main body and occupies its capital of Valladolid (modern Morelia) by October 17 without a struggle. After remaining a day, he continues on toward Zinapécuaro with 80,000 poorly armed, ill-disciplined adherents, being joined en route by 45-year-old José María Morelos—his former seminary pupil and now the village priest at Carácuaro—whom he delegates on October 20 to spread the rebellion into the south.

Meanwhile, Hidalgo enters Maravatío by October 23 and decides to lead his unwieldy host toward Mexico City. Toluca is reached five days afterward, then Tianguistenco.



Interior of the Alhóndiga de Granaditas in Guanajuato. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

OCTOBER 29, 1810. *Cotagaita.* González Balcarce's 1,500 Argentine invaders, also known as the *Ejército Expedicionario al Alto Perú* or "Expeditionary Army to Upper Peru" (modern Bolivia), encounter 2,000 royalists under the marshal Vicente Nieto, the intendant of the audiencia of Charcas, and his chief of staff, Gen. José de Córdoba, awaiting them at Santiago de Cotagaita, 240 miles north of San Salvador de Jujuy. The defenders put up a spirited resistance, compelling the revolutionaries to retire southward for Tarija. After a brief rest, de Córdoba is sent off in pursuit of the retreating rebels, skirmishing almost daily with the Argentine rearguard of Lt. Martín Miguel de Güemes at El Ojo de Agua, Aloma Hill, San Rafael, Chala, Tupiza, and Suipacha.

OCTOBER 30, 1810. *Monte de las Cruces.* In a mountain pass leading from Toluca toward Mexico City, Hidalgo and Allende's 80,000 insurgents—the so-called Army of America—find their path into the capital barred by 7,000 loyalists under Lt. Col.

Torcuato Trujillo and 27-year-old artillery captain Agustín de Iturbide. The outnumbered defenders offer stiff resistance, inflicting 5,000 casualties among the rebels' ranks while suffering 1,000 of their own. Nevertheless, after six hours of heavy fighting, the loyalists are forced back through sheer weight of numbers.

Although victorious, Hidalgo's bloodied army advances no farther than Cuajimalpa before veering northwestward on November 2, being unwilling to risk a direct assault against the vice regal capital's defenses. Instead, Hidalgo opts to continue propagating his insurrection through the interior provinces.

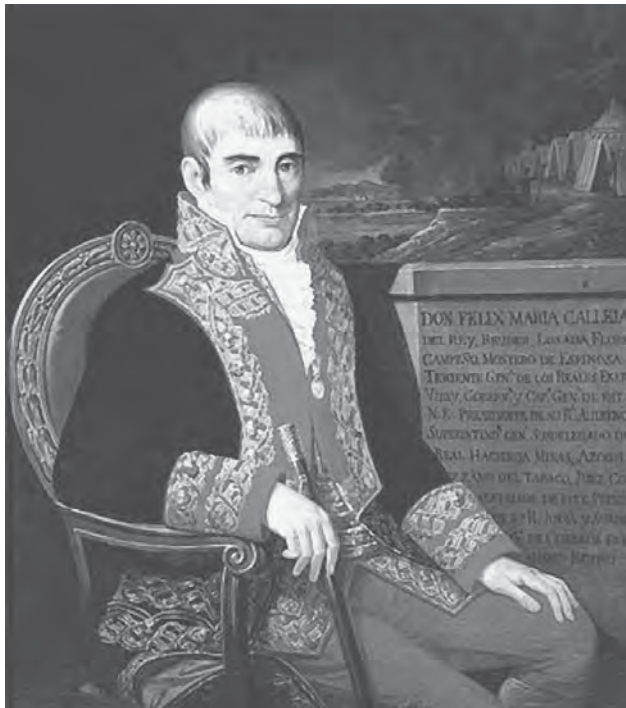
EARLY NOVEMBER 1810. Morelos arrives near Acapulco with a few hundred poorly armed followers to raise the banner of revolt. After driving Capt. Juan Antonio Fuentes's royalist company out of Tecpan on November 7, he is joined by brothers José and Antonio Galeana's contingents, then roams through El Zanjón, Coyuca, and Aguacatillo gathering fur-

ther strength. With Indian allies from Atoyac, he invades Acapulco two days later, then, after withstanding a sally by garrison commander Luis de Calatayud on November 12, leaves 600 men to harry its defenders and visits nearby Veladero with his main body.

NOVEMBER 7, 1810. *Aculco.* Advancing northwest from the Valley of Mexico toward Querétaro, Hidalgo and Allende's 55,000 followers blunder into 15,000 loyalists headed in the opposite direction under 55-year-old general Félix María Calleja del Rey, who quickly divides his army into five columns and smashes into the undisciplined insurgent throng, wreaking fearful havoc as they flee in utter confusion. The rebels suffer 12,000 casualties, as opposed to 1,000 among Calleja's ranks.

Routed, Hidalgo retires with a portion of his survivors via Villa del Carbón, San Pablo, Arroyo Zarco, Amealco, Coroneo, and Celaya, heading toward Valladolid. Meanwhile, Allende leads another contingent back through Maravatío and Acámbaro toward Guanajuato.

NOVEMBER 7, 1810. *Suipacha*. Tired of constantly retreating after their Cotagaita setback, the Argentine rearguard—comprised of 600 men from



Félix María Calleja del Rey. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

de Güemes's Salta and Tarija regiments, some regular cavalry squadrons, plus two fieldpieces—unexpectedly double back from their overnight encampment at Nazareno to surprise their 700–800 royalist pursuers (with four cannon) under de Córdoba, who are bivouacked a mile and a half away at Suipacha. Caught utterly unprepared at dawn of November 7, the royalists scatter in disarray, abandoning their artillery and baggage train to the revolutionaries.

Two days later, González Balcarce's main army is reinforced by 275 fresh troops from Buenos Aires under the political commissar Dr. Juan José Castelli, hence the triumphant revolutionaries can resume their progression northward into Upper Peru. They enter the immensely rich silver-mining town of Potosí uncontested on November 25, where Castelli and his radical political associates soon offend the local citizenry by their haughty behavior, extremist ideology, and severity toward defeated royalists—de Córdoba is executed, along with Intendant Nieto and Governor Sanz of Potosí.

NOVEMBER 17, 1810. Having learned three days earlier that Guadalajara—Mexico's second largest city—has fallen to the insurgents Antonio Torres and Miguel Gómez Portugal, Hidalgo departs Valladolid with 7,000 riders to establish his new headquarters there and hopefully revive his cause. However, while he is busy promulgating decrees and naming new officials (plus executing 400 royalists), Calleja's monarchist army fights its way through the central highlands, reversing many earlier insurgent gains and reconquering Guanajuato from Allende by November 25.

DECEMBER 1, 1810. Morelos's 3,000 guerrillas clash with the royalist defenders of Acapulco and are scattered with minor losses on both sides. Another 600 rebels nonetheless join Morelos's ranks.

DECEMBER 4, 1810. Bernardo “El Huacal” Gómez de Lara and other Mexican insurgents seize the royal barracks at Tula (Tamaulipas).

DECEMBER 6, 1810. Allende rejoins Hidalgo in Guadalajara, having evacuated Guanajuato on November 24 because of Calleja's royalist advance.

DECEMBER 10, 1810. The Venezuelan exile Miranda returns into the port of La Guaira from London aboard the British brig *Avon* and is given a frosty

reception the next day at the capital Caracas by the ruling junta. With support from Bolívar and others, though, he is soon after appointed lieutenant general.

DECEMBER 12, 1810. Six days earlier, while Belgrano's small revolutionary army rests on the Paraná River banks, his staff officer, Capt. Ignacio Warnes, has been sent with a message for the authorities at Asunción (Paraguay) requesting submission to the Buenos Aires junta. Instead, this emissary is arrested and sent on in chains by Pablo Thompson, Paraguayan militia commander at Concepción.

DECEMBER 13, 1810. At Paso Real de la Sabana (in the modern state of Guerrero, Mexico), Morelos's subordinate Julián de Ávila ambushes a royalist relief column approaching Acapulco under Capt. Francisco Paris, commander of the 5th Oaxaca Militia Division.

DECEMBER 17, 1810. When Paraguayan irregulars strike Belgrano's encamped forces along the Upper Paraná, Belgrano realizes that he must resort to military action. The Argentine revolutionary therefore orders Lt. Gov. Elías Galván of Corrientes to bring 300 riders across Paso del Rey or Itatí Ford.

Shifting his main army into Santa María de la Candelaria, Belgrano slips across the Paraná on the night of December 18–19. At dawn, the invaders disperse the 500 Paraguayans with three fieldpieces gathered under Thompson at Campichuelo Point. The victorious Argentines then follow the retreating Paraguayans into abandoned Itapuá, 12 miles away. After recuperating for a week, Belgrano's revolutionaries traverse Tacuarí Ford on Christmas Day to resume their march toward Asunción. They will reach Tebicuarí Ford by January 7, 1811, finding it ominously empty.

DECEMBER 28, 1810. Royalist brigadier general José de la Cruz reoccupies Valladolid (modern Morelia, Mexico) and takes reprisals against its insurgent sympathizers.

JANUARY 4–5, 1811. *Tres Palos.* This night, more than 1,000 insurgents under Morelos and the Galeana brothers assault the 3,000 royalists under Captain Paris, who are encamped at Tres Palos Ranch near Acapulco. This attack inflicts 400 casualties and takes 700 royalist prisoners, in addition to 700 muskets, 5 artillery pieces, ammunition, and supplies. Mexican losses total 200 killed and wounded.

JANUARY 12, 1811. *Calderón Bridge.* In the city of Guadalajara (modern state of Jalisco, Mexico), Hidalgo learns that Calleja's monarchist forces—after a six-week respite following their capture of Guanajuato—have now pressed into nearby San Juan de los Lagos. Over the objections of Allende, the insurgent leader decides to offer battle at Calderón Bridge, 20 miles outside Guadalajara, which Hidalgo orders to be fortified. He reaches the bridge with many of his followers by January 15. Allende arrives the next day with his own forces, bringing total insurgent strength to 35,000 men (although only 1,200 actually bear muskets), plus a few fieldpieces.

On January 17, Calleja's 14,000 royalists begin a series of assaults against these rebel positions, suffering considerable losses before an insurgent grenade accidentally detonates one of their own ammunition wagons, creating widespread panic. The monarchists take advantage with a heavy cavalry charge. Despite being driven from the field after six hours of fighting and sustaining 3,000 casualties, Hidalgo and Allende retire in good order. Calleja, on the other hand—despite having had only 400 men killed or wounded—is slow to pursue, not occupying Guadalajara until four days later. Still, his victory is a serious reverse for the insurgency and earns him ennoblement with the title “Conde de Calderón.”

JANUARY 15, 1811. *Paraguarí.* His penetration into Paraguay increasingly hampered by the steamy heat, heavy downpours, and complete disappearance of its hostile population with all its cattle and food, Belgrano reaches Ibáñez Creek by this afternoon. Pressing ahead to the top of Fantasma or Rombado Hill with his staff, he sees a throng of 6,000–7,000 Paraguayan irregulars and 16 cannon under Governor de Velasco waiting for the invaders a few miles ahead, on the far side of Yuquerí Creek outside the town of Paraguarí (19th-century spelling is Paraguay).

His own army now reduced to a mere 470 infantrymen, 200 cavalry troopers, and 6 fieldpieces, Belgrano encamps overnight. Concerned about attempting a retirement across such inhospitable terrain with the Paraguayans in pursuit, the Argentine general holds this defensive posture for three days. Then, he launches a surprise attack before dawn of January 19, which overruns the forward Paraguayan battery of five guns. Daylight, however, reveals the revolutionaries' small numbers, so Paraguayan cavalry counterattacks envelop the Argen-

tine vanguard and kill 10, wound 15, and capture 120 by midmorning. Paraguayan losses total 30 dead and 16 prisoners. Belgrano is therefore obliged to retreat, recrossing Tebicuarí Ford on January 22 and regaining the safety of Santa Rosa by month's end.

JANUARY 22, 1811. Texas's royalist governor Manuel María de Salcedo is deposed and confined at San Antonio by militia captain Juan Bautista de las Casas.

JANUARY 31, 1811. A small insurgent force is defeated at San Blas (Mexico).

LATE JANUARY 1811. Hidalgo, Allende, and other defeated insurgents meet at Pabellón Hacienda outside the city of Zacatecas, where the former is stripped of military authority in favor of the more professionally trained Allende.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1811. Allende and Hidalgo retreat northward from Zacatecas with the remnants of their army, reaching Saltillo one month later.

FEBRUARY 8, 1811. Alejo García Conde, the royalist governor of Sonora (Mexico), defeats an insurgent force under José María González Hermosillo at San Ignacio Piaxtla.

This same day, Morelos's guerrillas attempt an assault against Fort San Diego at Acapulco, believing that they have bribed royalist gunner José Gago to cripple its artillery. Instead, they are received with grapeshot, suffering 14 deaths before retreating out of range. Morelos returns to his La Sabana camp and temporarily cedes command to Col. Francisco Hernández, while himself traveling to Tecpán to recuperate.

FEBRUARY 17, 1811. Royalist commander Manuel Ochoa reoccupies the city of Zacatecas (Mexico).

FEBRUARY 20, 1811. The royalist *Regimiento de las Tres Villas* or "Regiment of the Three Towns" under Capt. Juan Bautista de la Torre attempts to reconquer Zitácuaro (Mexico) from insurgent forces under Benedicto López, only to be repelled.

FEBRUARY 28, 1811. The wealthy 46-year-old José Gervasio Artigas and other rural Uruguayan patriots raise the banner of revolt at Ascencio—the so-called Grito de Ascencio—being supported shortly thereafter by Argentine troops under Belgrano.

MARCH 1811. Royalist forces under *sargento mayor* or "military adjutant" Nicolás Cosío and Lieutenant Colonel Fuentes resume their sallies from Acapulco against Morelos's guerrillas.

MARCH 2, 1811. In Texas, a dawn counter coup deposes de las Casas at San Antonio and restores royalist rule.

This same day off San Nicolás de los Arroyos (Uruguay), an Argentine flotilla sailing up the Paraná River—having departed Buenos Aires a couple of days previously and comprised of the brigantine *25 de Mayo*, sloop *Invencible*, and schooner *América* under the 39-year-old, Maltese-born commodore Juan Bautista Azopardo and 31-year-old captain Hipólito Bouchard from Bormes near St. Tropez, France—encounters two Spanish brigantines and two falouches under Capt. Jacinto de Romarate. The raw Argentine crews are easily bested by their more experienced opponents, and Azopardo is taken prisoner. Tried at Montevideo, he will spend the next nine years incarcerated in Spain.

MARCH 5, 1811. Calleja's monarchist army reconquers San Luis Potosí (Mexico) from insurgents.

MARCH 9, 1811. *Tacuarí.* After a lengthy retreat following his defeat at Paraguarí, Belgrano's 400 surviving Argentine revolutionaries and six field-pieces are encamped on the southern banks of the Tacuarí River, north of its confluence with the Paraná. The several hundred Paraguayan irregulars under Fulgencio Yegros who have been hounding their retirement have been joined by a 2,000-man division under Gen. Manuel Cabañas, plus 400 more troops under Juan Manuel Gamarra.

At dawn of March 9, the Paraguayans probe Belgrano's defenses on the far side of Tacuarí Ford. This action proves to be but a diversion, though; some 400–500 Paraguayans attempt to turn his western flank by traversing aboard four armed boats and a flotilla of canoes. They are repelled by the Argentine major Celestino Vidal. However, Cabañas's 2,000 men meanwhile cross to the east and burst out of a jungle to engulf and capture Belgrano's 150-man right wing under his second-in-command, Maj. Juan José Machain.

Despite being surrounded by this overwhelming force, however, Belgrano is able to enter into negotiations with Cabañas that same evening and arrange a prisoner exchange and then a full-blown truce over the next few days, during which he withdraws

southward into Argentina. Although defeated twice during his campaign and subsequently subjected to a two-month court of inquiry at Buenos Aires as of June 6, Belgrano's incursion still provides the spark for an independent local junta to become established in Paraguay.

MARCH 13, 1811. The 42-year-old royalist colonel Joaquín de Arredondo y Muñiz quits Veracruz with 500 troops aboard the brigantine *Regencia* and schooners *San Pablo* and *San Cayetano* to help put down the combination of Mexican insurgents and American settlers who have risen up in Tamaulipas and southern Texas.

MARCH 16, 1811. Leaving 4,000 insurgents to garrison Saltillo under 37-year-old Ignacio López Rayón (who will eventually fight his way southward into Michoacán), Allende and Hidalgo retire north with another 1,300, hoping to gain support in the United States.

The next day, the 30-year-old colonel José Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara is detached to ride on to Washington, where he will meet with Secretary of State James Monroe. He refuses, however, to agree to any concessions in exchange for American aid.

MARCH 20, 1811. Mexican insurgents under Juan Bautista de la Torre gain a small victory at Zitácuaro.

MARCH 21, 1811. After two days riding with retired militia captain Francisco Ignacio Elizondo's 342 followers, Allende, Hidalgo, and other rebel leaders are treacherously arrested at Acatita de Baján (Coahuila) and conveyed into Monclova the next day to be surrendered to Governor de Salcedo in exchange for a royalist reward.

APRIL 1811. A Creole plot to kidnap the viceroy Francisco Javier Venegas and exchange him for Hidalgo is uncovered in Mexico City.

APRIL 4, 1811. Royalist lieutenant colonel Fuentes defeats some of Morelos's guerrillas at Las Cruces Point outside Acapulco.

APRIL 10, 1811. After a lengthy delay, the Argentine revolutionaries resume their penetration into Upper Peru (Bolivia), entering La Paz.

APRIL 30, 1811. An assault by royalist *sargento mayor* Cosío against Morelos's positions at La Sabana near

Acapulco is repelled. A second attempt the next day is also defeated, costing the royalist his command.

MAY 10, 1811. The royalist colonel Manuel Iturbe, governor of Nuevo Santander (modern Tamaulipas, Mexico), having been driven from office by local insurgents, Colonel Arredondo's royalist expedition arrives from Veracruz and defeats the rebel throng under Fr. Juan de Villerías this morning at Estanque Colorado. Arredondo then presses on and, nine days afterward, also overwhelms the insurgent stronghold at Tula, executing most of its defenders.

MAY 14, 1811. A revolutionary uprising occurs in Asunción (Paraguay), after which its conformist governor de Velasco agrees to share power with Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia and Capt. Juan Valeriano de Zevallos. Sixteen days later, the Paraguayan contingent occupying the Argentine province of Corrientes is withdrawn.

MAY 16, 1811. After the revolutionary forces have penetrated as far as Huaqui (alternative spelling, Guaqui) and encamped on the shores of the Desaguadero River—the traditional boundary between the viceroalties of Buenos Aires and Peru—the Argentine political commissar Castelli and the royalist commander Goyeneche agree to a 40-day truce.

MAY 18, 1811. *Las Piedras.* Concerned by the Uruguayan insurgent Artigas's gathering of more than 1,000 rebel riders at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Canelones, the viceroy-designate de Elío has ordered frigate captain José de Posadas to march 12 miles northward out of Montevideo to entrench his 1,230 royalists around San Isidro de las Piedras mill.

On May 18, a battle occurs that ends in a royalist rout, as 200 of Posadas's troops switch allegiance to the insurgent cause. The victors suffer 70 deaths, as opposed to 100 killed, 60 wounded, and 500 captured among the surviving royalists, who are spared by Artigas. This rebel victory will allow the 38-year-old Argentine revolutionary general José Manuel Rondeau to advance and lay siege to Montevideo by June 1, although its garrison continues to be sustained from the sea.

MAY 21, 1811. Morelos's subordinate Hermenegildo Galeana aids the Bravo family—Leonardo, Miguel, Víctor, Máximo, and Nicolás—at their hometown of Chichihualco (Mexico) in defeating

a royalist contingent under Garrote. This victory nets 100 muskets and allows the insurgents to occupy nearby Chilpancingo unopposed, being joined on May 24 by their main body.

MAY 22, 1811. Royalist captain Juan Bautista de la Torre is defeated at Tuzantla (Mexico) and captured by insurgent forces, then killed while being taken prisoner toward Tūxpan.

MAY 26, 1811. *Tixtla.* Morelos's army overruns Tixtla (with a population of 4,000 inhabitants, present-day Ciudad Guerrero, Mexico), where *sargento mayor* Cosío and the wealthy landowner Joaquín de Guevara have dug in with 1,500 royalists. This insurgent victory nets 600 prisoners, 200 muskets, and 8 fieldpieces.

JUNE 1811. A minor uprising occurs at Tacna in southern Peru, partially inspired by the presence of Argentine forces in nearby Bolivia (see "November 7, 1810" entry). Nevertheless, this revolt is quickly suppressed.

JUNE 9, 1811. The conformist governor de Velasco is officially deposed at Asunción (Paraguay). Eight days later, a more revolutionary junta is seated.

JUNE 20, 1811. *Huaqui.* Eight days before a truce is scheduled to expire, royalist general Goyeneche advances at dawn with 6,500 troops in three columns along the shores of Lake Titicaca (Bolivia) to surprise González Balcarce's 5,000 Argentine invaders, plus several thousand Indian auxiliaries. Although Goyeneche's column is at first repelled, Brig. Gen. Domingo Pío Tristán's central column gains control of Yauricoragua Ravine, taking the revolutionaries in the flank and thereby preventing communication with the other half of their army under General Viamonte.

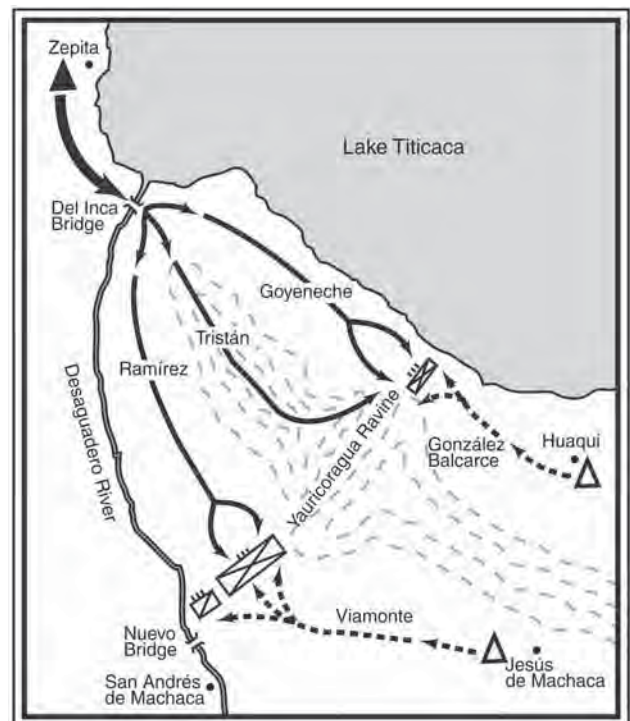
The latter is eventually defeated by Brigadier General Ramírez, and the remainder is completely routed. After being continuously harassed during their retreat, and after leaving a small contingent behind to guard Suipacha Ford, only 800 revolutionaries reach Salta (Argentina), where Pueyrredón assumes command over these shattered remnants and continues their retirement as far as Tucumán.

JUNE 22, 1811. The insurgent general López Rayón captures Zitácuaro, which then becomes the capital of Mexico's new National Congress.

JULY 5, 1811. *The First Republic.* Venezuela officially proclaims its independence and becomes a republic. A serious counterrevolution soon develops at Valencia, however, supported from Coro. Later this same month, a patriot division marches from Caracas under Francisco Rodríguez, Marqués del Toro, who is repulsed with slight losses and obliged to retire into Maracay. Miranda is then selected by the patriot government to succeed him.

JULY 17, 1811. A 5,000-man Portuguese army under 56-year-old general Diogo de Sousa, governor of Brazil's Río Grande do Sul Province, enters the *Banda Oriental* (Uruguay) at the instigation of Buenos Aires's Spanish viceroy-designate Francisco Javier de Elío. The latter—unable to cope with spreading revolutionary fervor—has resorted to this desperate expedient, calling upon Spain's traditional regional rival for help.

JULY 30, 1811. At dawn in Chihuahua City, Hidalgo is executed by a 12-man firing squad five days after the executions of his subordinates Allende, Jiménez, Aldama, and numerous others. Hidalgo's body is exhibited to the public all day, tied in a chair, then beheaded after nightfall. Although his corpse is claimed by Franciscan friars, all the insurgent



Battle of Huaqui.

leaders' heads are pickled in salt and forwarded to Guanajuato by October to be permanently displayed upon the four corners of the Alhóndiga de Granaditas (see "September 28, 1810" entry).

AUGUST 1811. A second Creole conspiracy is discovered in Mexico City, resulting in a number of executions.

AUGUST 12, 1811. After considerable difficulty, Miranda's patriot army subdues loyalist Valencia (Venezuela), but he is then unable to persuade Congress to impose strong centralized rule upon the country. Loyalist resistance will persist at such hotbeds as Maracaibo and Coro.

AUGUST 15, 1811. Royalist lieutenant colonel Fuentes attempts to recapture Tixtla from Morelos's subordinates, Galeana and 47-year-old Leonardo Bravo. The royalist assault columns are caught in a crossfire and repelled, their retirement being hastened the next day by the arrival of Morelos himself from Chilpancingo with 300 riders. Fuentes's losses total 400 prisoners, 400 muskets, and 3 fieldpieces.



Francisco Javier de Elío, when captain-general of Valencia. (Museo de Bellas Artes, Valencia, Spain)

On August 18, Morelos follows up this advantage by attacking Fuentes's demoralized royalists at Chilapa, compelling them to withdraw from the southwestern theater altogether and retreat into Mexico City.

OCTOBER 21, 1811. In Uruguay, the Argentine revolutionaries come to terms with Spanish viceroy-designate de Elío, agreeing to evacuate this territory if he in turn withdraws his Portuguese allies (see "July 17, 1811" entry). The local Uruguayan leader Artigas feels betrayed by this arrangement, as the royalists will be left in undisputed possession of his district, so he angrily retires inland to the confluence of the Paraná and Ayuí rivers north of Concordia with his 16,000 followers, in the so-called *Exodo Oriental* or Exodus of the Easterners. His intransigence will furnish the Portuguese general de Sousa with an excuse to delay his own troops' withdrawal.

NOVEMBER 1811. A short-lived Creole insurrection occurs in the city of San Salvador (Central America), starting with demands to create a separate bishopric. This is quickly repressed by the president of the audiencia of Guatemala, José de Bustamante y Guerra.

Meanwhile, New Granada (modern Colombia) creates a weak central union called the "United Provinces of New Granada"—excepting Bogotá, which is ruled by Antonio Nariño. Border disputes soon erupt between both factions.

EARLY NOVEMBER 1811. Having secured most of the modern state of Guerrero (Mexico), Morelos launches a three-pronged offensive inland. Miguel Bravo leads one column toward Oaxaca; Hermenegildo Galeana takes another toward Taxco; while Morelos marches at the head of two companies of insurgents and 800 Indian archers toward Izúcar, overrunning it without opposition by December 10. He then installs 29-year-old captain Vicente Ramón Guerrero Saldaña as its garrison commander.

NOVEMBER 11, 1811. Cartagena (Colombia) declares outright independence from Spain.

DECEMBER 1811. A brief Creole uprising occurs at Granada (Nicaragua) over questions of local misrule.

DECEMBER 18, 1811. At dawn, a royalist force under naval lieutenant Miguel Soto de la Maceda

surprises Morelos at Izúcar (Mexico), fighting its way into the main square before being repelled by Leonardo Bravo's division.

DECEMBER 25, 1811. Morelos occupies Cuautla Amilpas.

JANUARY 1, 1812. *Zitácuaro.* Mexico's National Congress shifts its capital from Zitácuaro to Sultepec, as Calleja's 5,000-strong royalist army begins to approach. General López Rayón meanwhile prepares to defend Zitácuaro with 20,000 poorly armed, ill-trained insurgents.

The next day, Calleja's columns push their way inside the city after heavy fighting, inflicting 7,000 casualties among the defenders, while suffering 2,000 within their own ranks. To then punish Zitácuaro's disloyalty to Spain, the victors sack the town and burn it to the ground.

JANUARY 22, 1812. Morelos falls upon the royalist Porlier at Tenancingo, forcing him to retire into Toluca without his artillery.

JANUARY 25, 1812. Learning that the victorious royalist army of General Calleja is approaching after destroying Zitácuaro, Morelos retreats into Cuautla Amilpas by February 9, occupying Cuernavaca along the way.

JANUARY 29, 1812. The royalist commander Paris defeats 400 insurgents at Omotepec (Mexico) under Miguel Bravo, Valerio Trujano, and Julián Ayala.

FEBRUARY 17, 1812. *Siege of Cuautla.* Calleja's 7,000 royalists encamp at Pasulco—two and a half miles outside Cuautla—having cornered Morelos inside with 2,000 riders, 1,000 infantry, and 1,300 auxiliaries under his subordinates, colonels Hermenegildo Galeana, Miguel Bravo, and 41-year-old Mariano Matamoros (originally a village priest from Jantetelco). The next day, the royalists advance to probe Cuautla's defenses, only to have Morelos launch a surprise cavalry charge against their rear. In heavy fighting, the insurgent leader is almost captured, but is rescued by Galeana. At dawn of the 19th, Calleja launches a four-pronged attack against Cuautla's San Diego Convent, which is defended by Galeana. The insurgents wait until the royalists draw within 100 yards, then open a withering fire. Despite heavy losses, Calleja's men overrun the city's northeastern trench system, only to be blown off its

northern parapets by the heroic 12-year-old gunner Narciso Mendoza, stationed at the Encanto Street battery. After six hours' close combat, the royalists retreat, leaving behind 200 dead (including colonels Conde de Casa Rul and Juan N. Oviedo). Having been thus bloodily repulsed in a direct assault, Calleja opts to impose a siege.

In late February, he is reinforced by 5,000 additional troops, the Puebla Division under Ciriaco de Llano. Royalist batteries also open fire upon Cuautla from Zacatepec and Calvario Hills by March 4, and siege lines are begun from both north and south the next day. Over the next few weeks, Calleja cuts off the city's water supply, the insurgents responding by recapturing Juchitengo Dam and holding it against all royalist counterattacks.

On April 21, Matamoros leads a desperate, 10-dragoon sally from Santa Inés Gate that contacts an insurgent relief column bringing food under Miguel Bravo at Tlayacac Ravine (*Barranca Hedihonda*). He is unable, however, to escort it back into Cuautla and, instead, is ambushed at Amazingo by Llano's cavalry and compelled to flee toward Tlacalaque (where Matamoros is eventually defeated by Mateo Nieto). By February 28, provisions within the beleaguered city are exhausted, and at 2:00 a.m. on May 2, Morelos leads a dash toward freedom. The starved insurgents quietly wend their way down Cuautla's riverbank until encountering the royalist picket lines, at which point they charge and fight their way through. Losses are heavy on both sides, some of Calleja's divisions mistakenly firing upon each other in the gloom. Morelos escapes to Ocuilco, but his insurgent army is nevertheless broken and dispersed, units being chased for many miles by royalist cavalry, while Cuautla itself is given over to the sack.

MARCH 1812. Máximo Bravo flees toward the coast from Cuautla, helping keep Mexico's insurgency alive by joining forces with Galeana, Ayala, and Father Mariano de Tapia to skirmish with the royalists around Petaquillas, Citlala, and Tlapa.

Meanwhile in Cadiz, the legislative assembly (*cortes*) promulgates Spain's first-ever constitution, a liberal document that generates much enthusiasm throughout large segments of the empire because of its promises of limited self-rule and other reforms.

MARCH 10, 1812. *Monteverde's Counteroffensive.* After being reinforced from Spanish-held Puerto Rico, 230 loyalists begin moving east from Coro

(Venezuela) under the 38-year-old, Canarian-born naval captain Juan Domingo de Monteverde, who is joined at Siquisique by Indian chief Juan de los Reyes Vargas.

Before they can resume their progression, an earthquake destroys much of Caracas and other republican-held cities on the afternoon of March 26—Holy Thursday—while leaving the monarchist regions largely untouched. Demoralized and disorganized, the patriots are powerless to halt the expedition's subsequent advance, Monteverde pressing ahead and occupying Barquisimeto without resistance. His numbers soon swell to 1,000 followers, and he penetrates still deeper into patriot territory, despite cautionary words from Gov. José Ceballos (or Cevallos) at Coro.

MARCH 26, 1812. Having been cleared at his court-martial, Belgrano relieves Pueyrredón in command of the revolutionaries' "Army of the North," regrouping at Yatasto in northern Argentina. There are less than half the firearms required for his 1,500 men and only two artillery pieces.

APRIL 5, 1812. This Sunday, royalist lieutenant colonel Francisco Caldelas appears before Huajuapán (state of Oaxaca, Mexico) with more than 2,000 men and 14 fieldpieces, to besiege its insurgent garrison under Col. Valerio Trujano. After his initial assault is repelled, Caldelas institutes a formal siege, camping north of this town on Calvario Heights, while his subordinate Gabriel Esperón occupies its western side, Juan de la Vega, the southern, and José María Régules, the eastern bank of the Huajuapán River with his *Batallón de la Mermelada* or "Marmalade Battalion" (so-called because of its purple uniforms). Siege batteries are installed by April 10, opening fire against Trujano's defenders, who have no artillery with which to reply. Opposing trenches encircle the town, and the royalists settle down to starve its garrison into submission.

APRIL 23, 1812. In a desperate bid to stem Monteverde's incursion, the Venezuelan Congress grants Miranda dictatorial powers, although this proves to be too little, too late. The Creole rulers have already alienated many blacks by failing to implement their widely touted abolition of slavery. In addition, they have drafted legislation aimed at extending private ownership over the rangelands, thereby reducing the status of its tough *llaneros* or "plainsmen" to indentured servants. Both groups now provide for-

Llaneros

The first Spanish settlers landed at Coro, slowly expanding east through Venezuela's lush central valleys. Although unsuited for vineyards or orchards, the valleys' flat pastures and moderate climate proved ideal for raising cereal and cattle. *Hatos* or ranches therefore began to dot this vast landscape as of the late 1500s, and the herds were tended by *llaneros*. They sprang from a mixture of Spanish, Indian, and African riders and became known as "the first cowboys of the Americas."

By the early 19th century, the plains east of Caracas still remained sparsely populated, despite having 1.5 million head of cattle and mules. The *llanero* nomads spoke a unique dialect, with a bewildering array of 16th-century idioms and native terms. Born to the saddle, they were proud of their skill and hardy lives. Wearing a distinctive starched hat, *llaneros* were inured to the harsh savannahs, often going barefoot. They broke in fresh mounts every spring, loosing their horses to run wild once the winter rains came. They hired themselves out to ranchers to drive herds up to higher ground in autumn to avoid the winter floods on the plains. The herds were then returned to the lowlands in the spring, to graze upon the lush summer grasses.

Aristocratic Creoles always viewed the independent *llaneros* with disdain and distrust. When the First Republic was established in 1811, these landowners tried to extend their proprietary rights over the rangelands, expecting the plainsmen to comply. Instead, angry *llaneros* rallied to the royalist cause, providing a formidable body of cavalry. Creoles and urban dwellers alike greatly feared this torrent of riders, dubbing them the "Satanic Legion" and telling lurid tales of their cruelty.

The *llaneros* were so crucial to the republic's defeat, however, that Simón Bolívar realized they must be won over to the patriot cause. His task was made somewhat easier after Ferdinand VII was restored to the Spanish throne in 1814. Bolívar being an aristocratic Creole landowner himself, it was difficult for the *llaneros* at first to even understand his speech. He persisted, living among the *llaneros* and sharing their hardships until he gained their trust. Despite being slight of build, he earned the nickname *culo de hierro* or "iron buttocks" for the long hours he spent in the saddle. They were well worth it. *Llanero* cavalry proved decisive in winning the Battle of Boyacá in August 1819 and Venezuela's very independence at Carabobo two years later.

Today, *llanero* culture has become quite popular in Venezuelan society. Their traditional dance known as the *joropo* has a prominent place in national folklore. Their music, played on a small harp, maracas, and a four-stringed guitar called a *cuatro*, has also become widely recognized.

midable guerrilla contingents for the royalists, the blacks making an uprising east of Caracas, and the *llaneros* in the Calabozo Plains. Monteverde two days later defeats the patriot garrison at San Carlos.

MAY 3, 1812. Monteverde's royalist troops occupy Valencia (Venezuela) without opposition, but shortly thereafter slow their advance, intimidated by the large numbers of patriots rallying around Miranda.

MAY 6, 1812. Leonardo Bravo is captured along with two-dozen of his insurgent followers while sleeping at San Gabriel Hacienda (state of Morelos). He is subsequently conveyed into Mexico City to face execution on September 13.

MAY 17, 1812. A hastily assembled insurgent force under fathers Sánchez and Tapia approaches Huajuapán from Tehuacán (Mexico) to lift its royalist siege. This relief column is ambushed near Chilapilla by black royalist troopers under Lieutenant Colonel Caldelas and is scattered and compelled to abandon their nine fieldpieces and supply train.

MAY 19, 1812. Hoping to break the siege of Cochabamba (Bolivia) by 2,500 royalists under Goyeneche, Belgrano reaches Jujuy (Argentina) with only 1,500 sickly and ill-equipped revolutionary troops. The monarchists refuse to be drawn from Suipacha, though, carrying the city by storm.

MAY 23, 1812. The Mexican insurgent leader Torres, captured by loyalists, is hanged, drawn, and quartered.

MAY 30, 1812. Ceballos reaches Valencia from Coro (Venezuela) with reinforcements for Monteverde's royalist army. Shortly thereafter, Miranda attempts a couple of assaults upon the city but is obliged to retire to La Cabrera, on the road leading toward Caracas.

It is then Monteverde's turn to launch three unsuccessful assaults upon the patriot defenses guarding Guaica Pass, before outflanking this position and compelling Miranda to retreat into Victoria. Some 5,000 patriots make their stand there, and the outnumbered royalists must retire upon Maracay to regroup.

JUNE 4, 1812. Having recruited 800 new adherents following his Cuautla disaster, Morelos defeats the royalist Cerro at Citlala (Mexico).

JUNE 30, 1812. Prominent monarchist captives imprisoned in San Felipe Castle at Puerto Cabello (Venezuela)—its garrison commanded by Ramón Aymerich, whereas political governorship is exercised by the inexperienced, 28-year-old Creole militia colonel, Simón Bolívar—rise up and seize this citadel. They turn its artillery against the town, while Bolívar vainly attempts to recapture the fort with only 40 men. Further loyalist forces then arrive under Monteverde to also threaten this key seaport from outside. After six days' futile resistance, Bolívar and Aymerich flee aboard a brig, reaching La Guaira by July 7.

JULY 13, 1812. After lengthy delays and diplomatic threats from Britain, de Sousa's Portuguese army evacuates Uruguay (*see* "October 21, 1811" entry). The general is nonetheless rewarded for his efforts in this campaign by being named Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Cristo five months later and first Conde de Rio Pardo in 1815.

JULY 22, 1812. *Siege of Huajuapán.* The first division of Morelos's army appears southwest of Huajuapán under Miguel Bravo in hopes of raising its three-and-a-half-month-old royalist siege (*see* "April 5, 1812" entry). Caldelas scatters this first relief column with a sharp sally, obliging Bravo to abandon two of his small fieldpieces.

The next day, however, Morelos and Galeana arrive from Tlapa with 1,800 additional men, reinforcing Bravo. Bravo attacks Esperón's camp west of Huajuapán, Galeana assaults Caldelas's positions farther north, and the beleaguered garrison emerges eastward out of Huajuapán to distract Régules.

The divided royalists are quickly overwhelmed, and Caldelas is killed along with 400 of his men, with another 200 captured—along with 14 guns, more than 1,000 muskets, and considerable matériel. Morelos remains here for two weeks before marching toward Tehuacán de las Granadas, entering it triumphantly on August 10.

JULY 25, 1812. Heartened by the Venezuelan patriots' evident disarray, Monteverde resumes his advance, so Miranda is compelled to abandon Caracas this evening, in anticipation of escaping through La Guaira. The First Republic is dead.

JULY 30, 1812. Miranda reaches La Guaira, intending to sail away the next day aboard the British corvette *Sapphire*. However, he is persuaded by

Bolívar and other secretly disgruntled subordinates, who suspect that treason lies behind their leader's departure, to sleep overnight in the home of the garrison commander, Col. Manuel María Casas. At 2:00 a.m., the colonel, Bolívar, and Miguel Peña lead four armed soldiers into Miranda's bedroom, who is handcuffed and surrendered to the loyalists.

Miranda will eventually be sent to Cadiz in chains, dying in La Carraca fortress four years later. Bolívar is rewarded by the royalist commanders Francisco Iturbe and Monteverde by being allowed to flee toward Curaçao aboard the schooner *Jesús, María y José* on August 27, along with his uncle by marriage, José Félix Rivas (alternate 19th-century spelling, Ribas) plus two other companions. Through lack of skill, though, Monteverde will subsequently fail to reintroduce royalist rule over Venezuela.

AUGUST 11, 1812. *Texas Incursion.* Insurgent colonel Gutiérrez de Lara (see "March 16, 1811" entry) recrosses the Sabine River into east Texas with 400 American volunteers he has raised at New Orleans and Natchez—helped by ex-U.S. Army lieutenant Augustus William Magee, now promoted to lieutenant colonel in the expedition. This "Republican Army of the North" seizes undefended Nacogdoches on August 11, while royalist support collapses throughout the eastern portion of this province. Trinidad is easily overrun by mid-September, where the invaders then encamp for more than a month.

On November 2, royalist governor Manuel de Salcedo and Col. Simón de Herrera sally east from San Antonio with 1,500 troops, deploying them along the Guadalupe River. Learning of this move, Gutiérrez de Lara and Magee's army (now numbering 800 men) slide south-southwest, overwhelming the tiny Spanish coastal keep at Bahía del Espíritu Santo on November 7. De Salcedo then pursues and traps the outnumbered insurgents within this place, bombarding its ramparts with 14 fieldpieces; but after three failed assaults, a protracted siege ensues.

Magee dies of disease on February 6, 1813. After another two royalist attempts to storm the walls cost them 300 casualties, de Salcedo and Herrera commence a disorderly withdrawal back toward San Antonio on February 19. Two days later, Gutiérrez de Lara's survivors emerge from Espíritu Santo and follow in their wake.

AUGUST 20, 1812. At the head of 200 insurgent guerrillas, Nicolás Bravo (the 26-year-old son of

Leonardo and nephew to Miguel, Víctor, Máximo, and Nicolás) ambushes a royalist mule train at San Agustín del Palmar, bound from Veracruz toward Puebla. Most of its 360-man royalist escort under Lt. Col. Juan Labaqui are slaughtered, and 300 muskets and 3 fieldpieces are captured.

AUGUST 23, 1812. Almost a month after ordering all revolutionary sympathizers to evacuate Jujuy (Argentina), Belgrano's army follows suit, retreating 150 miles south over the next five days toward Tucumán because of the approach of superior royalist forces out of the north under General Tristán. At dawn of August 29, Belgrano orders a halt on the banks of the Pasaje River.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1812. While retiring southward, Belgrano makes a brief stand on the Piedras River bank, bloodying a 600-man royalist cavalry patrol under colonels Llano and Huici, who have been hound-



Manuel Belgrano, painted during his 1815 visit to London by the French émigré artist Casimir Carboneir. (Círculo de Armas, Buenos Aires)

Manuel Belgrano

Manuel José Joaquín del Corazón de Jesús Belgrano was born at Buenos Aires on June 3, 1770. He was the fourth son in a family of eight boys and three girls. His Genoese father had arrived from Cadiz 19 years earlier and had become a prosperous merchant. Young Manuel was raised amid wealth and privilege. He attended the Real Colegio de San Carlos until the age of 16, then was sent to study in Spain. He graduated with a law degree from the University of Salamanca in 1793 and was received at the bar of Valladolid.

But he also specialized in economics, so later that same year, Belgrano was appointed as permanent first secretary of the newly created *Consulado de Mercaderes* or “Merchant Guild” for Buenos Aires. Setting sail for home in February 1794, he threw himself into this post with youthful vigor and idealism. In addition to his official duties, by 1799 he was encouraging the creation of nautical and technical schools. He also helped to found the *Telégrafo Mercantil* newspaper two years later.

Belgrano’s comfortable existence was interrupted by the British invasion of June 1806. Although an honorary captain in the city militia, his untrained unit was not used to contest the brief occupation of Buenos Aires. Goaded by this failure, Belgrano read military books and was elected second-in-command of the *Regimiento de Patricios*, or “Patrician Regiment.” During a second British assault the next year, he served on the staff of the quartermaster-general, Col. César Balbiani.

In March 1810, Belgrano founded the *Correo de Comercio* newspaper. He also became a prominent figure during the “May Revolution” led by Saavedra and Moreno. Because of his political activism, he was given command that same September of the revolutionary expedition into Paraguay. Although eventually defeated, he was cleared of any blame, and in November 1811 was named colonel of the 1st Patricios Regiment. He also designed the Argentine flag, which he hoisted for the first time at Rosario along the banks of the Paraná River on February 27, 1812. His victory at Tucumán that same September won him command of the Army of the North, which he led into the Andes. After being beaten at Vilcapugio and Ayohuma, he was replaced by San Martín.

Exonerated after a lengthy court-martial at Buenos Aires in 1814, he was sent to Europe on a diplomatic mission that same year with Bernardo Rivadavia. Upon his return in February 1816, Belgrano was given command of the inactive “Army of Observation” at Santa Fe, though he never again led troops into battle. His moderate call on July 6—three days prior to Argentina’s declaration of independence—for creation of a constitutional monarchy, was openly derided. Even his wish to marry at Tucumán in January 1819 was denied when he was instead ordered to Santa Fe, hence his only daughter was born out of wedlock. He sickened and died at Buenos Aires on June 20, 1820, so poor that he paid his medical bills with his gold watch.

ing his rearguard (commanded by Argentine brigadier general Eustaquio Díaz Vélez). The pursuers suffer 20 killed and 25 captured, allowing the revolutionaries to resume their retreat into Tucumán undisturbed.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1812. *Tucumán.* Belgrano learns that his loyalist pursuers have reached Nogales, 10 miles north of Tucumán, and because they are determined to halt his retreat—despite orders from the Argentine junta to continue retiring as far south as Córdoba—he decides to offer battle. His 1,000 cavalymen and 800 infantrymen take up a defensive position just north of Tucumán, only to be surprised the next day by an approach out of the southwest by Tristán’s 1,000 troopers and 2,000 foot soldiers, with 13 fieldpieces, who have circled around the city.

Shifting across to Carreras Field, Belgrano meets Tristán’s opening assault head on, his revolutionary cavalry on the right flank dispersing the loyalist Tarija Cavalry Regiment, thereby allowing his patriot infantry to defeat the Abancay, Cotabamba,

and Real Lima battalions. On the Argentine left, however, its black battalion and Santiago del Estero militia cavalry regiment are defeated by the loyalist Paruro, Chichas, and Fernando VII battalions, leading Belgrano to believe that the day is lost. The patriot general therefore gathers some 200 stragglers around him by evening at El Rincón, nine miles south of Tucumán, in anticipation of resuming his army’s retirement southward.

His other patriot formations have won a victory, however, his subordinate Díaz Vélez reentering Tucumán with most of his infantry and artillery, plus 687 captive royalists and five fieldpieces. Tristán has also lost 450 dead, as opposed to 65 killed and 187 wounded among the revolutionary ranks. The next day—September 25—Belgrano realizes his good fortune, so he advances upon the royalist survivors with 500 men, calling upon them to surrender “in [the] name of American brotherhood.” Tristán refuses and retires north toward Salta, while Belgrano mistakenly sends 600 cavalymen that night toward Manantiales,

thereby inadvertently losing contact with the enemy. He will nonetheless be promoted to captain general for this victory.

OCTOBER 8, 1812. Buenos Aires's patriot government—known as the “First Triumvirate”—is overthrown in favor of a “Second Triumvirate” comprised of Juan José Paso, Nicolás Rodríguez Peña, and Antonio Álvarez Jonte.

OCTOBER 20, 1812. The vanguard of Gen. Manuel de Sarratea's Argentine army reaches the outskirts of Montevideo (Uruguay) and joins 350 local volunteers under José Culta to lay siege to its royalist garrison.

OCTOBER 29, 1812. Morelos raids the royalist stronghold at Orizaba (Mexico), overwhelms its garrison under Col. José Antonio Andrade, and burns a valuable shipment of tobacco. Two days later, while retiring toward his encampment, the insurgent leader defeats another small royalist force on the Acultzingo Heights.

EARLY NOVEMBER 1812. Nicolás Bravo captures the port of Alvarado (modern state of Veracruz, Mexico), then attacks Jalapa while marching inland.

NOVEMBER 10, 1812. After being joined at Tehuacán (Mexico) by Matamoros and Nicolás Bravo—each bringing in 2,000 new recruits—Morelos marches toward Oaxaca with 5,000 men.

NOVEMBER 24, 1812. *Oaxaca.* Morelos's 5,000-man army arrives at Etla and calls upon the 2,000-man, 36-gun royalist garrison within the nearby city of Oaxaca to surrender, which is rejected. The next morning at 11:00, his insurgent columns begin an assault, Eugenio Montaña leading a cavalry charge past Xochimilco, which cuts off the road leading toward Tehuantepec. Montaña then penetrates the city via La Merced. Ramón Sesma meanwhile storms the Soledad fortress with his San Lorenzo Battalion, under covering fire from Manuel de Mier y Terán's artillery. Matamoros—now a *mariscal de campo* or “field marshal”—assaults the fortified Carmen Convent, while Hermenegildo Galeana carries the Santo Domingo Convent.

When Morelos finally enters the devastated city at 2:00 p.m., he orders the execution of its monarchist commanders Régules, Saravia, Bonavia, Aristi, and many others.

DECEMBER 1812. Having fled from Venezuela (*see* “July 30, 1812” entry) into what is today Colombia and accepted a lowly posting in its patriot army, Bolívar advances from Barranca with 200 men up the Magdalena River, dislodging the loyalist garrison at Tenerife. Mompós (or Mompóx) is overrun by December 27, and after being reinforced by numerous local volunteers, Bolívar occupies El Banco and defeats a Spanish force at Chiriguaná on January 1, 1813.

Tamalameque and Puerto Real de Ocaña fall shortly thereafter, opening the Upper Magdalena to insurgent control. Ramón Correa, the royalist commander at Maracaibo, responds to this thrust by occupying Cúcuta, thus threatening the patriot outposts at Pamplona and Ocaña.

DECEMBER 31, 1812. *El Cerrito.* At dawn, 2,300 royalists under the new viceroy-designate Gaspar Vigodet sally from Montevideo (Uruguay) with three fieldpieces, surprising Rondeau's Argentine besiegers. Advancing in three columns, the loyalists scatter outlying patriot units before the revolutionary general makes a stand at El Cerrito with his 4th and 6th infantry regiments and Patria Dragoons. The central royalist column under Brigadier General Muelas then succeeds in breaking the black infantrymen of the 6th, but Rondeau gathers sufficient stragglers to mount a counterattack, thus throwing back Vigodet's entire force. The royalists withdraw into Montevideo after suffering 100 dead, 146 wounded, and 30 prisoners; Argentine losses total 90 casualties and 40 prisoners.

Shortly thereafter, the Argentine commander in chief de Sarratea joins Rondeau, closely shadowed by a rival Uruguayan force under Artigas. The latter sends 28-year-old commander Fructuoso Rivera to steal de Sarratea's herd of horses, prompting the latter to return alone into Buenos Aires, leaving Rondeau in command before Montevideo.

JANUARY 12, 1813. His army at Tucumán (Argentina) having been reinforced by 800 infantrymen of the 1st and 2nd Patrician regiments from Buenos Aires, Belgrano marches north toward the Pasaje River at the head of 3,000 well-equipped troops to attack Tristán's royalist army at Salta.

JANUARY 13, 1813. The 24-year-old, aristocratic revolutionary Santiago Mariño and 45 companions, including 18-year-old Antonio de Sucre Alcalá—having earlier sought refuge on the British island of Trinidad—now make a dawn landing at Güiría in

eastern Venezuela, quickly establishing a patriot foothold in the Gulf of Paria region.

JANUARY 28, 1813. The 34-year-old revolutionary lieutenant colonel José Francisco de San Martín departs Retiro (Argentina) with 125 troopers of his Mounted Grenadier Regiment, shadowing on land the sea movements of 11 royalist vessels out of beleaguered Montevideo, which intend to forage up the Paraná River for cattle and provisions. Guessing their target, San Martín hurries ahead on the evening of February 2 to stealthily take up position behind San Lorenzo Monastery, 15 miles north of Rosario. His force has been joined by another 50 local patriot irregulars under Celedonio Escalada.

At 5:30 a.m. the next dawn, 250 royalists come ashore with two fieldpieces and advance confidently to pillage the sleeping convent, only to be surprised by twin columns of 60 grenadiers apiece emerging from behind the building under San Martín and

Capt. Justo Bermúdez. The startled raiders are repelled, suffering 40 killed, 12 wounded, and 14 captured, as opposed to 6 dead and 20 injured among the revolutionaries' ranks. In his battle report, San Martín will single out the bravery of French-born Hipólito Bouchard for capturing the royalist flag.

FEBRUARY 7, 1813. Morelos's army exits the city of Oaxaca, slowly wending its way west toward Acapulco.

FEBRUARY 9, 1813. Bolívar quits Mompos (Colombia) with 400 men to attack Correa's 800 royalists in the Cúcuta Valleys (Venezuela). After reaching San Cayetano and being reinforced by 100 patriots from Pamplona, Bolívar crosses the Zulía River.

At dawn on Sunday, February 28, his small patriot formation begins deploying atop the hills west of San José de Cúcuta. Correa is summoned from mass and sorties from the town to engage by 9:00 a.m. However, his columns cannot successfully storm the patriot positions, so royalist morale and cohesion dissipate after a four-hour struggle. Correa's men suffer some 20 dead and 40 wounded, compared to only 2 dead and 14 injured among Bolívar's ranks. The royalists are driven back toward San Antonio del Táchira and La Grita.

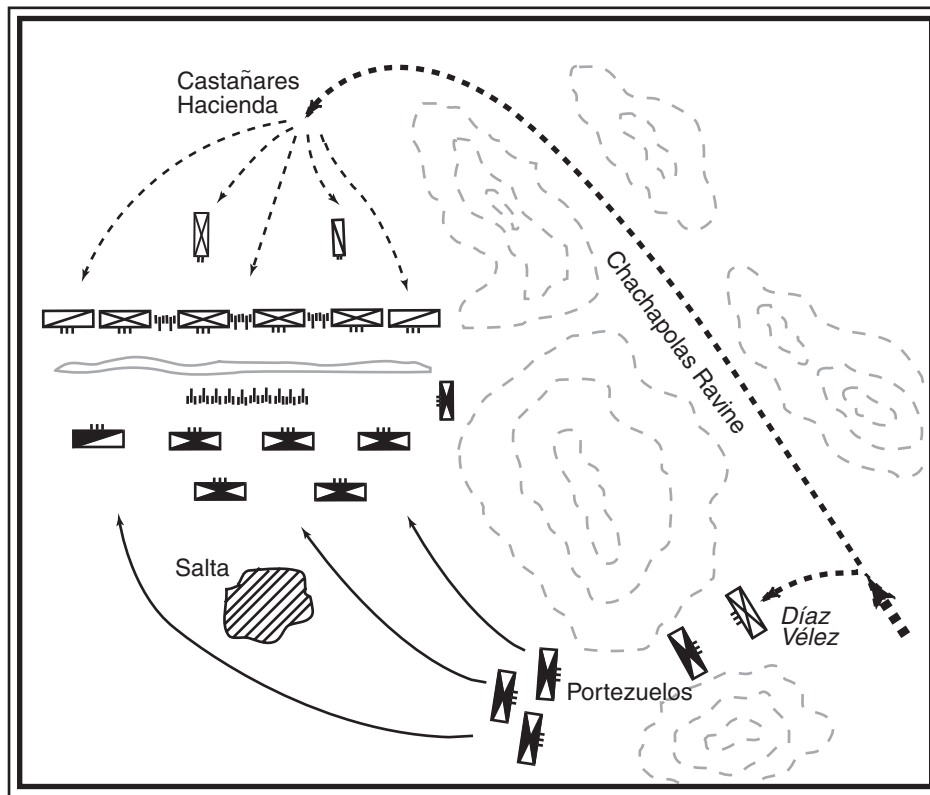
Bolívar requests authorization from the patriot government of New Granada under Camilo Torres Tenorio to advance deeper into Venezuelan territory. Permission to take his Colombian army with him will not be granted until April.

FEBRUARY 18, 1813. *Salta.* Learning that Belgrano has crossed the Pasaje River five days earlier and is marching against this city despite the rainy season, General Tristán takes up a defensive position southeast of Salta on the Portezuelo road with 3,400 royalists and 10 fieldpieces. The Argentine commander sends his vanguard under Brigadier General Díaz Vélez to mount a diversionary attack against Portezuelo, but Capt. José Apolinario Saravia leads the bulk of his 3,700-man, 12-gun army in an encircling maneuver through Chachapolas Ravine that same torrential night.

By dawn of February 19, the main revolutionary force emerges three miles north of Salta at Castañares Hacienda, prompting an astonished Tristán to hastily redeploy into a pair of lines from San Bernardo Hill along the Tagarete de Tineo ditch. Díaz Vélez's contingent rejoins, and after another heavy overnight downpour, Belgrano's reunited army launches its



Mexican insurgent of the Mixcoac Regiment. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)



Battle of Salta.

assault at midday of February 20 in five columns. The cavalry on the patriot right under Col. Manuel Dorrego disperses its opponents, then chases them into the very streets of Salta, along with the royalist infantry. Tristán's lines disintegrate, only a small unit resisting atop San Bernardo Hill, which is overwhelmed when Belgrano throws in his reserves. Tristán's army is annihilated, suffering 480 dead, 114 wounded, and virtually everyone else taken prisoner when the 2,800 survivors march out of Salta the next morning to officially surrender—the vast majority of whom are generously paroled by Belgrano. Patriot losses total 103 dead and 433 wounded. Belgrano orders that the fallen of both armies be buried together in a common grave.

FEBRUARY 26, 1813. Having temporarily patched up their political differences with officials from Buenos Aires, Uruguayan guerrillas under Artigas join Rondeau's Argentine revolutionary army in besieging the royalist garrison holding Montevideo.

MARCH 4, 1813. In recognition of his military successes, Calleja is appointed viceroy of New Spain (Mexico).

MARCH 28, 1813. Rosillo. In Texas, insurgent colonel Gutiérrez de Lara drives upon its capital of San Antonio from Bahía del Espíritu Santo, his army having been reinforced by fresh American volunteers and Indian warriors. Royalist colonel de Herrera challenges his progress with 1,500 regulars, 1,000 militiamen, and 12 artillery pieces at Rosillo (nine miles southeast of San Antonio, on a ridge along the banks of Salado Creek). The Americans, cleverly using their Indian allies to charge directly into the Spanish cavalry, quickly outflank the royalist infantry and defeat them in 15–20 minutes, inflicting 330 deaths and capturing 60 prisoners. Republican losses total 6 killed and 26 wounded.

On April 1, Governor de Salcedo sends out terms for San Antonio's capitulation to the victorious Gutiérrez de Lara at Concepción Mission, who refuses the terms and even detains the emissaries. The next morning, the capital is occupied, and on April 3, a captive de Salcedo and de Herrera are murdered at Rosillo along with a dozen other royalists by their insurgent escort under Antonio Delgado. The *República del Norte* or "Northern Republic" is proclaimed three days later, symbolized by a green flag.



Battle of Salta, by Aristene Papi. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

APRIL 1813. Belgrano leads an Argentine army north from Salta into Upper Peru (Bolivia), occupying Potosí by June 21.

APRIL 6, 1813. *Fall of Acapulco.* Morelos occupies Iguanas and Mira Heights outside this port with 1,500 men, bombarding its buildings for six days with his few fieldpieces. This obliges the royalists to evacuate the Casamata and their hospital bulwark, withdrawing inside 90-gun Fort San Diego under garrison commander Pedro Vélez.

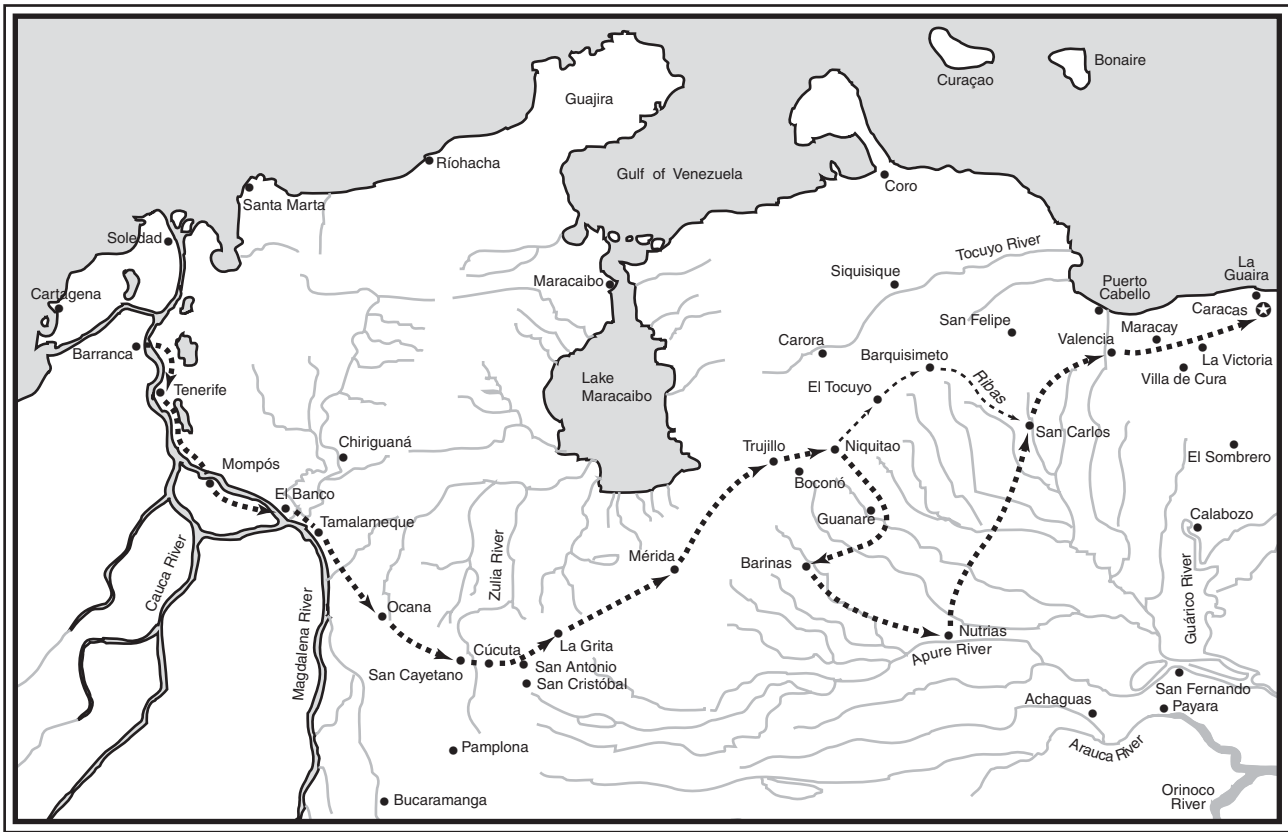
The insurgents settle down for a lengthy siege, seizing Roqueta Island offshore by June 9. It is not until they tighten their siege lines around Fort San Diego on August 17, however, that enough hardship is exerted to compel the defenders to capitulate three days later. This victory proves hollow, though, since it does not threaten any major royalist interest, although it does allow Morelos to address the Mexican Constitutional Congress at Chilpancingo from a position of greater political strength on September 13.

APRIL 19, 1813. An insurgent force under Matamoros defeats the royalist Servando Dombrini at Tonalá (Mexico).

APRIL 23, 1813. Colombian patriot colonel Manuel del Castillo advances against La Grita (Venezuela), defeating its royalist garrison under Correa.

MAY 17, 1813. *The “Admirable Campaign.”* Having been promoted to brigadier general in the Colombian army and granted citizenship, Bolívar departs La Grita to reconquer Venezuela from out of the west. He enters Mérida unopposed on May 23 and is greeted by its municipal council as *El Libertador*. On June 8, after learning of the execution of his friend, Col. Antonio Nicolás Briceño, and other patriots, Bolívar calls for a “war to the death” against all peninsular Spaniards. The inclusion of noncombatants in his decree will lead to an increasingly vicious cycle of reprisals by both sides, individual executions soon escalating into wholesale massacres.

Bolívar gains Trujillo by June 14, departing toward the end of that same month to march against the royalist forces gathered at Barinas under Lt. Col. Antonio Tizcar. His army’s sudden appearance surprises the latter commander, precipitating a sudden evacuation that disintegrates into chaos when Tizcar attempts to recross the Apure River, only to have the citizens of Nutria rise against him. The royalist commander reaches San Fernando virtually alone,



Bolívar's "Admirable Campaign."

while his subordinate José Martí is also defeated at Niquitao Heights around that same time by Bolívar's patriot subordinate, Col. José Félix Rivas, all Spanish captives being put to the sword. Rivas then occupies El Tocuyo by July 18, marching on Barquisimeto and destroying the royalist forces stationed at Los Horcones under Col. Francisco Oberto. Without pausing, Rivas crosses El Altar Mountain and rejoins Bolívar at San Carlos by July 30.

The next day, the combined patriot contingents destroy a royalist army under Col. Julián Izquierdo on Taguanes Plain, slaughtering all its infantrymen. Upon receipt of this grim news, Monteverde flees Valencia for Puerto Cabello, leaving the road into Caracas open. Bolívar enters Valencia triumphantly on August 2, detaching Col. Atanasio Girardot to watch Monteverde's movements, while himself driving on toward the capital. Caracas's royalist governor, Brig. Gen. Antonio Fierro, offers to capitulate, and the victorious patriots enter on August 6 amid scenes of cruel reprisals. Bolívar's whirlwind offensive becomes labeled the *Campaña Admirable* or "Admirable Campaign," and he himself is acclaimed as captain general and hailed everywhere as *El*

Libertador—although once in power he does not restore republican government but, rather, creates a military dictatorship, thinly disguised as a "Second Republic."

EARLY JUNE 1813. *Alazán.* Royalist lieutenant colonel Francisco Ignacio Elizondo invades Texas with a detachment of 3,000 badly trained Mexican conscripts to avenge insurgent Gutiérrez de Lara's deposal and murder of Governor de Salcedo. Although under orders from his superior, Colonel Arredondo, to advance no farther north than the Frío River, Elizondo progresses to the very outskirts of San Antonio, camping on the banks of Alazán Creek by June 16 to challenge its republican army to battle.

Although outnumbered, the new American leader Henry Perry leads the defenders out after nightfall, charging across the Alazán the next dawn with the sun behind him to crush the royalists in a four-hour fight. Elizondo sustains 400 casualties and flees into Laredo, where he is superseded by Arredondo.

A month and a half later, the unpopular Gutiérrez de Lara is overthrown as insurgent leader by his

Cuban rival José María Álvarez de Toledo, with support from the American William Shaler.

AUGUST 3, 1813. The patriot leader Mariño captures Cumaná, ensconcing himself as virtual ruler of eastern Venezuela one month later.

AUGUST 15, 1813. *Atascoso.* Álvarez de Toledo's 850 American troops and 600 Cochate Indian allies march out of San Antonio (Texas), taking up a defensive position on the Medina River two days later to contest another royalist invasion out of the south. Here they encounter a 180-man cavalry patrol under Lieutenant Colonel Elizondo, who engages and then retreats across the Medina, drawing the republicans toward Colonel Arredondo's main body.

At Atascoso, the pursuers encounter 1,200 royalist riders and 700 infantrymen drawn up with their

artillery. A four-hour battle ensues, during which Arredondo crushes the insurgents, then brutally overruns San Antonio on the afternoon of August 18, executing 112 prisoners, including numerous Americans. Álvarez de Toledo, Perry, and other republican leaders flee toward Louisiana, effectively ending Texas's rebellion.

AUGUST 16, 1813. Matamoros's insurgents maul the royalist Asturias Battalion at San Agustín del Palmar (Mexico), executing its commander Cándano.

SEPTEMBER 1813. Having been reinforced from Spain by a 1,300-man division under Col. José Miguel Salomón, Monteverde's loyalists sortie from Puerto Cabello (Venezuela) to attack Girardot's patriot besiegers, who are already retreating toward Valencia.

Simón Bolívar

Simón José Antonio de la Santísima Trinidad Bolívar y Palacios was born on July 24, 1783, in the Venezuelan capital of Caracas. He was the fourth of five children born into an ancient and wealthy Creole family, descended from the earliest settlers. Simón's father died when he was only two and a half, and his mother died a couple of weeks short of his ninth birthday. Raised by his uncles and taught by Simón Rodríguez and other teachers, he received his first militia commission on January 14, 1797. At the age of 16, Bolívar was sent to Madrid.

He set sail from La Guaira on January 19, 1799, as a passenger aboard the 74-gun royal warship *San Ildefonso*, which ran the British blockade to Veracruz and Havana, then reached Spain on May 13. In Madrid, Bolívar lived with the influential Marqués de Ustáriz. He continued his refinement, and his youth seemingly climaxed when he married María Teresa Rodríguez on May 26, 1802. But when the couple sailed to Venezuela two months later, she tragically died of yellow fever the next January 22.

Bolívar returned to Spain by that same December 1803 and went on to Paris the next April. He witnessed the coronation of Napoleon I, whom he greatly admired. He also absorbed many philosophical lectures regarding liberty. Meeting his old tutor Rodríguez, they traveled into Italy in 1805. One August day, while overlooking Rome, the 22-year-old Bolívar swore to set Spanish America free. He joined the Masons in Paris the next year, then departed Hamburg aboard a neutral vessel for home. He interrupted his voyage by disembarking at Charleston (South Carolina) in January 1807 to visit the United States.

Upon regaining Venezuela that summer, Bolívar resumed life as a wealthy property owner. He was also appointed deputy justice for Yare and named to his father's old rank of militia colonel. When an autonomous junta was formed at Caracas on April 19, 1810, he was one of three delegates sent to London aboard the British corvette *Wellington* on a two-month diplomatic mission to seek help. He was back by December 10 and persuaded the junta to welcome the return from exile of Francisco de Miranda. Yet after serving for more than a year under Miranda's military leadership, Bolívar was among the plotters who seized Miranda in late July 1812 and handed him to the royal authorities.

Hoping to salvage his reputation, Bolívar traveled to Colombia by the end of that same year. There he secured a humble post under the French adventurer Pierre Labatut, who commanded the 70-man patriot garrison at Barranca. Eager to vindicate himself, Bolívar ignored Labatut's orders and led a series of raids up the Magdalena River. Meeting with success, Bolívar was promoted and allowed to invade his homeland. It resulted in the "Admirable Campaign," which would free Venezuela from royalist control by August 1813 and earn Bolívar the nickname of *El Libertador*.

He nonetheless was driven from power within a year. After a period of exile on Jamaica and Haiti, Bolívar again disembarked in eastern Venezuela in the spring of 1816 to renew the armed struggle against Crown rule. Through his singular will and self-assurance, he eventually helped secure the freedom of his homeland along with Colombia, Panama, Ecuador, and Bolivia—the Andean nation that still bears his name.

On September 30, the pursuers collide at Bárbula with a relief column arriving under Bolívar, and are mauled and driven back to the protection of Salomón's regulars at Las Trincheras. Monteverde is then wounded at this latter place on October 3, and the Spaniards are driven back inside Puerto Cabello, which is once again encircled by patriot colonel Patricio de Elhuyar (the successor to Girardot, killed at Bárbula). Monteverde—his jaw shattered in the fighting—renounces his command on October 28 in favor of Juan Manuel Cajigal (or Cagigal).

Also in September, to dispute a loyalist occupation of Popayán, north of Pasto (southwestern Colombia), the insurgent Nariño—having forged a temporary alliance with neighboring New Granada—marches out of Bogotá at the head of a small army. He retakes Popayán but, after winning small victories at Palacé and Calbío, is in turn captured while advancing upon Pasto and eventually shipped as a prisoner to Spain.

OCTOBER 1, 1813. *Vilcapugio.* Argentine general Belgrano—having gained the Bolivian plain of Vilcapugio four days previously—is awaiting the arrival of 1,200 more insurgent troops from Cochabamba under Colonel Zelaya, plus 2,000 Indian auxiliaries from Chayanta under Chief Cárdenas. The latter, however, has been defeated at Ancacato by a royalist force under Castro, and the revolutionaries' rendezvous plans have been revealed to this theater's new commander in chief, Gen. (later Peruvian viceroy) Joaquín de la Pezuela y Sánchez.

Determined to destroy the insurgent factions before they can unite, de la Pezuela leads 4,000 loyalists, with 12 fieldpieces, out of the Condo Condo Range at dawn of October 1 to attack Belgrano's 3,500 men and 14 cannon resting below on Vilcapugio (or Vilcapujio) Plain. The revolutionaries quickly form up, dispersing the cavalry on the royalist left as soon as battle becomes joined. Shortly thereafter, the royalist infantry breaks and flees, abandoning their artillery, so that Belgrano seems on the verge of achieving victory.

But at that moment, Castro's royalist cavalry contingent materializes out of the north, catching the patriots in the flank and rolling up their line. The defeated insurgents divide into two, one contingent fleeing down the Potosí road under Díaz Vélez, another heading toward Macha under Belgrano.

NOVEMBER 7, 1813. Morelos marches northwest out of Chilpancingo, hoping to conquer Valladolid

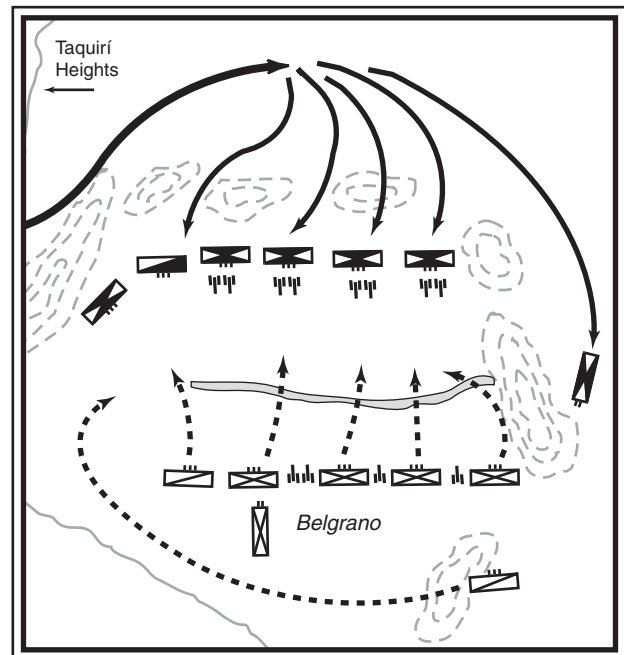
(modern Morelia, Mexico) to serve as the capital for his new republican government.

NOVEMBER 10, 1813. Bolívar reinforces Col. Rafael Urdaneta's patriot division with a small contingent, but nevertheless is repulsed near Barquisimeto by Ceballos's royalist forces and obliged to retire into San Carlos before rebuilding his army and driving this enemy from Vigirima Heights.

NOVEMBER 13, 1813. *Ayohuma.* Having recuperated from his Vilcapugio defeat, the Argentine general Belgrano marches north from Macha (Bolivia) on November 9 with 3,400 revolutionaries and eight cannon, establishing himself in Ayohuma Plain. Four days later, de la Pezuela appears on the Taquirí high ground with 3,500 royalists and 18 guns, descending into the valley to give battle the next day.

After a half-hour opening bombardment, the loyalists repel Belgrano's cavalry and infantry assaults, then destroy the insurgent army in three hours of brutal fighting, which costs de la Pezuela 500 casualties. Belgrano's army is virtually annihilated by sundown of November 14, only 400 men leaving the field with their defeated general.

Belgrano retreats precipitously southward, unsuccessfully attempting to blow up the Potosí Mint during his retirement into Argentina. De la Pezuela follows up his advantage, reoccupying the cities of



Battle of Ayohuma.

José María Morelos

This famed Mexican insurgent was born on September 30, 1765, in the city of Valladolid (modern Morelia, Michoacán), the second son of a native carpenter. It has long been claimed that Morelos was of mulatto descent, although this fact has never been confirmed. Although commonly referred to today as “José María Morelos y Pavón,” his baptismal name was recorded in the cathedral registry on October 4 as José María Teclo Morelos Pavón y Pérez. After his father died in 1779, young José was entrusted to the care of his uncle Felipe, a teamster who operated out of Tahuejo near Apatzingán. The 14-year-old worked as a shepherd on nearby estates until he was old enough to join his uncle on his regular route between Mexico City and the port of Acapulco.

At almost 25 years of age, already the father of three children, Morelos gave in to his mother’s insistence that he accept his great grandfather’s vacant bequest in April 1790 and study for the priesthood. He enrolled in San Nicolás Obispo College at Valladolid, whose rector was Fr. Miguel Hidalgo. The former teamster graduated first in his class in March 1795, then received minor orders. On January 31, 1798, he was temporarily appointed as village priest at Churumuco. Arriving with his mother, Juana, and sister María Antonia, they found this locale so hot and unhealthy that he requested a transfer. By the time he was reassigned to the parish of San Agustín Carácuaru on March 12, 1799, his mother had died.

More than a decade passed in this provincial backwater before word arrived of Hidalgo’s revolt in the autumn of 1810. Morelos immediately returned to his native city to join his former mentor’s cause. During a reunion held while riding between Charo and Indaparapeo on October 20, Hidalgo commissioned his student to “raise troops on the southern coast, acting in accordance with the verbal instructions which I have given him.” Morelos promptly returned to Carácuaru and left with 25 poorly armed adherents. At Coahuayutla, he was joined by several ranchers. The militia cavalry captain Marcos Martínez then added his 50 troopers at Zacatula, as well as all the workers from Petatlán. Morelos appeared with this small force near Acapulco by early November to raise the banner of revolt.

Articulate, passionate, and with the common touch among people he knew ever since his youth, the 45-year-old priest excelled as an insurgent leader. Thousands rallied to his side to besiege royalist outposts and ambush their columns. Even after Hidalgo’s defeat and execution in July 1811, Morelos continued to campaign well in the southwest.

Yet however brave and fervent, his guerrilla throngs proved incapable of defeating large royalist armies in pitched battles. Morelos eventually was defeated and driven into the mountains. Captured on November 3, 1815, he was taken before the Inquisition in Mexico City. After two days of interrogation, Morelos was stripped of his religious orders as a “traitor to God, to the King, and to the Pope.” Handed over to the Crown authorities for execution, he was carried in a closed carriage on December 22 to the abandoned estate of San Cristóbal Ecatepec, made to kneel, and shot in the back by a firing squad.

Jujuy and Salta early the next year. On January 30, 1814, the disgraced Belgrano is succeeded in command of the revolutionary “Army of the North” at Tucumán by San Martín.

DECEMBER 1813. A Creole conspiracy is discovered in Guatemala City, centered around its Bethelite religious order.

DECEMBER 5, 1813. Ceballos’s royalist forces are joined by Col. José Yáñez and engaged at the town of Araure (Venezuela) by Bolívar, who defeats them after a hard-fought struggle.

DECEMBER 11, 1813. In Europe, because Napoleon I’s armies have been driven out of Spain by Wellington, peace is restored between the emperor and Spain through the Treaty of Valençay, which also promises to restore Ferdinand VII to his throne.

DECEMBER 22, 1813. *Valladolid-Puruarán.* Morelos appears at the Valladolid suburb of Santa María with 5,000 men and 30 artillery pieces. His subordinates Galeana and Bravo attempt to seize its Zapote Gate the next day to prevent the entry of royalist reinforcements. That assault fails, however, and the city’s garrison is strengthened on the morning of December 24 by the Toluca and Guanajuato divisions under Llano and Col. Agustín de Iturbide.

That same evening, Iturbide slips out of Valladolid with 190 cavalymen and an infantry company, stealing upon the unwary insurgent camp as darkness falls. In a brilliant stroke, Iturbide launches a nocturnal attack that startles the insurgents, who fire into each other’s ranks and eventually dissolve into panic-stricken flight.

Morelos flees to Chupío with a handful of followers, hoping to regroup his army at Puruarán. Instead, the disorganized insurgents are once again

surprised on the night of January 4, 1814, by Llano's cavalry, being utterly routed and losing 25 guns, 1,000 muskets, and other matériel. Among the prisoners is Matamoros, caught while attempting to cross the Puruarán River; he is conveyed into Valladolid to be executed on February 3.

A royalist column under Gabriel Armijo subsequently continues toward Chilpancingo and defeats the troops of Victor and Miguel Bravo, thereby crushing all insurgent hopes of resuming their offensive.

JANUARY 1814. Manuel José de Arce leads a second Creole uprising at San Salvador in Central America.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1814. Having failed to placate Venezuela's blacks and *llaneros* following the restoration of Creole rule, Bolívar's republican government is beset by royalist guerrilla raids—the most effective being those organized by 31-year-old José Tomás Boves Rodríguez, a onetime peninsular merchant, privateer, and convicted ex-smuggler, who proves to be an inspired leader of the tough *llanero* nomads.

After numerous skirmishes, Boves manages to crush the patriot commander Vicente Campo Elías's army at La Puerta southwest of Caracas. His 7,000–8,000 horsemen, known to their foes as the “Satanic Legion,” then drive Bolívar from his San Mateo Hacienda—in the process slaying Campo Elías—while Ceballos's royalists threaten Valencia, and Francisco Rosete closes in upon Caracas from the east. Rosete destroys patriot general Juan Bautista Arismendi's smaller force before finally being checked by Ribas.

Bolívar staves off disaster by compelling Ceballos to raise the siege of Valencia, while Ribas halts Boves's drive by winning a victory at La Victoria on February 12. The frightened republicans nonetheless execute at least 800 monarchist captives between February 14 and 16.

FEBRUARY 23, 1814. His following reduced to 900 demoralized men after the twin disasters at Valladolid and Puruarán, Morelos departs Tlacotepec (Mexico), only to be overtaken the next day by a royalist column and nearly captured as his troops scatter. The insurgent leader eventually straggles into Acapulco by early March with only 100 remaining men.

MARCH 11, 1814. Patriot naval officer William or “Guillermo” Brown—born 36 years earlier in Foxford, Ireland, and raised in Philadelphia—attacks a royalist flotilla under Jacinto de Romarate anchored

off Martín García Island in the River Plate estuary. Brown employs virtually all the fledgling Argentine Navy in this action: the corvettes *Hércules* (flag) and *Cefir*, the sloops *Julia* and *Fortuna*, the sumanca *Trinidad*, the gunboat *América*, the auxiliaries *San Martín* and *Luis*, plus the schooner *Carmen*. He is nevertheless repelled after his flagship runs aground.

Four days later, Brown returns and conquers the island, which was occupied by the loyalists four months previously. Romarate's flotilla of two brigantines and three gunboats consequently flees up the Uruguay River, pursued by a patriot squadron under the American-born captain Thomas Notter. The latter runs aground and is checked when the *Carmen* explodes at Arroyo de la China on March 28, but despite retiring, Notter nevertheless keeps these royalist vessels bottled in.

MARCH 22, 1814. Ferdinand VII returns to power in Spain, and over the next few weeks, he and his absolutist followers heavy-handedly abolish the liberal constitution of March 1812 and restore many of the trappings of their past regime.

MARCH 28, 1814. The patriot garrison holding the Venezuelan city of Valencia under 55-year-old governor Francisco Silvestre Espejo Caamaño is besieged by Boves's royalist horde. The defenders agree to capitulate by July 9, Espejo being executed by a firing squad in its main square six days afterward.

MARCH 31, 1814. The royalist Boves encounters Mariño at Bocachica (Venezuela) while the latter is marching to Bolívar's relief at San Mateo. Both sides endure heavy casualties during this engagement, Mariño retiring toward La Victoria, while Boves withdraws into Valencia.

APRIL 9, 1814. Learning that royalist forces under Armijo are closing in upon his Acapulco stronghold, Morelos burns this place, hangs over 100 royalist prisoners, then disappears into the Atijo Mountains one week later with a few loyal adherents. The monarchists reoccupy devastated Acapulco on April 14.

APRIL 20, 1814. *Fall of Montevideo.* Following his conquest of Martín García Island, Brown blockades the royalist stronghold of Montevideo with seven Argentine warships, complementing the until now ineffective land siege by 4,000 revolutionaries under General Rondeau.

Faced with this new threat, 13 royalist vessels sortie on May 14 under Miguel Sierra, pursuing Brown farther out to sea, only to have him turn and defeat them near El Buceo in a three-day running fight. Shortly after Brown reimposes his blockade, Rondeau is reinforced by an additional 1,500 Argentine troops under 24-year-old lieutenant colonel Carlos María de Alvear.

On June 20, Spanish governor Vigodet at last requests terms, and three days later Montevideo surrenders. The Argentine patriots seize 500 guns, 9,000 muskets, 100 ships, and 7,000 prisoners (most of whom are repatriated to Spain). However, their subsequent occupation also creates frictions with the local Uruguayan leader Artigas.

EARLY MAY 1814. The Chilean patriot leader Bernardo O'Higgins Riquelme arranges a shaky truce with loyalist forces invading from Peru.

MAY 28, 1814. Bolívar defeats a royalist army under Cajigal and Ceballos on the Plains of Carabobo, while they are advancing upon Caracas.

JUNE 15, 1814. *La Puerta (First Battle).* Boves's *llanero* cavalry crushes the combined forces of Bolívar and Mariño at La Puerta, southwest of Caracas, compelling the patriots to retire inside their capital with only 800–1,000 troops. Boves's main body then turns aside to subdue the last republican stronghold under Col. Juan Escalona at Valencia, while detaching a division to threaten Caracas.

JUNE 25, 1814. An Uruguayan militia company reaches Las Piedras under Colonel Ortugués, requesting that Argentine general Alvear give them possession of recently conquered Montevideo. Not only does he refuse, but Alvear dispatches 800 riders during the night to disperse this rival formation, capturing 200 Uruguayans along with all their artillery and baggage.

JULY 6, 1814. Believing the royalist division approaching Caracas to be weak, Bolívar sorties from his capital to give battle. He is defeated with heavy losses, however, and republican noncombatants abandon their capital by the thousands, fleeing toward Barcelona, fearful of the monarchists' vengeance.

JULY 9, 1814. Valencia surrenders to Boves, and a number of executions are carried out.



Martín Miguel de Güemes. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

JULY 31, 1814. The Argentine guerrilla leader de Güemes reoccupies Salta, which was abandoned by de la Pezuela's royalists when they retired north to Jujuy.

AUGUST 1814. The Italian mercenary Giuseppe Bianchi—commissioned as a republican privateer—makes off with three Colombian ships and much silver plate from Caracas.

AUGUST 2, 1814. *Pumacahua Rebellion.* After almost a year of disputes, the liberal Creole *cabildo* or “city councilors” of Cuzco escape the confinement imposed upon them by the more conservative *oidores* or “justices,” then in turn arrest many peninsular Spaniards the next day and call for the full implementation of Spain's constitution of March 1812. The rebels are led by the middle-class citizens José and Vicente Angulo, plus Gabriel Béjar, although their insurrection erroneously becomes better known by the name of one of its military leaders:

the elderly *curaca* or “Indian official” Mateo García Pumacahua.

Tens of thousands of poorly armed peasants advance quickly against Huamanga and Huancavelica in the north, as well as La Paz and Arequipa in the south. They also ally themselves with the Argentine insurgents who are besieging Upper Peru (Bolivia), and when the latter are defeated toward the end of this same year, Pumacahua’s followers are brutally repressed.

AUGUST 3, 1814. Jujuy (Argentina) is reoccupied by revolutionary forces, as de la Pezuela’s royalists withdraw into Cotagaita (Bolivia).

AUGUST 17, 1814. Royalist colonel Francisco Tomás Morales—Boves’s second-in-command—overtakes Bolívar’s fleeing republican army at Aragua (eastern Venezuela), inflicting stinging losses that compel the Liberator to continue through Barcelona toward Cumaná, escaping out to sea with Mariño by August 25.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1814. The 32-year-old republican colonel José Francisco Bermúdez halts Morales’s royalist drive through eastern Venezuela at Maturín, prompting Boves to march to his subordinate’s aid. Along the way, Boves defeats Bermúdez in an hour-long fight at Los Magueyes on November 9, then combines forces with Morales to bear down upon Maturín.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1814. *Rancagua.* Weakened by internal fighting between O’Higgins and Gen. José Miguel Carrera, Chile’s patriots belatedly put aside their differences and prepare to check the royalist counteroffensive that has reached as close to their capital as San Fernando. They mount a stand at the Cachapoal River crossings at Rancagua, a town of 2,500 inhabitants lying 50 miles south of Santiago. O’Higgins arrives there on September 20 and begins fortifying its streets with barricades, extemporizing strongpoints for his 600 troops, plus nine artillery pieces. José Miguel Carrera appears one week later and encamps his division nearby, while Gen. Luis Carrera joins on September 29 with a third division, being stationed to the north at Graneros del Conde.

However, the 37-year-old royalist general Mariano Osorio Pardo traverses the Cachapoal undetected on the night of September 30 at Punta de Cortés Ford to the south with 500 cavalry troopers,

4,300 infantrymen, and 120 gunners for 18 field-pieces, surprising the patriots the next dawn by bearing down upon Rancagua in four columns. O’Higgins’s and José Miguel Carrera’s combined strength of 1,900 men crowd inside the town and brace to receive an assault, Luis Carrera’s division being too distant to assist. The initial royalist assaults beginning at 9:00–10:00 a.m. are checked, but exchanges continue throughout that day and night, oftentimes at close range. A dust column approaching from Las Coloradas on the morning of October 2 briefly heartens the defenders, but proves to be royalist irregulars who have to be repelled by a patriot sally. Eventually, Osorio orders outlying houses put to the torch so that his men can launch one final push at 1:00 p.m., and—obscured by smoke—they penetrate past the trenches and barricades into Rancagua proper. Acknowledging defeat, O’Higgins has the church bells rung as a signal to escape, manages to cut his way free with a handful of adherents, and regains Santiago along with some 300 men from Luis Carrera’s battered division.

This stinging defeat temporarily crushes the insurgent cause in Chile, many of the combatants being obliged to flee over the Andes into Argentina, leaving their capital defenseless. Those sympathizers who remain behind are initially treated rather benignly when Osorio enters and assumes the governorship. On direct orders from the Peruvian viceroy de Abascal in Lima, though, an increasingly harsh repression will eventually be imposed.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1814. Bolívar and Mariño reach Cartagena safely.

OCTOBER 6, 1814. In Uruguay, the Argentine general Alvear detaches Colonel Dorrego with 600 men to disperse 1,000 Uruguayan militiamen under Fernando Otorgués gathered at Marmarajá Creek, 18 miles northeast of Montevideo. The latter are surprised and defeated, suffering 70 deaths plus the loss of their artillery and baggage trains.

DECEMBER 4, 1814. *Urica.* Rather than await Boves’s assault within the town of Maturín in eastern Venezuela, the republican commanders Ribas and Bermúdez sortie with 2,000–3,000 troops to seek an engagement. They reach El Areo and form up their infantrymen in two columns behind twin cavalry squadrons of 180 troopers apiece, led by José Tadeo Monagas and Pedro Zaraza. The republican army thereupon marches into the night.

The next dawn, they come upon Boves's 5,500 royalist riders resting in three large encampments outside the town of Urica. Boves immediately leads a charge, which is checked by Bermúdez, allowing the republican infantry to deploy into a battle line. But this line is shredded by royalist guns and scattered by cavalry charges, so that Ribas's army is almost totally annihilated. He and Bermúdez manage to stagger back into Maturín with only a few hundred survivors—although the royalist champion Boves has been slain by a chance lance thrust during this encounter, so is succeeded by Colonel Morales.

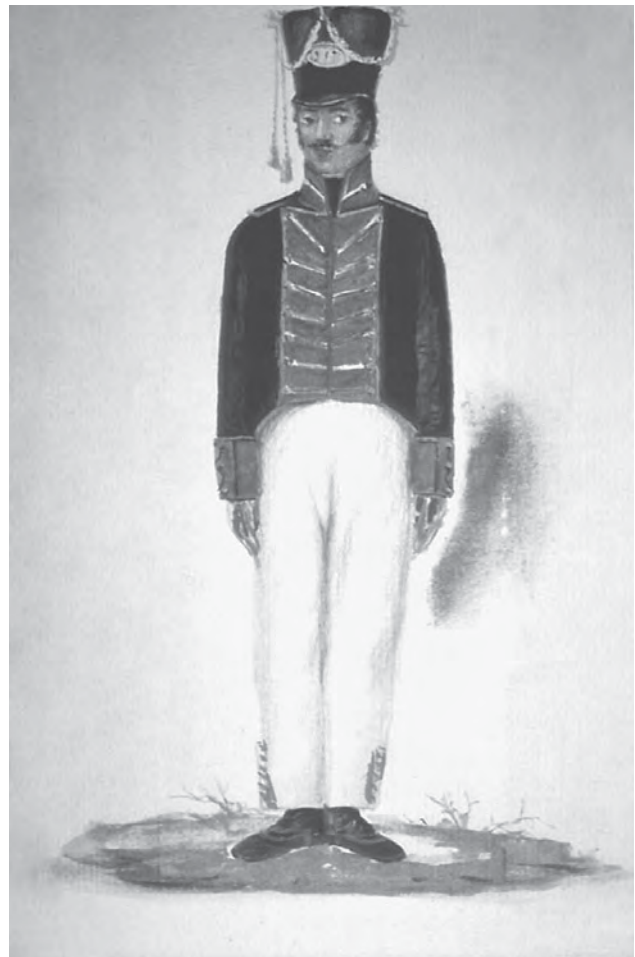
DECEMBER 8, 1814. Having been given command of Urdaneta's division in New Granada (modern Colombia), Bolívar arrives outside Bogotá to subdue its rival republican government under elderly Manuel Bernardo Álvarez (Nariño's successor; see "September 1813" entry). After his call for surrender is refused, Bolívar attacks on December 10 and pushes the defenders back into the main square the next day, accepting its capitulation by the 12th.

DECEMBER 11, 1814. Morales overruns Maturín (eastern Venezuela) in a four-hour assault, defeating its 300–400 demoralized infantry defenders under Bermúdez and Ribas, who are taken prisoner and executed along with most of the town's residents.

JANUARY 10, 1815. *Guayabos.* Argentine colonel Dorrego, with 800 men (including 200 former royalists) and one small gun, are defeated by 1,200 Uruguayan troops and a single cannon under Bernabé Rivera. The Argentines suffer 200 casualties, plus 400 prisoners or deserters, their few survivors escaping into the night. Dorrego retires inland to Entre Ríos, while the remaining Argentine forces in Uruguay fall back into Montevideo.

Unable to maintain the isolated garrison of that city, Buenos Aires agrees on February 15, 1815, to cede Montevideo to the patriot leader Artigas, so it is evacuated 10 days later. (Determined to leave behind nothing of military value, Alvear's troops are busily dumping gunpowder into Montevideo Bay from Las Bóvedas casements on February 23 when a spark from a shovel striking stone causes a blast, which claims 120 lives and injures scores of others.)

JANUARY 24, 1815. Bolívar departs Bogotá in hopes of raising an expedition to invade western Venezuela and reassert republican rule. This project



Royalist infantryman. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

is abandoned because of lack of support from the divided Colombian government.

JANUARY 26, 1815. At El Tejar (Bolivia), royalist riders surprise Argentine colonel Martín Rodríguez, resting with 40 of his men, and capture all of them except Capt. Mariano Necochea.

MARCH 27, 1815. Bolívar's division occupies the Popa high ground outside Cartagena, to besiege its ruling faction under Brig. Gen. Manuel del Castillo. Civil war divides the republican camp at a time when royalist fortunes are reviving.

EARLY APRIL 1815. *Royalist Resurgence.* In Europe, Napoleon I's fall and the return of stable government allow Spain to concentrate more efforts into subduing the rebellion in its American colonies. An expedition of 10,500 conscripted soldiers aboard 18 warships and 42 transports reaches eastern Venezuela

Waterloo

In Europe, more than 20 years of warfare climaxed with the defeat of Napoleon I. On February 26, 1815, the emperor escaped with 1,000 men from his exile on the Mediterranean island of Elba. Landing in France three days later, he made a triumphal entry into Paris by March 20, cheered by the troops and people. Louis XVIII had fled the previous night.

Yet France lay spent by its years of sacrifice, and the Allied Congress in Vienna had already voted to remove Napoleon I by force. Hoping to beat his foes piecemeal, the emperor left Paris on June 12, 1815, to lead 125,000 men into Belgium. By moving boldly, he hoped to thrust between the 116,000 Prussians mustering near Charleroi under the 72-year-old field marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher and the 107,000 Anglo-Dutch soldiers assembling near Mons under the 46-year-old field marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington. Large Austrian and Russian armies had not yet entered the theater.

The two allied commanders were indeed surprised when Napoleon I burst across the Belgian border on June 15, driving a Prussian corps out of Charleroi. The next afternoon, the emperor bloodied Blücher's main body at Ligny, while the French marshal Michel Ney battered the advance Anglo-Dutch positions at Quatre-Bras. Wellington held, but he retired north toward Brussels on the morning of June 17, fearing that his Prussian ally was beaten. Napoleon I assumed the same so left 30,000 men under the marshal Emmanuel, Marquis de Grouchy, to chase the injured Blücher's scattered force. The emperor meanwhile joined Ney to crush the English portion.

But his movements were hampered by heavy rain, and the Prussians were not finished. Blücher was reinforced by two fresh corps near Wavre and, at dawn of June 18, set out with 60,000 troops to join the English. Reassured by this news, Wellington positioned his 23,000 British troops, 44,000 allies, and 160 guns into a strong, three-mile-long defensive line at Mont St. Jean, nine miles south of Brussels near the village of Waterloo.

Napoleon arrived that evening with 74,000 men and 250 guns, but he waited until the ground dried before launching his first attack at 11:00 a.m. on June 18, 1815. A titanic battle ensued. French bombardments, cavalry charges, and infantry assaults failed to break Wellington's line. At 7:00 p.m., the first of Blücher's Prussians appeared and helped rout Napoleon. The French army collapsed into the night. Wellington suffered some 15,000 casualties, the Prussians, another 8,000. French losses totaled 25,000 dead or wounded, almost 9,000 captured, and 220 guns lost. Four days later, the emperor abdicated in Paris. A generation of global conflict at long last ceased.

in early April under an experienced, 36-year-old general named Pablo Morillo y Morillo—dubbed *pacificador de Tierra Firme* or “Pacifier of the Spanish Main,” as he is also to be its governor. He intends to use this easternmost Venezuelan province as a staging area for subsequent attacks upon other strategic theaters.

Finding that insurgents under Arismendi and Bermúdez have transformed Margarita into a patriot outpost, Morillo takes aboard 3,000 loyalists under Morales and subdues this island by April 11 (only Bermúdez and a few followers escape). When his progression resumes, the 74-gun flagship *San Pedro de Alcántara* accidentally explodes, costing the Spanish expedition 900 lives and much of its money, artillery, weapons, and provisions. Reaching Caracas on May 11, Morillo restores Madrid's rule but then alienates many black royalists when he sets up a virtual military dictatorship to secure provisions and funding for his army.

APRIL 15, 1815. In Buenos Aires, the “Supreme Director” Alvear is overthrown by Rondeau.

APRIL 17, 1815. At Puesto del Marqués (Bolivia), a 500-man Argentine cavalry patrol under Colonel Fernández de la Cruz surprises 300 royalist riders.

MAY 1, 1815. Argentine forces reoccupy Potosí (Bolivia).

MAY 9, 1815. Bolívar quits the fratricidal struggle among rival republican factions within New Granada (Colombia) by sailing for Jamaica aboard an English warship. He arrives there four days later.

JUNE 2, 1815. Morillo quits Caracas for Puerto Cabello (Venezuela) with his main royalist army, leaving Brig. Gen. Salvador Moxó in command of the Venezuelan capital.

JULY 13, 1815. Morillo departs Puerto Cabello with his 5,000 regulars, entering New Granada (Colombia) via Santa Marta. From here, he dispatches two columns to clear the Magdalena River by reinforcing the royalist garrison at Mompos and occupying Ocaña and Antioquia. Meanwhile, Morales

advances overland upon Cartagena, where Morillo joins him by landing unopposed on September 1. They besiege Cartagena's defenders.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1815. Zacatlán (Mexico) falls to the royalists.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1815. The guerrilla leaders Morelos, Nicolás Bravo, Páez, Father Carvajal, and Irigaray exit Uruapan, escorting Mexico's National Congress east toward safety at Tehuacán. Royalists get wind of this plan and send cavalry units to intercept; they fail, however, to prevent the congressional caravan under Guerrero from crossing the Mezcala River at Tenango on November 3. Two days later, however, Lt. Col. Manuel de la Concha's cavalry overtakes an insurgent contingent at Tezmalaca.

The latter are defeated, and among the 29 prisoners taken is Morelos. Most are executed on the spot, but he is conveyed to Mexico City, stripped of his religious orders, interrogated, tortured, and shot by a firing squad at San Cristóbal Ecatepec on December 22. The demoralized Congress also disbands before this year is out.

OCTOBER 17, 1815. Insurgent commander Castillo is deposed as governor of beleaguered Cartagena, being succeeded by Bermúdez. Morillo's siege is so tight that eventually residents are starved into submission, fleeing in great numbers by early December. On December 6, the Spanish general makes his triumphal entry into Cartagena's streets, and Morales conducts wholesale executions at the nearby Bocachica fortress.

OCTOBER 20, 1815. An Argentine strike force of 350 infantrymen and 200 riders under Col. Martín Rodríguez—who has been exchanged (*see* "January 26, 1815" entry)—attempts to surprise a 300-man royalist force at Venta y Media, 12 miles north of Chayanta (Bolivia), only to be discovered and repelled.

OCTOBER 23, 1815. The 28-gun, 200-man Argentine frigate *Hércules* departs Montevideo under Capt. Guillermo Brown, accompanied by the brig *Trinidad* under his younger brother Miguel, to round Cape Horn and attack the Spaniards in the Pacific.

NOVEMBER 27, 1815. *Sipe Sipe.* With 5,100 men and 23 fieldpieces, royalist general de la Pezuela intercepts Rondeau's 3,000–3,500 Argentine rebels

and 9 guns as they attempt to gain Cochabamba (Bolivia). Descending onto the plain from Viluma Heights, de la Pezuela spends the next two days maneuvering around Rondeau's right flank before launching his attack on November 29. The royalists shatter the revolutionary army, killing, wounding, or capturing 1,000 invaders along with all their artillery and 1,500 firearms. Survivors flee down the road into Potosí, to eventually be joined by another 1,000 Argentine reinforcements under Col. Domingo French. Royalist losses total 32 dead and 198 injured.

NOVEMBER 30, 1815. Royalist militia colonel Sebastián de la Calzada, after advancing inland with his 5th Division, defeats the patriot general Urdaneta at Chitaga (Colombia).

DECEMBER 15, 1815. Guerrero forces the surrender of the royalist garrison holding Acatlán (Mexico) under Antonio Flon, Conde de la Cadena. Shortly thereafter, though, monarchist reinforcements arrive under Lamadrid, who put Guerrero's company to flight.

DECEMBER 16, 1815. Prince Regent João—having decided to remain in the New World rather than return to Portugal following Napoleon I's fall—elevates Brazil to the status of a kingdom and reorganizes the Portuguese empire as a British-style "United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves." Three months later, upon the death of his deranged mother, Maria, he becomes ruler of this agglomeration under the title of King João VI, yet he still refuses to return to Lisbon.

JANUARY 20, 1816. Having been joined off Chile by the 16-gun, 130-man patriot corvette *Halcón* of Captain Bouchard, Brown's Argentine raiders the *Hércules* and the *Trinidad* blockade Callao (Peru). Two days and nights of boat duels ensue, resulting in the sinking of the Spanish merchant frigate *Fuente Hermosa*, plus other damage. On January 23, the royalist frigate *Consecuencia* is intercepted approaching port, captured, and renamed the *Argentina*. On the night of January 24–25, another boat raid is attempted, after which Brown lifts his blockade on the 30th, having suffered 30 losses during this operation.

JANUARY 31, 1816. Retreating before de la Pezuela's victorious royalists, the 21-year-old Argentine captain Gregorio Araóz de Lamadrid fights a delaying action at Culpina (Bolivia), followed by

another at Uturango on February 2, and on the banks of the San Juan River 10 days later, as the revolutionaries continue to retire toward their ultimate destination of Tucumán.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1816. Brown and Bouchard's three patriot raiders enter the Gulf of Guayaquil with seven prizes, venturing up the Guayas River with the shallow-draught *Trinidad* and a boat party. Despite overrunning a small keep and battery near Guayaquil with a nocturnal assault, Brown and his men suffer 50 casualties and are taken prisoner when the *Trinidad* runs aground. They are then exchanged on February 16, when the *Hércules* and the *Halcón* appear off the city.

FEBRUARY 22, 1816. *Cachirí.* This morning, Spanish colonel de la Calzada—after being reinforced by a contingent sent by Col. Miguel de la Torre—pulverizes a 3,000-man patriot division under 35-year-old general Custodio García Rovira (or Robira) at Cachirí, which is attempting to bar his advance up into Colombia's central highlands. The Spaniards take no prisoners, and the road into the insurgent capital lays open.

APRIL 21, 1816. In Mexico, the insurgent commander Osorio is beaten at Venta de Cruz by Manuel de la Concha, and again two days later at San Felipe.

MAY 2, 1816. Bolívar returns from exile in Haiti to Margarita Island in eastern Venezuela with 250 followers aboard a brig, six schooners, and a Spanish prize. Sighting a royal brig and schooner off Los Frailes, he captures them, killing the Spanish captain Rafael Iglesias before dropping anchor in Juan Griego harbor the next day. Here, the Liberator is greeted by patriot general Arismendi, who has already partially thrown off royalist rule. Although the Spaniards evacuate their capital of Asunción, Bolívar is unable to storm the Pampatar stronghold under Brig. Gen. Juan Bautista Pardo, so he continues his voyage on May 25, leaving this operation to Arismendi.

MAY 5, 1816. De la Torre's Spanish division closes in upon unfortified Bogotá, which is abandoned by its patriot garrison under the French-born colonel Manuel Roergas de Serviez and occupied the next day. De la Torre quickly installs a holding force before continuing in pursuit of Roergas de Serviez's 2,000 patriot troops, who are retreating eastward.

MAY 26, 1816. De la Torre scatters the remnants of Roergas de Serviez's demoralized patriot division at Cáqueza (in what is today eastern Colombia), while Morillo's main army enters Bogotá. Many patriots are subsequently hunted down, arrested, or executed, while Roergas de Serviez's survivors flee into exile in the distant eastern *llanos* or "plains" beyond the Apure River, placing themselves under the command of Páez. García Rovira, elected president of the fugitive government of the "United Provinces of New Granada," is seized on July 12 and executed by August 8, while Roergas de Serviez is assassinated at Chorrerón in mid-October. By the end of this year, virtually all of the viceroyalty is once again in royalist hands, including Quito.

MAY 31, 1816. Bolívar's small company disembarks at Carúpano (eastern Venezuela), occupying its tiny royalist keep and seizing a brig and schooner from the roadstead. The Liberator then dispatches his mulatto colleagues Mariño and Manuel Piar inland to recruit followers at Güiria and Maturín.

JUNE 19, 1816. Spanish brigadier general Tomás de Cires, advancing from Cumaná through eastern Venezuela to engage Bolívar's beachhead at Carúpano, attacks patriot colonel Francisco de Paula Alcántara's outpost at Esmeralda, forcing it back. Realizing that the royalists are closing in upon his position, the Liberator sets sail on July 1 with 700 followers, shifting operations farther westward.

JULY 5, 1816. Bolívar's 700-man army lands unopposed at Ocumare, 20 miles east of Puerto Cabello (Venezuela). Two days later, he detaches Lt. Col. Carlos Soublette with 300 men to occupy La Cabrera and raise rebellion in the Aragua Valley. This detachment is attacked by Morales marching out of Valencia and driven back to Los Aguacates Hill. From there, Soublette calls for help, and Bolívar sets out with 200 reinforcements.

JULY 9, 1816. The "United Provinces of the River Plate" (Argentina) officially proclaim their independence from Spain.

JULY 12, 1816. *Santa Fe Campaign.* Buenos Aires's supremacy is challenged by a rival republican government formed at the inland city of Santa Fe. General Díaz Vélez is therefore dispatched up the Paraná River, occupying that mostly deserted city with 1,500 troops by August 4. The enemy refuses to

deal, however, so the invaders are constrained to retreat back downriver by July 31.

JULY 13, 1816. At dawn, Morales's loyalists attack Bolívar and Soublette's defenses at Los Aguacates (Venezuela) and, although outnumbered two to one, defeat and drive the patriots back into Ocumare with a loss of a third of their force. Believing his hopes are dashed, the Liberator goes aboard the armed brig *Indio Libre* that same evening and sails away toward Bonaire, abandoning his followers.

The next day, command is offered to Gregor MacGregor—a tough Scottish mercenary, formerly a captain in the British Army and a veteran of Miranda's campaign—who instantly marches toward the Aragua Valley, skirmishing with royalist forces until he chances upon a patriot cavalry detachment under Col. Leonardo Infante, part of Pedro Zaraza's larger guerrilla band.

EARLY AUGUST 1816. In Brazil, the Portuguese avail themselves of the collapse of royalist rule and the fratricidal rifts between republicans in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay to launch an offensive—allegedly aimed at restoring peace throughout the region but actually intended to extend their own western borders. The 52-year-old lieutenant general Carlos Frederico Lecor, Barão de Laguna and Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Torre e Espada, launches a two-pronged offensive by marching southwest from Río Grande do Sul along the coast with his main body, while a second army penetrates westward from Pôrto Alegre toward the headwaters of the Uruguay River. The invaders' total strength is some 10,000 troops, half of them Portuguese regulars.

AUGUST 10, 1816. *MacGregor's March.* Col. Juan Nepomuceno Quero's loyalist division overtakes MacGregor's smaller insurgent company at Quebrada Honda (Venezuela), only to be thrashed. This victory allows the Scottish mercenary to continue his progression, being reinforced at San Diego de Cabrutica by an additional 300–400 men under Zaraza, plus José Tadeo Monagas's guerrillas.

This increased strength enables MacGregor to seize Barcelona, while 27-year-old José Antonio Anzoátegui occupies the nearby port of Píritu. At this point, General Piar's division joins MacGregor, and together they sally and defeat Morales's 3,000 loyalists at El Juncal, scarcely a tenth of the attackers surviving this engagement.

AUGUST 16, 1816. Bolívar returns to Güiria on the Gulf of Paria in eastern Venezuela, only to have Mariño and Bermúdez disavow his authority because of his unseemly flight from Ocumare. Chased down to the beach by the latter, who is brandishing a sword, the Liberator is compelled to sail away for Haiti.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1816. Dissatisfied with the Argentine government's lack of resistance to the Portuguese invasion of the *Banda Oriental* (modern Uruguay), the 50-year-old rural leader Col. Juan Francisco Borges of Santiago del Estero revolts against Pueyrredón's month-old republican administration in Buenos Aires. This uprising is dispersed within four days by the arrival of his relative, Gov. Bernabé Aráoz of neighboring Tucumán, with a column of troopers.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1816. Royalist forces recuperate Janitzio Island in Lake Pátzcuaro (Michoacán, Mexico).

SEPTEMBER 18, 1816. Lecor's Brazilian army occupies Maldonado (Uruguay) with little opposition.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1816. After his raid into the Pacific, Brown reaches Antigua (British West Indies) with only 53 men remaining aboard his Argentine privateer *Hércules*, which is auctioned off. Brown then travels to Britain for more than a year, returning to the River Plate by November 1818.

EARLY OCTOBER 1816. Piar marches out of Barcelona (Venezuela) with 1,500 men to cross the Orinoco River and subdue Guayana.

OCTOBER 3, 1816. The 23-man schooner of American mercenary Isaiah Homer—armed with a Colombian privateering commission—is brought into Santiago de Cuba as a prize by the corsair José Cepeda.

OCTOBER 5, 1816. *San Borja.* Two days previously, the patriot and Guaraní Indian chief of the Misiones district, Andrés "Andresito" Guacararí, with his 2,000 Uruguayan followers, has besieged 200 Brazilian invaders under Brig. Gen. (and military engineer) Francisco das Chagas Santos inside San Borja, opposite Santo Tomé at the headwaters of the Uruguay River. When advised that the Portuguese lieutenant colonel José de Abreu is approaching with

a 600-man relief column, Andresito detaches 800 riders to contain it, while still maintaining his siege. However, the Uruguayan militia are unable to check the Brazilians' advance, and Abreu kills 500 of Andresito's followers and scatters the remainder of his forces.

OCTOBER 19, 1816. Portuguese brigadier general Mena Barreto's 500 men, with two fieldpieces, ambush 600 Uruguayan militiamen under Verdún on the eastern shores of Ibiracahy Creek, killing 150 and scattering the rest.

OCTOBER 27, 1816. *Carumbé.* With 500 foot soldiers and 700 riders, the Uruguayan leader Artigas makes a stand atop Carumbé Hill, west-northwest of the border town of Santana do Livramento, against 800 Portuguese invaders under 39-year-old acting brigadier general Joaquim Antônio de Oliveira Alvares (originally a naval officer and graduate of Coimbra University). The patriots are soundly defeated, Artigas losing approximately half his men during this battle.

NOVEMBER 1816. The Mexican guerrilla leader Guerrero is driven back in a skirmish in Los Naranjos Canyon by the royalist Carlos Moya.

NOVEMBER 7, 1816. Royalist forces reconquer Fort Monte Blanco, next to Córdoba (Mexico).

NOVEMBER 14, 1816. In northern Argentina, a 3,000-man royalist army presses southward under the veteran 46-year-old Spanish general José de la Serna e Hinojosa, and its vanguard under Maj. Guillermo Marquiegui surprises 600 revolutionary troops under Lt. Col. José Fernández Campero at Yavi on November 15. Having seized the Argentine mounts with their opening charge, the royalists then gain an easy victory when they storm this town from two directions, capturing Fernández Campero along with half of his command.

NOVEMBER 19, 1816. *India Muerta.* In an unavailing attempt to check the Brazilian invasion of Uruguay, the 32-year-old patriot general Fructuoso Rivera's 1,000 followers attack Portuguese brigadier general Pinto de Araújo's 900-man column on the western shores of India Muerta Creek, suffering a resounding defeat. Coupled with their other setbacks, this reversal prompts the Uruguayans to request aid from their political rivals in Buenos Aires.

NOVEMBER 25, 1816. In Mexico, the royalists recover Mezcala Island in Lake Chapala from the insurgents.

DECEMBER 1816. Morillo's regular army reenters Venezuela to try to reassert the royalists' increasingly shaky hold over that country.

DECEMBER 10, 1816. *Mexican Royalists Reoccupy Fort Cuiristarán.* On this day, Colonel Borges once more enters the town of Santiago del Estero (Argentina) in rebellion against Pueyrredón's government in Buenos Aires. He is repressed when a detachment under Colonel Lamadrid from Belgrano's *Ejército del Norte* or "Northern Army" surprises Borges's followers at Pitambalá on December 26, defeating them and executing their leader on December 31.

DECEMBER 28, 1816. Recalled from Haiti, Bolívar returns to Margarita Island in eastern Venezuela to find that its Spanish garrison has abandoned Pampatar, and General Arismendi has proceeded to the mainland with 300 troops. Three days later, the Liberator enters Barcelona to a warm reception.

LATE 1816. The Argentine privateer *Potosí*, commanded by an English mercenary named John Chase, captures the Mexican merchant frigate *Ciencia* off northern Cuba.

JANUARY 3, 1817. The Portuguese colonel Abreu, with 600 men and two fieldpieces, surprises the Uruguayan leader Artigas with his 400 followers atop a hill north of the Arapey River (60 miles east of Belén), killing 80 patriots while scattering the rest.

JANUARY 4, 1817. *Catalán Creek.* This morning, after a nocturnal approach, an Uruguayan army under General Latorre attacks 3,000 Portuguese troops and 11 fieldpieces under Lt. Gen. Luís Telles da Silva Caminha e Menezes, 5th Marquês de Alegrete and governor of Brazil's Rio Grande do Sul Province, on the western banks of Catalán Creek at the headwaters of the Guareim River. A brutal, six-hour engagement erupts, during which the attackers suffer 900 killed and 100 wounded before retiring. Portuguese losses are 230 dead.

Alegrete remains in place after this victory and detaches flying columns to exterminate the Spanish towns that have been established in this disputed

territory: La Cruz, Yapeyú, Santo Ángel de la Guarda, Santo Tomé, Concepción, Santa María, and Mártires. It is estimated that more than 3,900 people are slaughtered during this campaign.

JANUARY 4, 1817. The *llanero* guerrilla chieftain Ramón Nonato Pérez leads a descent upon de la Calzada's advancing royalist contingent at Guasdalito (Venezuela), only to be bloodily repulsed.

JANUARY 5, 1817. Bolívar and Arismendi, advancing out of Barcelona (Venezuela) with only 700 men, are repulsed by the loyalist garrison at Clarines.

JANUARY 6, 1817. Royalist forces under the wealthy merchant from Salta, Pedro Antonio de Olañeta, occupy Jujuy in northern Argentina without opposition, but they become bogged down in this district by *gaucho* guerrilla warfare.

JANUARY 7, 1817. The insurgent garrison holding Fort San Pedro Cópore, outside Jungapeo (in the modern state of Michoacán, Mexico), surrenders to the royalists.

JANUARY 18, 1817. After six months of preparation and psychological warfare—called the *guerra de zapa* or “sapper’s war”—the revolutionary general José de San Martín’s advance units quit his base at El Plumerillo (Argentina), followed the next day from nearby Mendoza by his small yet well-trained expedition, intending to free Chile from Spanish rule. His 4,000-man “Army of the Andes,” plus more than 1,000 militiamen and auxiliaries, can manufacture their own armaments and ammunition and are accompanied by such prominent Chilean refugees as Bernardo O’Higgins to facilitate their reception. Six Andean passes have already been surveyed by military engineers, and San Martín strikes out along the Los Patos route with his main body to descend into the Putaendo Valley in Aconcagua Province.

This same day in Venezuela, Piar launches an unsuccessful assault against the loyalist stronghold of Angostura, being repulsed and proceeding instead to occupy the rich Capuchin missions on the Caroní River.

JANUARY 19, 1817. Mariño attacks the loyalist garrison of Cumaná in eastern Venezuela, only to be repulsed and to retreat first to Cautaro, then into Cumanacoa.



José de San Martín in 1818, by José Gil de Castro. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

In northern Uruguay, the patriot leader Andresito’s 500 followers are ambushed on the banks of the Aguapey River by 600 Portuguese troops with five fieldpieces under Brigadier General Chagas and are totally routed.

JANUARY 20, 1817. The Portuguese lieutenant general Lecor occupies Montevideo with his 8,000-man army—spearheaded by his *Voluntários Reais de El Rei* or “Royal Volunteers of the King” Division—while Uruguay’s defeated patriots can do little more than harass detached foraging parties sent out into the surrounding countryside. Soon after, the port of Colonia del Sacramento also surrenders to the Portuguese without a struggle, while several of patriot leader Artigas’s lieutenants either take service with his political rivals in Argentina or are captured by the Portuguese occupiers.

This same day of January 20, the Mexican insurgent Mier y Terán surrenders to royalist forces at Cerro Colorado, near Tehuacán.

José de San Martín

José Francisco de San Martín y Matorras was born on February 25, 1778, at the Jesuit-run Yapeyú outpost in the Misiones district of Argentina. He was the youngest of five children of that region's Spanish lieutenant governor. At the age of three, his family moved to Buenos Aires and then embarked on December 6, 1783, for Spain. Three years later, young José Francisco was enrolled in the Royal Seminary for Nobles in Madrid and studied later in Málaga. At the age of 11, he was entered as a cadet in the books of the Murcia Regiment and saw his first action a few years later in North Africa. After Spain declared war against Great Britain in October 1796, he was promoted to sub-lieutenant the next year and fought outside Gibraltar.

San Martín first gained distinction after France seized the Spanish throne in spring of 1808. As a captain in the Borbón Regiment, he fought so bravely on July 19 at the Battle of Bailén that he was rewarded with a gold medal and promotion to lieutenant colonel. He nonetheless languished in that rank, so he resigned his Spanish commission and departed for London on September 14, 1811, to join the struggle to set Spanish America free. While in the British capital, he met compatriots and future military colleagues such as José Matías Zapiola and Carlos María de Alvear.

All three sailed together in January 1812 for Argentina aboard the English frigate *George Canning*. Upon reaching Buenos Aires, San Martín's rank of lieutenant colonel was recognized by the revolutionary Triumvirate. On March 16, he was ordered to raise a regiment to help defend the banks of the Paraná. He also took part in the Triumvirate's removal on October 8, and a month later he married 15-year-old Remedios de Escalada. Early the next year he won a minor victory at San Lorenzo, then succeeded Belgrano in command of the "Army of the North" in January 1814 and was appointed governor of Cuyo.

Yet San Martín's greatness would come from leading an army across the Andes. As early as 1800, the British general Thomas Maitland (see "March 1798" entry in "Haitian Revolution") had proposed just such a strategy. After gathering 7,000 troops at Mendoza, San Martín's army struck across the mountains to free Chile from Spanish domination, in concert with local allies. Both forces would then invade Peru out of the south to topple the viceroy. San Martín spent two years in meticulous preparation for this venture.

He and his "Army of the Andes" won a string of victories over the next four years, setting half of the continent free. Yet San Martín was disappointed by the bickering after independence was achieved, so he resigned his titles. Saddened by the death of his wife on August 3, 1823, he set sail the next February with his seven-year-old daughter, Mercedes Tomasa, for Europe. San Martín lived in France for the rest of his days, dying there on August 17, 1850.

JANUARY 25, 1817. A flotilla of insurgent privateers—mostly American mercenaries under Thomas Taylor, bearing an Argentine commission—disembark to ransack the town of Fajardo on eastern Puerto Rico; they are expelled some time later by district militiamen, with loss of life on both sides. The island governor Salvador Meléndez is subsequently obliged to arrange a prisoner exchange with the blockaders on February 12.

JANUARY 28, 1817. *Mucuritas.* After reuniting with de la Calzada, royalist general de la Torre is marching northeast along the south bank of the Apure River (Venezuela) toward Nutrias with 1,500 infantrymen in three columns, screened by 800 irregular riders on his flanks under Remigio Ramos. At 9:00 a.m. this morning, the royalist force is surprised to find 1,300 *llanero* lancers barring their path at Mucuritas under the 26-year-old patriot chieftain José Antonio Páez.

Despite having no infantry or artillery—and precious few firearms—Páez scatters the loyalist cavalry

with his opening charge, then sets the grassland ablaze around the loyalist infantry. Over the next several hours, de la Torre struggles to retreat three miles through blinding smoke to Frío Ford on the Apure, while enduring 14 patriot charges. By 4:00 p.m., Páez's riders draw off, having inflicted numerous casualties and captured 300 packhorses. The next day, Morillo's main Spanish army overtakes de la Torre, and the *llaneros* disappear.

FEBRUARY 8, 1817. *Siege of Barcelona.* This morning, loyalist militia generals Pascual Real and Morales attack Bolívar's 600-man garrison inside Barcelona (Venezuela) with 4,500 followers. The town is occupied without opposition, the Liberator preferring to hold out in its fortified San Francisco Convent while awaiting relief from Mariño. At nightfall, the attackers withdraw to El Pilar, and due to this retirement, patriot reinforcements are able to join Bolívar three days later.

Shortly thereafter, a small Spanish squadron seizes Barcelona's harbor castle, only to be dispossessed by

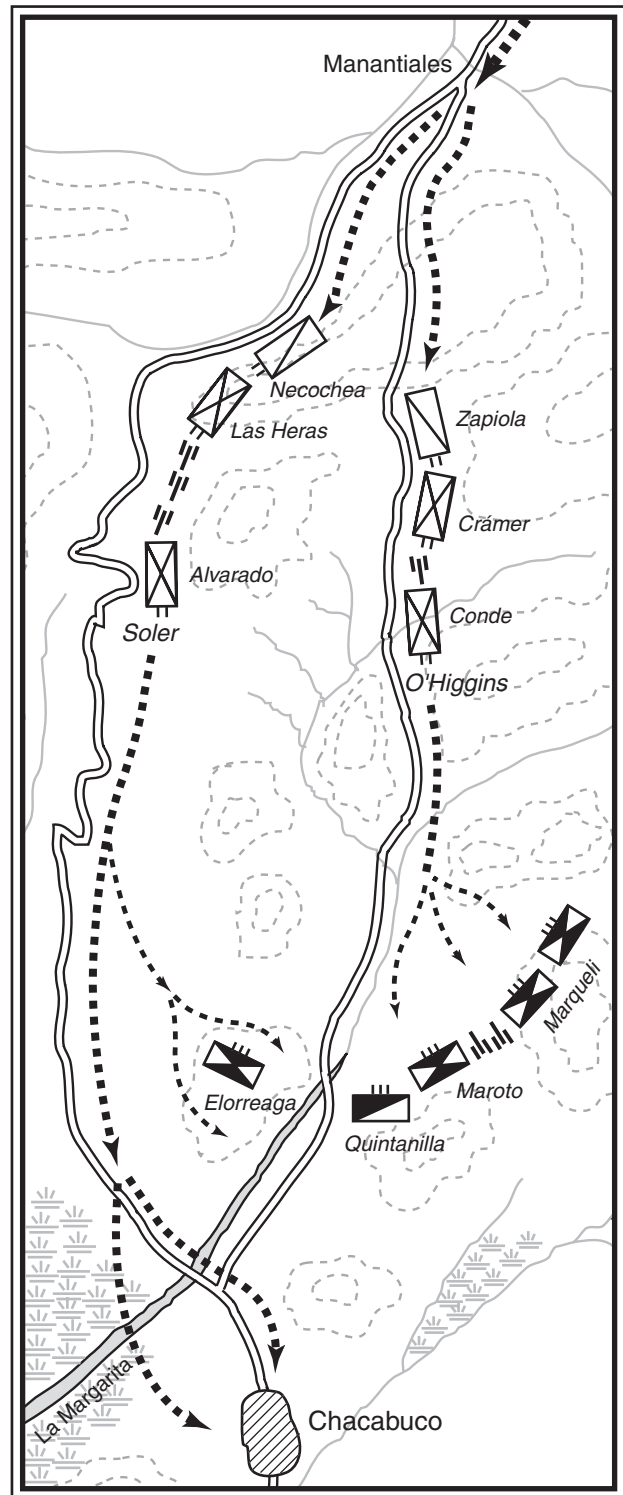
an insurgent counterattack. The loyalists thereupon withdraw, both Real and Morales being deprived of their commands for this failure.

FEBRUARY 9, 1817. Royalist forces wrest San Juan Coscomatepec (state of Veracruz, Mexico) from the insurgents.

FEBRUARY 12, 1817. *Chacabuco.* After swiftly traversing Los Patos and Uspallata passes, San Martín's insurgent "Army of the Andes" has already defeated unwary Spanish outposts at Salala, Copiapó, and Vega del Campeo (Chile). After reuniting at San Felipe, they then encounter advance elements of the 33-year-old Spanish brigadier general Rafael Maroto's 2,500 royalists on February 11, who are in the process of occupying the hills north of Chacabuco with five fieldpieces to block the road leading into the Chilean capital of Santiago. The defenders' strength consists of the Valdivia Infantry Battalion under Maroto, the Talavera de la Reina Infantry Battalion under Maj. (acting lieutenant colonel) Miguel Marqueli, the Chiloé Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Elorreaga, two companies of the Abascal Carabineers under Lieutenant Colonel Quintanilla, and one company of the Concordia Hussars under Lieutenant Colonel Bananco.

At 2:00 a.m. on February 12, the 3,600-man rebel army advances from Manantiales in two divisions. O'Higgins is to approach on the left to distract the enemy with the fusilier companies of the 7th Infantry Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Crámer and 8th Infantry Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Conde, three squadrons of Argentine horse grenadiers under 42-year-old colonel José Matías Zapiola, and two cannon. Meanwhile, the 33-year-old Argentine brigadier general Miguel Estanislao Soler is to circle behind Maroto on the right to assault the Spaniards from the rear with the 11th Infantry Battalion under the 36-year-old colonel Juan Gualberto Gregorio de las Heras de la Gacha, the Andean Chasseur Regiment of 24-year-old lieutenant colonel Rudecindo Alvarado, one squadron of horse grenadiers under 24-year-old lieutenant colonel Mariano Pascual Necochea, plus seven guns under Captain Frutos.

Instead, O'Higgins rashly charges without waiting for Soler, nevertheless—supported by effective cavalry charges from Zapiola and Necochea—he destroys the royalist squadrons. When Soler finally attacks from the flank, Maroto's army is routed, suffering 600 fatalities before streaming off in defeat,



Battle of Chacabuco.

leaving behind its artillery, ammunition train, 1,000 muskets, and 550 prisoners. Patriot casualties are 11 killed and 110 wounded. Two days later, San Martín enters Santiago without any further opposition from the 46-year-old royal governor and field marshal



San Martín watching his troops march into the Battle of Chacabuco. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

Francisco Casimiro Marcó del Pont, who is captured while attempting to flee to Valparaíso. O'Higgins is installed to govern Chile.

FEBRUARY 17, 1817. Huatusco (Mexico) is reconquered by royalists.

FEBRUARY 26, 1817. Unaware of the recent patriot conquest of Chile, the 220-ton Spanish brigantine *Aguila* enters Valparaíso, where it is seized by insurgent authorities to be converted into a warship. A crew of 43 men—25 of them being foreigners—and 16 guns are installed under Irish-born lieutenant Raymond Morris, setting sail by March 17 to reconnoiter Osorio's strength in the Juan Fernández Islands. This brigantine will later be renamed the *Pueyrredón*.

MARCH 1, 1817. Patriot colonel Manuel Eduardo Arias surprises the 130-man, seven-gun royalist gar-

risson under La Roza at Humahuaca in northern Argentina, via a descent with 150 *gauchos* on a rainy night. The defenders suffer 24 killed and 92 captured before Arias disappears into the mountains.

MARCH 3, 1817. Patriot colonel Lamadrid departs Tucumán with 250 cavalymen, 150 infantrymen on mules, and two small fieldpieces to bedevil the royalist army occupying northern Argentina. On March 15, he obliges the 294-man garrison of Tarifa to surrender, then evades royalist columns until June 12, when his troops are ambushed and badly defeated, compelling him to retreat.

MARCH 6, 1817. *Pernambuco Rebellion.* At the port of Olinda (Brazil), Gov. Caetano Pinto de Miranda Montenegro orders the arrest at dawn of several local conspirators, who have been plotting to overthrow Portuguese rule in favor of Brazilian independence. One of them—a sexagenarian militia

veteran named José de Barros Lima—kills the officer sent to detain him, then leads an immediate uprising that drives Governor Pinto into hiding within the Brum harbor castle.

Some 800 rebels (a mixed brigade of white and mulatto militiamen, plus half an artillery regiment) quickly release their captive leaders, seize the bridges leading off Santo Antônio Island, and overrun Pernambuco's capital of Recife by sunrise of March 7. Cut off, Pinto arranges safe passage for himself to Rio de Janeiro five days later—only to be incarcerated upon his arrival on Cobras Island within Guanabara Bay at King João VI's behest for having reached an accommodation with the rebels. The monarch then begins raising an army to reconquer his rebellious northern province.

MARCH 10, 1817. The fortified pass of Mesa de los Caballos, near San Felipe (state of Guanajuato, Mexico), is recuperated from the insurgents.

MARCH 29, 1817. The American mercenary Thomas Taylor, with his corvette the *Zephyr* and more than a dozen other privateers, arrives bearing Argentine commissions. The group attempts a dawn disembarkation in Guantánamo Bay (Cuba), only to be repelled.

LATE MARCH 1817. The Conde dos Arcos, Portuguese governor of Bahia (Brazil), sends two corvettes and a schooner to begin a blockade of the rebel city of Recife. Adm. Rodrigo Lobo follows on April 2 with more warships, and a month later four Portuguese regiments under Luiz do Rego (Pernambuco's new governor designate, recently arrived from Lisbon) set off as well for this mutinous province.

APRIL 3, 1817. With San Martín absent in Argentina, his subordinate colonel Juan Gregorio de las Heras has led a 1,300-man army called the *División del Sur* or "Southern Division" in a campaign to eliminate the last royalist stronghold in Chile: 1,000 men under Col. José Ordóñez Sánchez, who are occupying the coastal keep of Talcahuano on the narrow Tumbes Peninsula.

On April 3, las Heras reaches Curapaligüe Hacienda, 10 miles east of Concepción. At 1:30 a.m. on April 5, royalist *sargento mayor* José Campillo slips out of Talcahuano with 600 infantrymen, 109 cavalrymen, and two fieldpieces to surprise the sleeping insurgents. His plan miscarries in the darkness;

only 4 patriots are killed and 7 wounded, while Campillo retires with similar casualties. Las Heras follows up the royalists' retreat and this same day occupies deserted Concepción, where he pauses to await an additional 800 Chilean troops and two fieldpieces under O'Higgins.

APRIL 5, 1817. Loyalist colonel Juan Aldama occupies the town of Barcelona (Venezuela) without opposition. Two days later he overwhelms its citadel—the fortified Convent of San Francisco—slaughtering every patriot inside.

APRIL 8, 1817. *San Félix.* Learning that the royalist governor of Angostura (Venezuela), Nicolás María Cerruti, and militia commander Miguel de la Torre have gone down the Orinoco with most of its garrison, Piar establishes his headquarters at San Félix and waits for this enemy to come to him.

De la Torre does so three days later, appearing on the afternoon of April 11 with 1,350 royalist infantrymen and 150 cavalrymen (mostly dismounted). Piar commands 700 patriot fusiliers, 900 cavalrymen (300 afoot), plus 200 native archers. At 4:00 p.m., the loyalists advance in three columns, firing volleys. Anzoátegui and Pedro León Torres hold the patriot center, while Piar circles behind these assault columns with a company of mounted carabinieri and Pedro Hernández's *llaneros* worry the Spaniards' flanks. After a half hour, de la Torre's ranks break and head for the hills two miles away; they are pitilessly hunted down until nightfall and suffer 593 deaths and 497 captured—of whom 160 (all peninsular Spaniards) are subsequently executed by decapitation, including Cerruti. De la Torre is among the 260 survivors to escape from the battlefield. Patriot losses total 31 killed and 65 injured.

APRIL 13, 1817. At San Antonio (Venezuela), Jacinto Perera's 300-man royalist garrison repels repeated attacks by 500 *llanero* lancers under Páez, who retires after suffering 132 men killed.

This same day, royalist general de la Serna departs Jujuy (northern Argentina) with 2,500 men, occupying Salta two days later. However, after two and a half weeks of occupation, he retires north on May 4 because of San Martín's invasion of Chile and other local patriot successes. Jujuy, too, is abandoned by May 21.

APRIL 15, 1817. *Mina's Intervention.* After a brief storm in the Gulf of Mexico, the 27-year-old Spanish

adventurer Francisco Javier Mina y Larrea disembarks unopposed at Soto la Marina (modern state of Veracruz) with 500 foreign mercenaries under Henry Perry (see “August 15, 1813” entry) to bolster the Mexican insurgency’s flagging fortunes. An avowed anti-monarchist, Mina has recruited Spanish, Italian, English, and American followers during a cruise from Liverpool to Norfolk (Virginia), Baltimore, Saint Thomas in the Virgin Islands, Port-au-Prince, Galveston, and New Orleans, sailing aboard the hired American ships *Cleopatra*, *Neptuno*, and *Congreso Mexicano*. He erects a fort on the eastern side of Soto la Marina’s plaza, armed with artillery from his ships.

On May 17, the Spanish frigate *Sabina*, plus the schooners *Belona* and *Proserpina*, appear from Veracruz under Commo. Francisco Berenguer and sink one of Mina’s ships, drive another aground, and force the third to flee. Cut off from the sea, the intruder decides to strike inland one week later with 300 men to join forces with other insurgents, leaving behind a 200-man garrison under Maj. José Sardá.

APRIL 16, 1817. Portuguese admiral Lobo calls upon the Brazilian insurgents holding Recife (Pernambuco Province) to surrender or face summary execution, but they refuse to capitulate, so he tightens his blockade.

APRIL 23, 1817. De la Torre returns into Angostura (Venezuela) with 300 royalists following his devastating defeat at San Félix. He is closely pursued by Piar, who—heartened by this recent victory—attempts to storm Angostura again at 2:00 a.m. on April 25, only to once more be repelled after a stiff four-hour encounter, during which his men suffer 85 casualties. The next day, a Spanish river squadron appears, so Piar institutes a loose siege.

MAY 1, 1817. Colonel Ordóñez’s royalist garrison at Talcahuano (Chile) is reinforced by four ships bearing 1,600 troops. The latter are men who have fled Valparaíso following San Martín’s victory at Chacabuco, only to be turned back upon reaching Callao by the Peruvian viceroy.

MAY 5, 1817. *Gavilán.* Determined to defeat las Heras’s 1,300-man Argentine army before O’Higgins can join with his Chilean forces (see “April 3, 1817” entry), Ordóñez sorties from Talcahuano to assault the rebel redoubt on Gavilán Hill, northwest of

Concepción. The royalists intend to attack in twin columns: 600 men with two fieldpieces coming down Penco Road under Col. Antonio Morgado, while Ordóñez drives from Chepe with another 800 men and three guns.

Action begins at 6:45 a.m., when nine royalist gunboats open fire upon the insurgents within Concepción. Ordóñez appears next and immediately launches his assault against las Heras’s left, without waiting for Morgado—who arrives an hour and a half late. By this time, Ordóñez’s column has been decimated in vainly storming the rebels’ lines, and this same fate befalls Morgado. The royalists are irretrievably broken when two companies of Chilean insurgents appear upon the battlefield, heralding the imminent arrival of O’Higgins’s army. Ordóñez retreats behind his Talcahuano trenches, having lost 118 killed, 80 wounded, 4 guns, and 200 muskets in this sally. Patriot casualties are 6 dead and 62 injured. O’Higgins arrives by nightfall to assume command of the siege operations against Talcahuano.

MAY 15, 1817. Argentine lieutenant colonel Ramón Freyre quits the insurgent siege at Concepción (Chile) with 300 men to capture tiny isolated royalist keeps south of the Bío Bío River, thus preventing refreshments from reaching the beleaguered garrison within Talcahuano. He returns on July 11, having succeeded in his sweep.

MAY 17, 1817. The Brazilian insurgent leader Domingos José Martins, having marched south from his rebel stronghold at Recife (capital of Pernambuco Province), is defeated and captured at Serinhão by 800 loyalist militiamen from Bahia, who call themselves “Scipios” after the famous Roman general.

MAY 19, 1817. The Brazilian rebel chieftain Domingos Teotônio Jorge evacuates Recife with two infantry regiments and straggles inland while Portuguese admiral Lobo reoccupies the port. The insurgents eventually disband at Engenho Paulista, while many are hunted down and executed over the next few months.

MAY 30, 1817. The 34-year-old, Curaçao-born, patriot commodore Philippus Ludovicus Brion—in Spanish, Felipe Luis Brion—sets sail east from Margarita Island (Venezuela) with the brigs *Terror*, *Tártaro*, *América Libre*, *Conquistador*, and *Indio Libre*, plus the schooners *Diana* (under the French privateer Vincent Dubouille), *Guayaneja*, and *Conejo*. Brion’s

strategic objectives are to travel up the Orinoco and wrest control of this river from the royalists.

JUNE 8, 1817. After seizing 700 horses at Cojo Hacienda, fording the Tamesí River, and emerging into the Valle del Maíz in central Mexico, the intruder Mina defeats a force of 152 royalists under Captain Villaseñor.

JUNE 11, 1817. The royalist commander Arredondo arrives from Veracruz with 666 foot soldiers, 850 riders, and 109 gunners to besiege Mina's garrison, remaining under Major Sardá at Soto la Marina, compelling its 93 men to surrender five days later. The prisoners are conducted into captivity at San Juan de Ulúa and the fortress at Perote near Jalapa.

JUNE 15, 1817. While continuing his march toward San Luis Potosí (Mexico), the adventurer Mina defeats 2,000 royalists drawn up at Peotillos Hacienda under Col. Benito Armiñán.

JUNE 19, 1817. Mina's small army occupies Real de Pinos (modern state of Zacatecas, Mexico), with a surprise night attack.

JUNE 22, 1817. Mina links up with some Mexican insurgents, reaching Fort Sombrero in the Comanja Range (modern state of Guanajuato) two days later to join forces with the guerrilla chieftains Pedro Moreno and Encarnación "El Pachón" Ortiz.

JUNE 29, 1817. Mina and Moreno sortie from Fort Sombrero (Mexico) with 330 followers, mauling a royalist force under Ordoñez at Ferrero Ranch on the San Juan de los Llanos Hacienda, killing this commander and capturing 152 of his men.

JULY 7, 1817. Mina and Moreno attack the Jiral Hacienda, seizing 140,000 pesos in silver bars.

JULY 14, 1817. *Margarita Counteroffensive.* After being reinforced at Barcelona (Venezuela) by Aldama's division and off Cumaná in late March by an additional 2,600–2,700 regulars from Spain under Gen. José de Canterac, Morillo has detached contingents to attack minor patriot garrisons at Cariaco, Cumanacoa, and Carúpano under Cmdr. Francisco Jiménez. Taking these outposts with ease, the Spaniards fortify this coastline, then proceed against Güiría, while Morillo himself sails from Cumaná with 3,000

men aboard 22 ships under naval captain José María Chacón to personally reconquer Margarita Island, reaching its port of Guamacho by July 14.

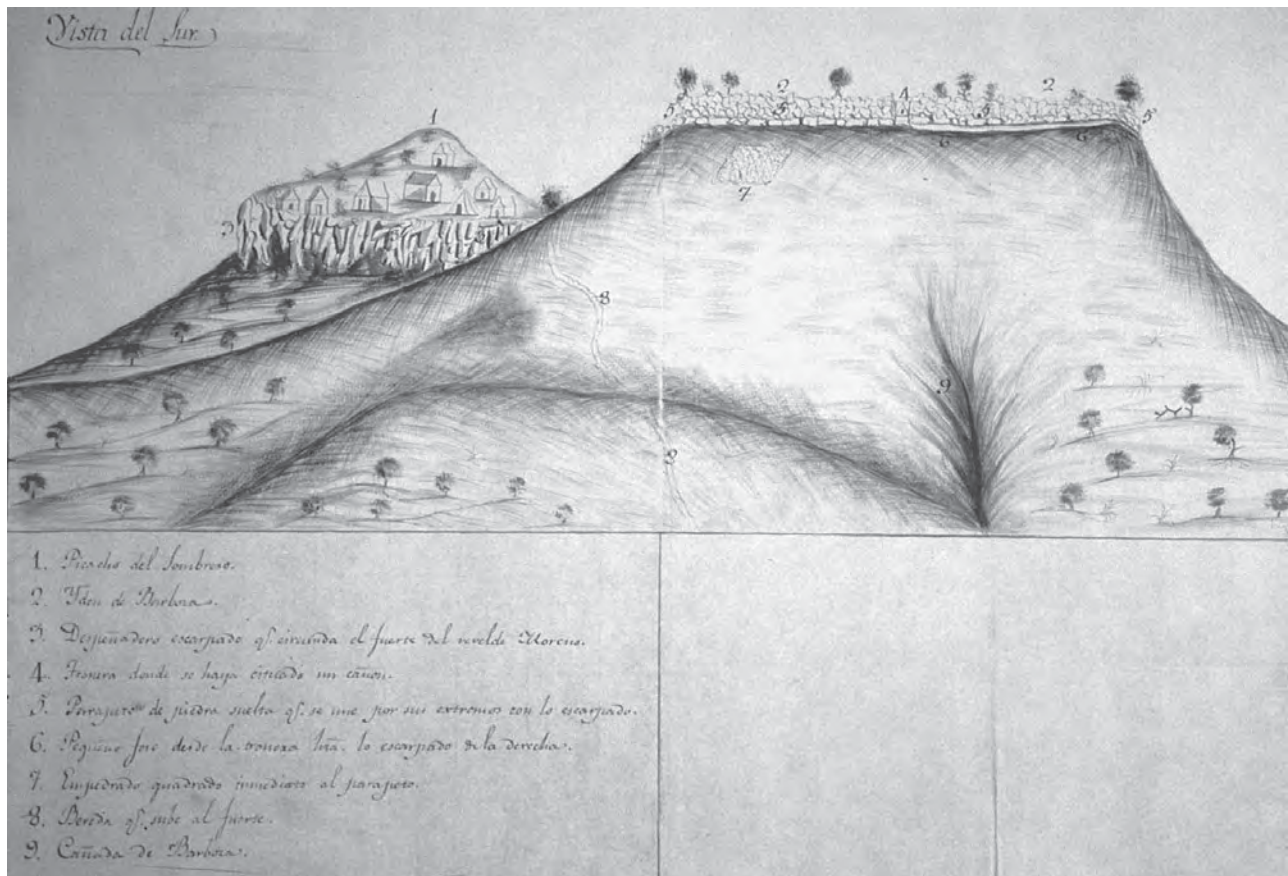
Col. Francisco Esteban Gómez, the island's patriot commander, falls back before Morillo's subsequent progression inland, harassing his outriders. Pampatar and Porlamar are occupied without resistance on July 24 and July 31, respectively, but a royalist attack upon the inland capital of Asunción is repulsed with considerable loss. Marching to the island's northern tip, the invaders then take the port of Juan Griego by August 8. Yet they evacuate Margarita nine days afterwards because of news of Bolívar's successful patriot offensive up the Orinoco, and they return into Caracas by early September.

JULY 17, 1817. This night, de la Torre—his 2,000-man royalist garrison starving inside Angostura (Venezuela) because of the recent advance up the Orinoco by Brion's patriot flotilla—decides to evacuate this isolated outpost. Going aboard 30 boats along with 1,800 noncombatants, he retreats west to the last remaining loyalist stronghold on the river, Guayana la Vieja, arriving by the evening of July 19. That previous dawn, Angostura has been occupied by Bermúdez's jubilant land forces.

AUGUST 1, 1817. After unsuccessfully attacking León (modern state of Guanajuato, Mexico), Mina and Moreno are besieged within their Fort Sombrero base camp by 3,500 royalists under *mariscal de campo* or "field marshal" Pascual Liñán. They storm Fort Sombrero's defenses on August 4, only to be repelled; then the insurgents fail to cut their way out on August 7.

The next night, Mina and Moreno slip out with part of their small army, attempting to rescue their remaining colleagues by attacking Liñán's positions from the rear on August 12. When this fails, Mina and Moreno withdraw five days later to install themselves at Remedios Fort near Pénjamo, their beleaguered associates surrendering to the royalists by August 19.

AUGUST 2, 1817. *Cabrián.* After vainly awaiting the arrival of a Spanish relief force, the 2,600 desperate royalists crowded into Guayana la Vieja (Venezuela) under de la Torre decide to abandon this outpost, fleeing eastward down the Orinoco and out into the open Atlantic past Brion's patriot flotilla, anchored off Cabrián. Perceiving the garrison's preparations for flight, Anzoátegui's besieging troops storm



The patriot hideout at Fort Sombrero, where Mina was besieged in August 1817. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

Guayana's palisades this same evening and are checked by de la Torre.

The next morning, the Spaniards sail aboard the flotilla of naval captain Fernando Lizarza, comprised of the 14-gun, 93-man corvette *Merced* (flag) of Captain Costa y Mur; the 12-gun, 98-man schooners *Carmen* (vice flag) of Lt. Francisco Sales de Echeverría, the 12-gun, 80-man *Monteverde*, the 6-gun, 42-man *Dolores*, the 4-gun, 87-man *Pancha* of José Elorriaga, the 3-gun, 84-man *Isabel*, the 2-gun, 34-man *Guadalupe*, the 2-gun, 43-man *Guayanesa*, and the 2-gun, 66-man *Rapelo*; the 10-gun, 91-man polacre *Carmen* of Manuel López; the 12-gun, 88-man brigantine *Vigilante* of F.A. Casanueva; the 6-gun, 70-man *Guayro María* of J. A. Pérez; the 1-gun, 34-man sloop *Reina Luisa* of Commander Burguera; and the 6-gun, 46-man bomb vessel *Malagueña* of José Bonet. They are furthermore accompanied by a half-dozen gunboats, 4 large native canoes, and a dozen transports bearing an additional 930 sailors and 800 soldiers.

This royalist flotilla dashes downriver through a hail of fire from patriot encampments ashore, forming into a double column to engage Brion's squad-

ron before Cabrián. Having a favorable wind out of the west behind him, Lizarza instantly attacks to give his consorts time to escape, but he is wounded in both legs by a patriot countersalvo. The action thereupon degenerates into a general pursuit, as darkness falls and a storm blows up. The fleeing loyalists are hunted down in numerous channels and byways, 14 of their ships and numerous smaller vessels being captured over the next three days, while 280 of their number are slain, a similar amount wounded, and 1,731 imprisoned.

De la Torre is one of the few to escape, reaching the Antillan island of Grenada by August 9 with the *Merced* and the polacre *Carmen*, before proceeding to Cumaná and La Guaira. Brion's casualties total 32 killed and 31 injured, this annihilation of royalist sympathizers ensuring Bolívar undisputed control over the entire length of the Orinoco River.

AUGUST 14, 1817. Páez makes a surprise raid against the royalist stronghold of Barinas (Venezuela) with 1,000 *llanero* guerrillas, seizing much valuable booty.

AUGUST 15, 1817. Some 1,000 royalists under Olañeta and Marquiegui capture Humahuaca in northern Argentina, but they endure increasing *gaucho* attacks as they press farther south. They finally retire toward Yavi on January 3, 1818.

AUGUST 27, 1817. Spanish lieutenant colonel Francisco Jiménez crosses the Paria Peninsula in Venezuela from the Caribe River with 800 regulars of the Clarines and Reina Isabel battalions, plus royalist guerrillas under Nacario Martínez, to capture the port of Yaguaraparo. Its patriot defenders under Col. José María Hermoso leave 250 casualties upon the field before fleeing into the surrounding hills.

Three days later, Jiménez also retakes Güiría, killing Hermoso and inflicting a further 140 casualties upon the patriots, whose survivors scatter inland or out to sea aboard the schooner *Tigre*.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1817. Royalist forces assault the 150-man insurgent garrison within the Chilean coastal keep of Arauco, thereby diverting O'Higgins's attention from the siege of nearby Talcahuano.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1817. To counteract the effects of Morillo's offensive (see "July 14, 1817" entry), Bolívar sends Bermúdez to reorganize the patriot units on Cumaná (Venezuela), while Monagas does the same at Barcelona.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1817. Acting on Bolívar's orders, Gen. Manuel Sedeño and Capt. Remigio Femayor arrest Piar at 4:00 a.m. at Aragua de Maturín (Venezuela) to stand trial for treason. He is executed three weeks later on October 16.

OCTOBER 10, 1817. While returning toward their base camp at Fort Remedios (near Pénjamo, central Mexico) after raiding San Luis de la Paz, Mina and Moreno are defeated in a clash at the Caja Hacienda by royalists under Col. Francisco Orrantía.

OCTOBER 16, 1817. Bolívar—who brooks no rivals—tricks his brilliant mulatto commander Piar into camp, then arrests and executes him for "insubordination."

OCTOBER 25, 1817. Mina, Moreno, and other insurgent leaders attempt to attack the royalist garrison within the Mexican city of Guanajuato with 1,400 men, but they are repulsed. Two days later, while sleeping at Venadito Ranch, the two leaders

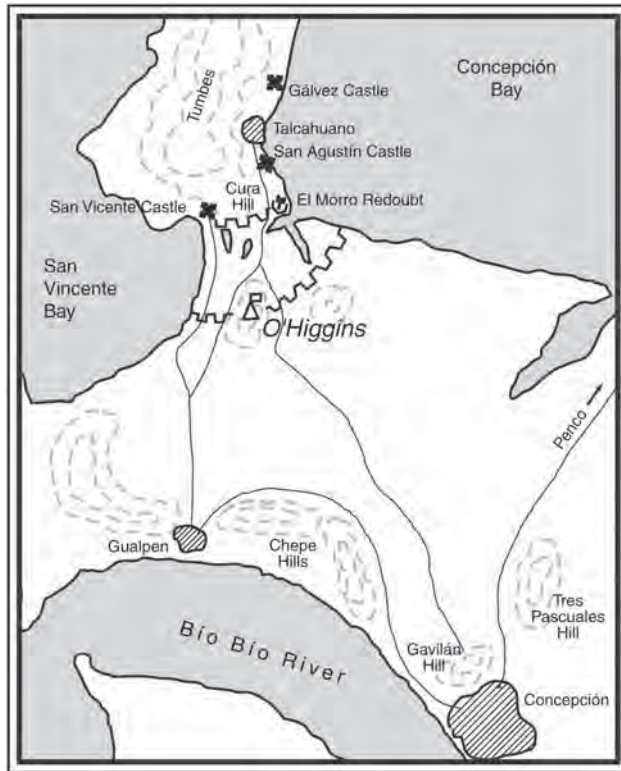
are surprised with their aides by a monarchist column under Orrantía. All are slain except Mina, who is carried into Liñán's encampment near Fort Remedios and shot on November 11 atop Bellaco Hill. (Because of this royalist triumph, the Mexican viceroy Juan Ruiz de Apodaca is rewarded from Madrid with the title "Conde de Venadito.")

NOVEMBER 27, 1817. Because of the large numbers of British veterans flocking to join the patriot cause (see "January 16, 1818" entry), London is compelled to respond to diplomatic complaints from Madrid by issuing a proclamation forbidding its subjects from taking sides in this Spanish-American dispute.

DECEMBER 2, 1817. *La Hogaza.* After a four-day forced march from Calvario (Venezuela), de la Torre's 900 loyalist infantrymen and 300 cavalry troopers surprise patriot general Zaraza at La Hogaza—three miles from Murianga Ford on the banks of the Manapitire—as he is resting his 1,000 riders and 1,100 foot soldiers, in anticipation of soon joining Bolívar's army at Santa María de Ipire. Despite his men's fatigue, de la Torre quickly deploys atop a hill overlooking the patriots' camp, with the 1st Castilla and 2nd Navarra Infantry battalions in his center, single squadrons of the 1st and 2nd Fernando VII Hussars on his flanks, plus another of Calabozo Lancers as his reserve. Perceiving the small numbers of their enemy, the insurgents surge forward to meet de la Torre's advance a few minutes later, only to have the patriot cavalry on their right flank suddenly break and flee before their royalist opponents.

Upon seeing this rout, the patriot infantrymen under Pedro León Torres also take to their heels, being almost completely annihilated as they attempt to escape from the battlefield. Patriot casualties are calculated at 350 men, plus a like number captured, compared to only 11 dead and 86 wounded among the loyalist ranks. Dry grass catches fire from the discharges, sparking a general conflagration that burns many of the wounded as well as destroying much matériel. Satisfied with his triumph, de la Torre returns toward Calvario and Calabozo with his royalists, leaving the shaken patriot survivors to reassemble.

DECEMBER 6, 1817. *Talcahuano.* After seven months of a fruitless siege, O'Higgins's 3,700 Chileo-Argentine troops assault Ordóñez's 1,700 royalists entrenched at Talcahuano (Chile). The defenders



Insurgent siege of Talcahuano.

enjoy considerable advantages, having 70 cannon and several warships to protect the swampy, half-mile-wide isthmus leading out to Tumbes Peninsula.

At 2:45 a.m., las Heras assaults the royalists' easternmost bastion of El Morro with four battalions, carrying it despite heavy losses. His subsequent attempt to drive northwest and overrun Cura Hill fails, however, obliging him to retire at dawn. A diversionary attack by the insurgent lieutenant colonel Pedro Conde against San Vicente Castle, at the opposite end of this royalist line, is also repulsed with considerable casualties. Altogether, the attackers suffer 156 killed and 280 wounded; the defenders, 300 casualties. Less than one month later, O'Higgins lifts the siege.

DECEMBER 9, 1817. Royalist general Mariano Osorio quits Callao with 3,276 troops and 10 field-pieces, sailing south toward Talcahuano (Chile) aboard 10 vessels.

DECEMBER 15, 1817. Argentine colonel Montes de Oca departs Buenos Aires with 600 troops, traveling up the Uruguay River to Ibicuy to impose republican rule over that breakaway district. On Christmas Day, he is defeated at Ceballos Creek

north of Gualeguaychú by the 31-year-old local leader Francisco Ramírez, then suffers a second reverse at Santa Bárbara Ranch—south of Gato Creek, near this same city—on January 4, 1818.

DECEMBER 17, 1817. Under cover of darkness, the guerrilla chief Páez probes the royalists' Castellano and San Casimiro redoubts outside San Fernando de Apure (Venezuela). When he repeats this operation the following night, however, his *llaneros* are ambushed at dawn of December 18 by two companies of the Unión and Barinas Infantry battalions, who inflict 100 casualties.

DECEMBER 21, 1817. The Mexican insurgent Nicolás Bravo is captured and his Fort Cópore re-occupied by royalist forces. He is transferred to Mexico City on October 9, 1818, and pardoned two years later.

JANUARY 1818. Osorio's 3,300-man royalist expedition from Peru reinforces Talcahuano (Chile), then initiates its campaign by blockading Valparaíso by sea, while the army marches north.

JANUARY 1, 1818. O'Higgins lifts his siege of Talcahuano (Chile) and retires northward from Concepción, while being harassed by royalist pursuers. A major clash occurs while the insurgents are traversing the Nuble River on January 15, and another skirmish is fought four days later, before O'Higgins passes into safety north of the Maule by January 28.

JANUARY 11, 1818. A new, 2,400-man royalist army under Olañeta surprises Huacalera in northern Argentina, fighting its way into Jujuy three days later against feeble patriot opposition. When the countryside rises against the invaders, though, the Spanish commander abandons his prize on January 16 and suffers 300 casualties while struggling back into Yavi.

JANUARY 16, 1818. The first of four English vessels—the *Britain*, the *Esmeralda*, the *Dawson*, and the *Prince* (the *Indian* having succumbed in an Atlantic storm)—reaches Gustavia on the Antillan island of Saint Barthélemy, bearing 800 mercenaries contracted in London by the Venezuelan agent Luis López Méndez, to serve the patriot cause as the "British Legion."

Many of these veterans balk at finding no pay or patriot representatives awaiting them, while their hired transports refuse to brave the Spanish block-

ade and run across to the Venezuelan mainland. Instead, amid loud complaints, the legion transfers south to Georgetown (Grenada) by February 27, from where only 150 will actually board the schooner *Liberty* and continue up the Orinoco River to join Bolívar. Col. Gustavus Hippisley and the bulk of the disgruntled Legionnaires will eventually follow in piecemeal fashion.

JANUARY 30, 1818. Having advanced westward from the Orinoco with his army, Bolívar joins forces with Páez at Payara to attack the Spaniards farther north at San Fernando and Calabozo in central Venezuela.

FEBRUARY 6, 1818. *Calabozo.* Bolívar materializes at the Apure River's Diamante Ford, just east of San Fernando in central Venezuela, with Valdés's brigade, comprised of 600 infantrymen of the Barlovento and Angostura battalions; Torres's brigade, consisting of 635 men of the 1st Barcelona and Valerosos Cazadores battalions; Monagas's brigade, made up of 353 men of the 2nd Barcelona Battalion, plus 342 troopers in three cavalry squadrons; an honor guard of 726 chasseurs and fusiliers; Sedeño's division, consisting of 310 troopers in three squadrons from Lara's brigade, plus another 294 in three squadrons from Martín's brigade; and Sánchez's brigade, comprised of 632 infantrymen of the Bajo Orinoco and Guayana battalions, as well as a squadron of 87 troopers. The patriots are furthermore accompanied by Páez's 1,000 *llanero* riders and 300 foot soldiers, for a combined strength of 5,200 men.

Having surprised San Fernando's 650-man royalist garrison under Col. José María Quero, Bolívar and Páez quickly throw their contingents across the river, which cuts off the city's communications on the far side. They keep its defenders bottled inside by detaching the Sánchez Brigade to begin siege preparations, while the main body speeds north toward their true objective: the city of Calabozo.

Learning of this invasion shortly thereafter, Spanish general Morillo hastens back from the northwest to bolster the Calabozo's 650-man garrison with an additional 1,800 troops, entering the city on the evening of February 10. Nevertheless, he is caught unprepared by Bolívar's appearance out of the west only two days later, 4,200 patriots advancing at dawn on February 12 to cut off the Spanish outpost lying outside the city's defenses at Trinidad Mission (also known as the *Misión de Abajo* or "Lower Mission"). This detachment—the Castilla Infantry Battalion,

two companies of the Navarra Battalion, plus three hussar squadrons—desperately attempts to regain Calabozo but is cut off and forms a square in an open field. They are quickly overwhelmed and destroyed, suffering 320 killed and a like number captured, as opposed to 200 insurgent casualties.

Lacking a siege train, Bolívar marches his main body 10 miles northward at noon on February 13 to pasture his horses at El Rastro, hoping for Morillo to emerge from behind the city walls. The patriots' Apure Hussar Regiment under Col. Guillermo Iribarren is left to maintain watch over Calabozo. That following night at 11:00 p.m., the Spaniards nonetheless slip undetected out of the city, marching toward La Uriosa on the west bank of the Guárico River in hopes of reaching El Sombrero, 20 miles farther away on the Caracas road.

When Iribarren discovers Calabozo to be empty on the morning of February 14, he informs Bolívar, and both patriot contingents set off in pursuit. Still, Morillo's retreating columns of 1,700–1,800 troops and 7,000–8,000 royalist noncombatants are not found until 4:00 p.m. that evening, when they suffer a couple of hundred stragglers slain before taking up a defensive position at El Sombrero the next morning. The Liberator loses 100 of his own men vainly storming these royalist lines before finally allowing Morillo's army to resume its march unmolested on February 16, escaping to the northeast.

The chastened yet unbeaten Spanish force enters Comatagua by February 18 and arrives at San Sebastián de los Reyes three days afterward, where it is at last reinforced by de la Torre's and Aldama's divisions. Meanwhile, Páez—having fallen out with Bolívar over this bungled pursuit—parts company to return southward with his own followers and press the siege of San Fernando de Apure alone. The Liberator, notwithstanding this defection and his army's reduced numbers, decides to continue north toward Caracas.

FEBRUARY 12, 1818. O'Higgins and San Martín proclaim the independence of Chile, then sally from Santiago to engage Osorio's royalist army approaching from the south.

MARCH 6, 1818. The insurgent stronghold of Fort Jaujilla (located on an island in Zacapu Lake, central Mexico), surrenders to the royalists.

MARCH 14, 1818. *Maracay.* At dawn, a large detachment from Bolívar's army—1,200 cavalrymen

and 370 infantrymen delegated to occupy the town of Maracay (Venezuela)—is surprised by a sudden cavalry charge by two Spanish squadrons of Unión Dragoons and one of Guías del General. The Spaniards immediately fight their way into this town's main square.

Although initially contained by the patriots' Angostura Infantry Battalion and Monagas's cavalry, these Spanish units are quickly joined by royalist chasseurs under Col. Matías Escuté and the Barinas Infantry Battalion under Col. Juan Tello. It soon becomes apparent that this attack is part of a much larger Spanish counteroffensive, spearheaded by General Morales's entire division, so the patriots hastily abandon Maracay for La Victoria, arriving this evening through torrential rains after suffering 80 casualties and 220 missing.

MARCH 14, 1818. Royalist commander Francisco Jiménez, after a swift march westward from Güiría in eastern Venezuela, falls upon the 400 patriots who have recently reoccupied Cariaco under Mariño. The latter are ejected with heavy losses, leaving behind 96 dead and many wounded, although this action also claims Jiménez's life.

MARCH 15, 1818. *La Puerta (or Semen Valley).* Belatedly realizing that royalist columns under Morillo, Morales, and de la Torre are now closing in from three different directions upon his 2,200 remaining troops, Bolívar hastily retraces his route southward, only to be overtaken and compelled to make a stand near La Puerta in Semen Valley. Action commences at 6:00 a.m. on March 16, when the royalist vanguard of 1,000 infantrymen and 500 cavalrymen under Morales charges into battle. After three hours of confused fighting, Morillo's main body arrives from six miles away, and 1,500 of his Spanish infantrymen immediately join the fighting. (De la Torre's 900 troops are too distant as yet to become engaged.) The insurgent lines begin to waver, and they finally break, leading to a crushing defeat for its infantry. Patriot losses are estimated at 300 killed, 400 wounded, and 350 captured, compared to 500–600 royalist casualties. A crestfallen Bolívar eventually leaves the field at noon. His Spanish counterpart, Morillo, is badly wounded in the final charge, being transfixed by a lance—which doctors will eventually have to pull out through his back.

Correa temporarily assumes command of the royalist forces and continues their pursuit of the fleeing insurgents as far as San Juan de los Morros,

inflicting heavy punishment. In addition to most of his infantry and war matériel, the Liberator and his staff also lose all their personal papers, and generals Urdaneta, Valdés, Torres, and Anzoátegui suffer body wounds. Retreating by way of Ortiz and El Rastro, the defeated patriot survivors reenter Calabozo four days later.

MARCH 19, 1818. *Cancha Rayada.* At dawn, San Martín and O'Higgins—having learned at Quechereguas (Chile) that Osorio's and Ordóñez's 4,600 royalists with 14 cannon are advancing from Camarico toward Talca—make a forced march down Tres Montes Road with 8,000 Argentino-Chilean troops and 33 guns to intercept. The insurgents arrive too late this afternoon to prevent the invaders from gaining Talca, however, so they deploy a mile and a half farther northeast, at Cancha Rayada.

Unexpectedly confronted with this superior force, Ordóñez suggests to Osorio that the royalists launch a surprise nocturnal assault, when their lesser numbers will not be such a handicap. The latter agrees, and at 9:00 p.m. on this same evening, Ordóñez leads three columns toward the revolutionaries' lines, which are in the process of repositioning for the night. This attack hits O'Higgins's Chilean contingent, creating widespread panic among their ranks, only Colonel Alvarado's Andean chasseurs reaching las Heras's waiting Argentine division intact. The 3rd Chilean Battalion disintegrates altogether, O'Higgins is wounded in an elbow, and insurgent units fire wildly upon each other in the darkness. By midnight, the disconcerted rebels are fleeing north in jumbled profusion, having lost 120 killed, 26 artillery pieces, and hundreds of deserters or prisoners. Royalist casualties are approximately 300, and five days later, Osorio resumes his march upon the capital of Santiago.

MARCH 25, 1818. *Saucecito.* In northeastern Argentina, the 2,400-man army of Buenos Aires general Marcos Balcarce is attacked by a slightly smaller local force under rival republican leader Ramírez. The latter combines a frontal assault with a dual enveloping movement, inflicting 1,000 losses on Balcarce and obliging him to depart hastily down the Uruguay River aboard his flotilla.

MARCH 26, 1818. *Ortiz.* Having been hastily reinforced by Sedeño's (or Cedeño's) and Páez's divisions following his stinging La Puerta defeat, Bolívar unexpectedly turns upon his royalist pursuers with

2,660 troops. At dawn on the 26th, he catches de la Torre resting his 1,100 weary infantrymen—mostly of the Unión and Castilla battalions under lieutenant colonels Manuel Bausá and Tomás García—at Ortiz (Venezuela), having dispersed another 1,400 to forage throughout its neighboring districts.

Both sides skirmish warily for possession of the La Cuesta heights until 5:00 p.m., when the patriots eventually retire after suffering 12 killed and 30 injured, as opposed to 37 dead and 50 wounded among the royalists. The latter immediately commence retiring northward, before their more numerous opponents should return.

APRIL 3, 1818. At San Carlos, in northeastern Corrientes Province (Uruguay), the Portuguese general Chagas inflicts another defeat upon patriot Indian leader Andresito.

APRIL 5, 1818. *Maipú.* Quickly regrouping after his Cancha Rayada setback (see “March 19, 1818” entry), San Martín sallies from Santiago on April 1 with 5,300 Chileo-Argentine troops. He takes up position six miles south of the capital atop Blanca Hill to intercept Osorio’s approaching royalists with Colonel las Heras’s division, comprised of the colo-

nel’s own 11th Infantry Battalion under his subordinate Maj. Ramón Guerrero, the Coquimbo Chasseurs under Maj. Isaac Thompson, the Patria Infantry Battalion of Lt. Col. José Antonio Bustamante, four squadrons of horse grenadiers under Colonel Zapiola, plus eight guns under the 28-year-old former naval officer, the acting lieutenant colonel Manuel Blanco Encalada y Melián.

Colonel Alvarado’s division consists of the 2nd Chilean Infantry Battalion under Lt. Col. José Bernardo Cáceres Gutiérrez de Palacios, the all-black 8th “Los Andes” Infantry Battalion under Lt. Col. Enrique Martínez, the Andean Infantry Chasseurs of Major Sequeira, four squadrons of “Los Andes” Chasseurs under Major Arellano, and nine artillery pieces under Lt. Col. José M. Borgoño. Col. Hilarión de la Quintana’s reserve division is made up of the 1st Chilean Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Rivera, the 3rd “Los Andes” Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Conde, two squadrons of “San Martín’s Escort” under Colonel Freyre, plus four cannon under Lieutenant Colonel Plaza.

Osorio hopes to capture Valparaíso first, but after reaching Lo Espejo Hacienda on April 4, he discovers his insurgent enemy to be very close. He thus prepares his 4,900 royalist troops to give battle the



Patriot infantry charge into the Battle of Maipú. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

next day. Colonel Ordóñez's 1st Brigade consists of the Concepción Infantry Battalion under Major Navia, the "Infante don Carlos" Infantry Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel de la Torre, a company of Royal Sappers under Captain Casacana, the "Del Rey" Lancers of Lt. Col. J. Rodríguez, the Arequipa Dragoons under Lt. Col. A. Rodríguez, plus four guns. Col. Lorenzo Morla's 2nd Brigade is comprised of the Arequipa Infantry Battalion under Lt. Col. José Ramón Rodil, Colonel Morla's own 2nd Burgos Infantry Battalion, a Chillán cavalry squadron under Lieutenant Colonel Palma, the second squadron of the Frontera Dragoons under Colonel Morgado, as well as four artillery pieces. Col. Joaquín Primo de Rivera's 3rd or Reserve Brigade is made up of mixed grenadier and *cazador* companies from the Burgos, Concepción, Infante, and Arequipa battalions, plus four cannon.

After both armies march into position at 10:30 a.m. near Maipó (modern spelling, Maipú), Blanco Encalada's eight guns open a long-range bombardment at 11:30 a.m., and San Martín orders a general advance by his entire line at noon. Las Heras's division engages Primo de Rivera's royalist left and separates it from the rest of the monarchist army, despite heavy counterfire that checks the patriots' advance at the foot of their hilltop positions. Meanwhile, Alvarado's 2nd and 8th battalions penetrate the front lines of Ordóñez's division on the royalist left, before being decimated by a withering fire that sends them reeling back across the field. A counter-attack by the Andean Chasseurs and San Martín's reserve—the 7th Argentine, plus 1st and 3rd Chilean Infantry battalions—then stabilizes the situation and overruns the monarchists' guns. The patriots' 8th Battalion suffers 50 percent casualties during this repulse.

Despite brave resistance by Morla's 2nd Burgos Battalion, the loyalist army disintegrates after a fierce six-hour battle, Ordóñez retreating with 250 riders to mount a rearguard action at his stronghold of Lo Espejo Hacienda. At this moment, O'Higgins—convalescent in Santiago because of his wounded right elbow from Cancha Rayada—joins San Martín with 1,000 militia volunteers, and the allies press on against Lo Espejo. The patriot batteries of Blanco Encalada and Borgoño unlimber and batter the hacienda, after which Ordóñez and most of his officers surrender. The royalist army is annihilated, having sustained almost 2,000 dead and 2,300 taken prisoner (1,000 of the latter being wounded), compared to 800 killed and about 1,000 injured among

the patriot ranks, who also seize all the artillery and 3,800 muskets. Only Osorio and Rodil escape this disaster, fleeing toward Talcahuano with slightly more than 600 survivors.

APRIL 16, 1818. Bolívar is nearly assassinated this night at his Rincón de los Toros (Venezuela) headquarters, when the young royalist captain Tomás de Renovales—armed with the patriot password—penetrates the Liberator's sleeping camp with eight chasseurs from the Burgos Battalion and fires into his tent. The Liberator flees on horseback into the night, and the next dawn his 400 leaderless infantrymen and 400-man cavalry escort are attacked by Col. Rafael López's flying column of 500 royalist riders and 360 infantrymen. After a sharp skirmish, Zaraza's patriot troopers are dispersed and the insurgent infantry massacred with a loss of 200 casualties, plus 150 prisoners (most of whom are subsequently executed). López suffers 8 dead and 26 wounded, while Bolívar reenters Calabozo the next day, unscathed.

APRIL 18, 1818. Having been detached by the victorious San Martín, insurgent colonel Zapiola battles the royalists in and around Talca (Chile) with a flying column of 250 mounted grenadiers.

APRIL 23, 1818. Despite Bolívar's absence, Páez assaults the town of San Carlos (Venezuela) with his *llanero* contingent alone. Its royalist garrison emerges under de la Torre to give battle, but both sides confront each other from a distance without clashing, until the patriots withdraw five days later.

MAY 2, 1818. *Cojedes.* Royalist general Correa having united two days previously with de la Torre at San Carlos (Venezuela), they sally with 370 men of the 1st Unión, 320 of the 2nd Castilla, 350 of the Barinas, 380 of the Burgos, 380 of the Infante, 150 in two companies of the Victoria, 225 in three companies of the Pardos de Valencia, and 105 in two militia companies of the Aragua Infantry battalions, plus 800 troopers in eight cavalry squadrons. These 3,080 soldiers advance westward into Cojedes (or Cogedes) Plain, searching for Páez's slightly smaller *llanero* army—composed largely of cavalrymen.

While resting at Seyba, the royalists are provoked by a charge by Páez's vanguard, which disperses three of their cavalry squadrons. When the Spanish main body then advances to offer battle, they are lured out to a preselected site on Cojedes Plain,

where the patriot riders can have greater play. Here, the royalists find their enemies drawn up before the town of Cojedes: Anzoátegui's 700 infantrymen (Guardia de Honor del Jefe Supremo and Barcelona battalions) in the center in three-deep ranks, plus 1,900 cavalrymen distributed on both flanks and the rear.

As the Spanish columns march relentlessly toward the insurgent lines, they are greeted at 4:00 p.m. by massed volleys, at a range of 50 yards. Páez then leads a wild cavalry charge that sweeps away their outnumbered opponents on the royalist left and descends upon de la Torre's rear, but without inflicting a crippling blow to his army's fighting capabilities. The patriot infantry is meanwhile destroyed by the Spaniards, despite de la Torre having a foot badly mangled by a shot and turning over command to Correa. By evening, the royalists have killed 300 patriots, wounded 400, and captured several hundred more, along with 1,500 packhorses and all their supplies. Spanish losses total 91 dead, 130 injured, and 76 missing.

Both sides claim victory, Páez remaining upon the battlefield with his *llaneros* when the Spanish infantry retire toward San Carlos the next morning. However, he soon withdraws to Apure to reorganize his forces, reentering San Fernando by May 21.

MAY 10, 1818. The patriot Mariño seizes Cariaco (northeastern Venezuela), then defeats a royalist column at Cautaro two weeks later.

MAY 15, 1818. The royalist chieftain Reyes Vargas—now promoted to lieutenant colonel—after advancing from Barinas (Venezuela) with 400 men, wrests Nutrias away from its patriot garrison, inflicting heavy casualties.

MAY 16, 1818. Bermúdez besieges the royalist garrison within Cumaná (Venezuela) with 500 patriot infantrymen, 200 cavalrymen, and a pair of fieldpieces. On the night of May 19–20, he attempts to carry its walls by storm, and again during daylight on May 21, only to be repelled on both occasions.

Discouraged, Bermúdez thereupon digs in with his small army three miles away at the port of Madera and hopes to be joined by Brion's patriot squadron, which is bringing reinforcements from Margarita Island. Instead, Spanish governor de Cires sorties from Cumaná with 700 infantrymen of the Granada, Barbastro, and Reina battalions, driving the patriots southward with heavy losses.

MAY 17, 1818. Venezuelan commodore Brion is lying at Gustavia (Saint Barthélemy) with his corvette *Victoria* (flag), five brigs, and three schooners—having just received partial delivery of a shipment of British arms—when Spanish naval captain José María Chacón arrives outside with his eight men-of-war and 1,400 crew members, instituting a brief blockade. The patriot vessels are eventually allowed to depart unchallenged.

MAY 19, 1818. *Los Patos.* After abandoning Calabozo (Venezuela) and allowing that city to be reoccupied by the Spaniards under Morales and Col. Antonio Plá, the patriot general Sedeño decides to make a stand in the hill country southwest of this place—beside Los Patos Lagoon, near China— with 1,200 cavalrymen and 300 fusiliers.

Morales approaches with 250 infantrymen of the Navarra, Corona, and Aragua (militia) battalions; 650 lancers of the “Del Rey” Cavalry Regiment; plus 150 troopers from the Sombrero, Tiznados, and Calvario Militia regiments. Awaiting them are Pedro León Torres, commanding the patriot infantry in the center; Col. Francisco Aramendi with the Apure, Guayabal, and Camaguán cavalry squadrons on the right; Jacinto Lara with the Calabozo, Rastro, and Tiznados squadrons on the left; plus four patriot squadrons in reserve, under Juan Antonio Mina and the former loyalist Remigio Ramos.

This encounter proves an unmitigated disaster for Sedeño, his demoralized forces being unwilling to engage. Aramendi refuses to charge on the right when given the order, whereas Lara's troopers on the left melt away before the royalists' advance. The patriot infantry is left alone upon the field, losing two-thirds of their number before escaping. By the time Sedeño resumes his retreat toward Guayabal, only 500 men remain with him.

MAY 30, 1818. After throwing back Bermúdez's assault on the outskirts of Cumaná (Venezuela), its royalist defenders sally and rout him at the port of Madera, obliging him to fall back upon Cumana-coa, then Angostura.

JULY 4, 1818. On the banks of the Queguay Chico River (Uruguay), patriot leader Artigas is defeated by a Portuguese contingent, who are in turn bested by his subordinate Fructuoso Rivera shortly thereafter.

MID-JULY 1818. San Martín's subordinate Zapiola—now commanding a regiment of mounted

grenadiers, the Coquimbo Battalion, and two fieldpieces—is bloodily repulsed by the 500-man royalist garrison at Chillán (Chile).

AUGUST 23, 1818. Bermúdez and Brion unite to assault the royalist stronghold of Güiría, facing the Gulf of Paria in eastern Venezuela. Their English naval subordinate, Captain Hill, loses the brig *Colombia* to a Spanish boarding party during the opening action.

The next dawn, Bermúdez and Sucre disembark at nearby Cauranta, but become pinned down in Chachá Ravine when the garrison sallies in a counterattack. Finally, the patriot naval captain Antonio Díaz recaptures *Colombia*, and along with Brion, bombards Güiría sufficiently for its divided defender contingents to panic and flee west toward Río Caribe.

SEPTEMBER 1818. Royalist general Osorio strips the defenses at Talcahuano (Chile) of 35 guns and sets sail for Peru with his remaining 700 troops.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1818. The Mexican guerrilla leader Guerrero defeats his royalist pursuer Armijo at Tamo, wresting sufficient arms and ammunition to furbish 1,800 men.

OCTOBER 13, 1818. Repelled in an earlier attempt to seize Carúpano in northeastern Venezuela, Bermúdez retreats and instead captures the royalist outpost of Río Caribe on October 13. Two days later, however, the victorious patriots are surprised by a flying royalist column under Cmdr. Ramón Añés, who inflicts 60 casualties while driving the rest of these startled survivors out to sea.

OCTOBER 31, 1818. *Cariaco.* Patriot general Mariño advances upon the royalist outpost of Cariaco (Venezuela) with 1,140 infantrymen, 340 cavalrymen, and 40 gunners for his two fieldpieces. Rather than wait to be invaded, however, a portion of its 900-man garrison—after an ineffectual opening assault by the patriot vanguard under Col. Domingo Montes—unexpectedly sallies under Spanish commander Agustín Noguera and sows terror among the disorganized patriot army. Mariño must retreat precipitously toward Catuaro, suffering 400 killed or wounded during this rout.

NOVEMBER 1818. Patriot general Balcarce advances upon Concepción (Chile) with 3,400 men and eight fieldpieces, obliging royalist colonel Sánchez's smaller force to retire inland to Los Angeles.

NOVEMBER 1, 1818. Patriot general Sedeño destroys Hilario Torrealva's royalist stronghold at Quebrada Honda (Venezuela).

NOVEMBER 8, 1818. The Argentine federalist leader Estanislao López of Santa Fe surprises a rival republican army from Buenos Aires under Gen. Juan Bautista Bustos at Fraile Muerto (modern Bell Ville, on the Tercero River). López steals many of Bustos's mounts, yet the republicans press on into his territory regardless.

NOVEMBER 20, 1818. At Araya (Venezuela), Spanish captain José Guerrero—his squadron reinforced by troops from the Granada Infantry Battalion—surprises and defeats a patriot flotilla from Margarita



Thomas Alexander, Lord Cochrane. (National Maritime Museum, London)

Island under Commander Gutiérrez, taking five gunboats as prizes.

NOVEMBER 27, 1818. *Aguirre Ford.* Republican general Juan Ramón Balcarce of Buenos Aires attacks the outer defenses of Estanislao López's rival federalist capital of Santa Fe (Argentina). A direct assault is attempted at Aguirre Ford, masking a republican enveloping movement around a nearby hill, which outflanks López and compels him to retreat after sustaining heavy losses. Santa Fe is occupied, but the next day a 600-man republican pursuit column under Colonel Hortiguera is massacred at Aguiar Creek (north of this city); only its commander and a handful of troopers survive. This disaster, coupled with fatigue brought on by a lack of supplies or reinforcement, convinces Balcarce to evacuate his prize on December 4, retiring down the Paraná River toward Rosario.

NOVEMBER 28, 1818. The 42-year-old British naval officer Thomas Alexander, Lord Cochrane (later 10th Earl of Dundonald; also nephew to Rear Adm. Sir Alexander Cochrane), arrives in Valparaíso at the invitation of the newly independent Chilean government to assume command over the fledgling navy from Blanco Encalada, who has been transferred over from the Chilean army. Strength consists of the captured 50-gun frigate *O'Higgins* (ex-Spanish *María Isabel*), the former Indiamen *San Martín* of 56 and *Lautaro* of 44 guns, the 18-gun sloop *Galvarino* (formerly the British *Hecate*), plus the smaller *Chacabuco*, *Aracauno*, and *Pueyrredón*.

JANUARY 1819. After sailing northward from Valparaíso with the *O'Higgins* (flag), the *Lautaro*, the *San Martín*, and the *Chacabuco*, Cochrane attempts to surprise Callao with the former two vessels only, flying American colors. He is prevented by dense

Lord Cochrane

Thomas Alexander, Lord Cochrane, was born on December 14, 1775, at Annsfield, near Hamilton in South Lanarkshire in Scotland. He was the eldest of six sons of the eccentric 9th Earl of Dundonald. During Thomas's youth at the family estates at Culross in Fife, his father squandered his fortune trying to develop one of many inventions. The teenage lord therefore spent a brief spell in the Chauvet Military Academy in London before joining the Royal Navy as a midshipman in 1793 aboard his uncle's 28-gun frigate HMS *Hind*. Within three years, he was promoted to lieutenant and transferred with Adm. Lord Keith aboard the 98-gun flagship HMS *Barfleur* in 1798.

Brilliant and haughty, Cochrane was court-martialed for challenging the first lieutenant Philip Beaver to a duel. He was found innocent of this very serious charge and, instead, reprimanded for impoliteness. Cochrane then served in the Cadiz blockade and followed Keith aboard HMS *Queen Charlotte* to fight in the Mediterranean. In February 1800, Cochrane was sent as prize master aboard the captured 74-gun French warship the *Généreux*, going aloft with his brother to help sail it through a storm into Port Mahon. Put in command of the 14-gun, 54-man sloop HMS *Speedy*, he came on the burnt wreck-age of the *Queen Charlotte* on March 21 off Leghorn.

After rescuing its survivors, Cochrane was free to prowl off the coast of Spain for 15 months. With his tiny *Speedy*, he captured more than 50 prizes and even took the 32-gun, 319-man Spanish frigate *Gamo* on May 6, 1801. He was finally intercepted two months later by a French squadron and exchanged after a brief captivity. Although promoted to full captain as of August 8, he was not employed again until 1803 because of having incurred Admiral St. Vincent's displeasure. At last, Cochrane was given the new 32-gun frigate HMS *Pallas* in December 1804, then the 38-gun *Impérieuse* three years later. With them, he conducted such brilliant campaigns off the Mediterranean coast of France and Spain that Napoleon dubbed him the *Loup de Mer* or "Sea-Wolf."

Rich and famous, Cochrane was elected to Parliament in 1806. His drive to end corruption in the navy by embarrassing revelations won him enemies in high places. Society disapproved of his elopement in 1812 with Katherine "Kitty" Barnes, more than 20 years younger than he was. When the Great Stock Exchange Fraud broke two years later, Cochrane was implicated. After an unfair trial, he was sentenced to the pillory, a year's imprisonment, and a £1,000 fine. He was additionally stripped of his knighthood, as well as expelled from the navy and Parliament.

As popular as ever, however, Cochrane's fine was paid by a public fund drive, he was reelected as an MP, and he escaped prison. He traveled abroad to serve in the insurgent navies of Chile, Brazil, and Greece. In 1832, he received a royal pardon and was reinstated into the Royal Navy as a rear admiral. He died on October 31, 1860, and was buried with full honors in Westminster Abbey. His exploits inspired the novels of C. S. Forester's Horatio Hornblower and Patrick O'Brian's Jack Aubrey, as well as the *Star Trek* series of Gene Roddenberry.

fog, then fired upon once it clears, so he instead blockades Peru over the next five months. Numerous captures are made to obtain supplies, both on land (Huacho and Patavilca) and at sea before Cochrane finally returns into Valparaíso on June 16.

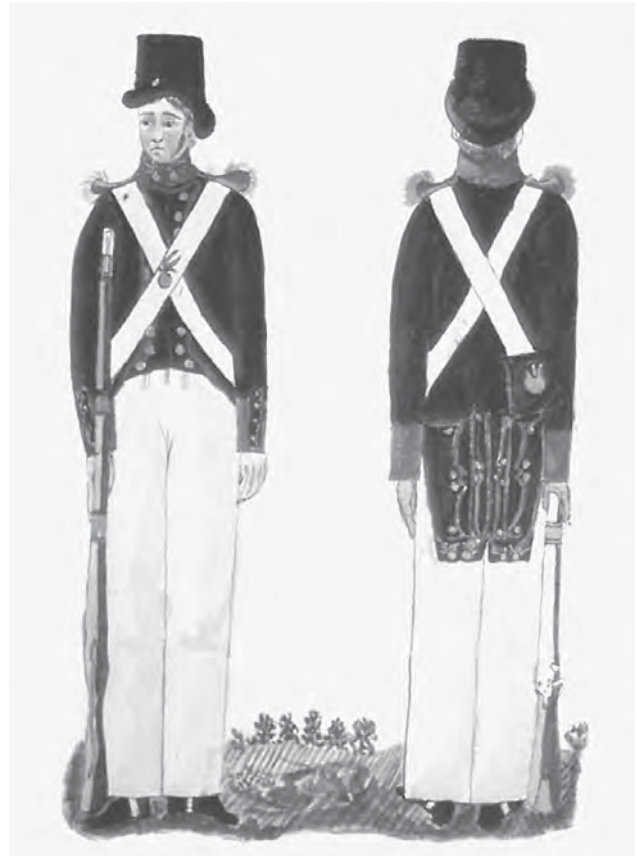
JANUARY 16, 1819. A contingent of Balcarce's retreating republican army under Col. Francisco Pico is overtaken at Pergamino (Argentina) by 600 rival federalist troops—mostly Indians—from Santa Fe under the Irish-born Pedro Campbell and defeated.

JANUARY 17, 1819. After being reinforced at the mouth of the Pao River (Venezuela) by a squadron of English cavalry under Col. James Rooke and 459 infantrymen under Monagas, Bolívar merges with Cedeño's division and other reinforcements from Araguaquén marching to join Páez at San Juan de Payara. This coalescence gives the patriots some 1,000 cavalymen and 3,400 infantrymen, far fewer than the 7,000 royalists assembling at Calabozo under de la Torre. Learning that more English mercenaries are arriving at Angostura under colonels George Elsom and James T. English, the Liberator proceeds there to incorporate them into his "Army of the West."

JANUARY 19, 1819. On the banks of the Bío Bío River (Chile), patriot forces defeat the last scattered remnants of royalist resistance in the region, capturing 70 men and five fieldpieces.

JANUARY 24, 1819. Morillo crosses the Apure River at San Fernando (Venezuela) with 4,700 infantrymen and 1,500 cavalymen, erecting a small fort before advancing without opposition and occupying the vacated patriot headquarters at San Juan de Payara. Páez shadows his movements with *llanero* cavalry, watching as the Spaniards traverse the Arauca and seize deserted El Caujaral by February 5. Resuming his march four days later, Morillo reaches as far as Cunaviche before retracing his steps and recrossing the Arauca on February 25. After reinforcing San Juan de Payara and San Fernando, he occupies Achaguas (the capital of Apure Province) on March 8.

FEBRUARY 5, 1819. *San Nicolás de los Arroyos.* Estanislao López's federalist advance down the Paraná River from Santa Fe (Argentina) is at last halted at San Nicolás de los Arroyos, when his 700 troops are repelled by 2,400 republicans marching north



Royalist artillerymen clad in blue coats with red trim, brass buttons, black hats, and white cross-belts and trousers. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

out of Buenos Aires under General Viamonte. His rear threatened by Bustos, López then retires west.

FEBRUARY 16, 1819. Bolívar is elected president of the Venezuelan Congress at Angostura.

FEBRUARY 18, 1819. Republican general Bustos, holding a defensive position at La Herradura on the Tercero River (Argentina) with 700 troops, is attacked by federalist commander López. The defenders respond to the initial probes with a feeble fire, but then break a federalist cavalry charge with heavy volleys, allowing José María Paz's and Lamadrid's troopers to launch countercharges. This fighting continues the next day, at which point López breaks off the action to deal with Viamonte approaching his rear.

MARCH 10, 1819. While advancing west from Rosario (Argentina), republican general Viamonte's 400-man cavalry vanguard under Colonel Hortiguera is annihilated by federalist Estanislao López at Las Barrancas (18 miles southeast of Fraile Muerto

on the Tercero River). This disaster compels Viamonte to retreat into Rosario, where he is besieged by the federalists and eventually agrees to the San Lorenzo armistice signed on April 12.

MARCH 11, 1819. Brion sorties from Margarita Island (Venezuela) with nine patriot vessels manned by 1,300 crew members to challenge a Spanish flotilla recently sighted off that coast: the Cuban-built corvette *Ninfa* (flag), a brigantine, two schooners, and 14 smaller consorts. The Spanish flee to the protection of the Spanish batteries at Cumaná the next day, leaving Brion to snap up a number of prizes along the coast.

MARCH 26, 1819. A small royalist army under Olañeta and Vigil briefly occupies Jujuy in northern Argentina, retreating soon afterward out of fear of being besieged inside by *gaucho* guerrilla raids.

MARCH 27, 1819. This morning, while approaching Morillo's army—which is resting in Achaguas (Venezuela)—Bolívar attacks a 364-man Spanish outpost at Gamarra Ranch, 15 miles outside this city. The outnumbered loyalist defenders manage to slip across the Apure River, thus carrying a warning to Morillo. When the Liberator nears Achaguas the next day, the Spaniards advance in battle array, then both armies camp opposite each other on the banks of the Arauca.

On April 2, Páez fords this river with 150 riders for a reconnaissance in strength and lures Morillo's cavalry into the open before turning at Queseras del Medio and inflicting scores of casualties. Two days later, Morillo retires into Achaguas, and Bolívar departs in search of forage.

APRIL 10, 1819. Patriot colonel Antonio Rangel's cavalry regiment attacks 300 Spanish soldiers at Alejo Mill (six miles outside Nutrias, Venezuela), mauling this formation before retiring.

MAY 1, 1819. Morillo's Spanish army recrosses the Apure River (Venezuela), abandoning Achaguas at the approach of the rainy season.

MAY 26, 1819. Bolívar also quits the Apure region (Venezuela) at the beginning of the rainy season, leading three cavalry squadrons (800 troopers) and four infantry battalions (1,300 men) from El Mantecal, to campaign farther west in New Granada (Colombia). On June 4, they cross the Arauca River,

entering Casanare Province and reaching the patriot stronghold of Tame by June 11.

JUNE 12, 1819. *Cantaura.* Patriot general Mariño's 900 fusiliers and 400 *llanero* lancers collide with Cmdr. Eugenio de Arana's 700 Spanish infantrymen—mostly from the Reina Battalion—and 110 cavalrymen at Cantaura Ranch (south of Barcelona, Venezuela). In a 15-mile pursuit north up the Unare riverbanks, the loyalists suffer 250 killed, wounded, captured, or missing, compared to 24 dead and 47 injured among the patriots.

JUNE 15, 1819. At Itacurupí Ford over the Camacuan River (north of San Borja, Uruguay), the patriot leader Andresito is annihilated by Portuguese general Abreu.

JUNE 27, 1819. Entering the Andes, Bolívar's army disperses 300 royalists guarding the town of Paya (Colombia). After resting five days, they then press on toward the Pisba Plain.

JULY 17, 1819. Patriot general Urdaneta occupies the evacuated town of Barcelona (Venezuela), having disembarked nearby two days earlier with 1,200 troops—mostly British mercenaries, although also including some Germans under Major Freudenthal and Venezuelans under Commander Cala. The unpaid English contingent proves highly refractory, drunkenly looting buildings and refusing to help subdue Barcelona's harbor castle because of disillusionment over their service conditions. Instead, Brion's patriot marines must carry the royalist garrison.

The next day, the Spanish corvettes *Ninfa* and *Descubierta*, brig *Morillo*, schooner *Conejito*, and two falouches appear outside Barcelona, being chased east-northeastward back into Cumaná by Brion's 12 small men-of-war. Urdaneta is under orders to link up with Bermúdez's army, but it is nowhere to be found.

JULY 20, 1819. *Pantano de Vargas.* After a number of skirmishes, Bolívar's army meets the 3rd Spanish Division under Lt. Col. José María Barreiro (original 19th-century spelling is Barreyro) in Colombia's Bonza Plains. Both units circle each other warily, probing at long range until noon of July 25 when—after crossing the Sogamoso River and heading toward Salitre—the 2,500 patriots are finally checked while passing east of Vargas Swamp.

British Legion

Tens of thousands of first-rate English servicemen were demobilized at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Taking advantage of this situation, an agent of Bolívar named Luis López Méndez arrived in London and, in late May 1817, began hiring discharged officers and noncoms to help bolster South America's struggle for independence. Many veterans on half pay were attracted by promotion to a rank above their previous one, with salaries to start as soon as they reached Venezuela.

By August 1817, four regiments and an artillery brigade were raised. This first "British Legion" set sail by December, although much of Colonel Skeene's regiment would be lost when their transport *Indian* sank in a storm. The other four ships reached Grenada by late February 1818, but the 800 Legionnaires aboard were disappointed to find no patriot welcome. Instead, they had to straggle into Venezuela as best they could.

BRITISH LEGION TROOPS

Name	Men	Materials	Commander
1st Venezuelan Hussars	190	—	Col. Gustavus Hippisley
2nd Venezuelan Hussars	120	—	Col. Henry Wilson
1st Venezuelan Lancers	220	—	Col. Robert Skeene
1st Venezuelan Rifles	237	—	Col. Donald Campbell
—	90	5 six-pounders and a howitzer	Col. Joseph Gilmour

Still, the Legion made such a favorable impression on Bolívar the next month at the Battle of Ortiz that in June 1818 its 36-year-old lieutenant colonel James Towers English was sent back to Britain to recruit a second force. Between January and April 1819, he sent over another 1,050 troops, followed shortly thereafter by another 900 under George Elsom. This second "British Legion" was assembled in stages on Margarita Island under Col. James Rooke. (An Irish exile in the United States named John d'Evereux also raised 1,700 of his compatriots by year's end, becoming known as the "Irish Legion.")

English reached Margarita on April 7, 1819, to assume command as brigadier general of this second British force, under the Venezuelan general Rafael Urdaneta. But English found his Legionnaires in a bad way. Heat, shortages of food and water, and disease had already claimed 250 lives. When the small army pushed across to the mainland on July 15, poor British discipline led to the pillage of Barcelona. Still, the Legionnaires fought bravely the next month in the assault on Cumaná, suffering heavy losses before retiring. And despite such a poor start, more British volunteers continued to reach the Legion. It fought on under Bolívar to his great victory at Carabobo and beyond.

Taking up position on the heights opposite, Barreiro sends his 1st "Del Rey" Battalion under Lt. Col. Nicolás López in an encircling maneuver against Bolívar's left wing, thus seriously discomfiting the Liberator's rearguard. His republican army is only saved from outright annihilation by Col. James Rooke's "British Legion," which bravely dislodges the royalists from these heights, despite seeing their commander fall badly wounded (he dies three days later). Col. Juan José Rondón then smashes Barreiro's counterattack with a *llanero* squadron before fighting ceases altogether at nightfall, amid heavy rain. Royalist losses are estimated at 300 killed, injured, or missing, compared to 104 dead and wounded among the patriots.

Neither side wishes to renew action the next day. The Spaniards retire toward the town of Paipa, and the patriots, toward the Bonza corrals. Eventually, Bolívar's army is allowed to advance one week later without any further challenges. Paipa is occupied by the patriots on August 3, and Tunja is taken two days later.

JULY 21, 1819. Hoping to surprise the Spanish garrison at Guanare (Venezuela), Páez's 700 *llaneros* instead stumble upon a 200-man detachment from the Barinas Battalion under Captain Durán stationed at La Cruz, 30 miles northwest of Nutrias. A furious battle erupts in which the patriots suffer 25 killed and 96 wounded, as opposed to 45 dead and 85 wounded among the outnumbered loyalists, who nonetheless manage to make a fighting retreat.

JULY 26, 1819. American commodore Oliver Hazard Perry reaches Angostura (Venezuela) on an official visit to protest Admiral Brion's detention of the merchant vessels *Tiger* and *Liberty*. (His USS *John Adams* drawing too much water, Perry has left it at Trinidad and ventured up the Orinoco aboard his consort, the schooner *Nonsuch*.) After contacting the Venezuelan vice president Francisco Antonio Zea, the commodore reverses course, only to die of yellow fever at the mouth of the Orinoco on August 23.

AUGUST 1, 1819. Urdaneta abandons Barcelona (Venezuela) with his 1,200 recalcitrant English mercenaries, sailing east-northeast aboard Brion's patriot squadron to invest the nearby royalist stronghold of Cumaná. Disembarking at Bordones the next day, his men unsuccessfully storm Fort Agua Santa's walls on August 5, then after another three

days of bloody repulses, retire southeast toward Maturín. Brigadier General English is replaced in disgrace.

AUGUST 6, 1819. Five days after the patriot general Urdaneta has quit Barcelona (Venezuela), this port is occupied by another insurgent contingent under Bermúdez.

AUGUST 7, 1819. *Boyacá.* After another two weeks of feinting against Bolívar's army, Barreiro is retiring southwest toward Bogotá (Colombia) with two divisions. Col. Francisco Jiménez commands the royalist vanguard—500 men of the 2nd “Numancia” Infantry Battalion under Lt. Col. Juan Tolrá, 350 of the 3rd Numancia Infantry Battalion under Lt. Col. Juan Loño, plus 160 dragoons under Lieutenant Colonel Salazar—while Barreiro's main body consists of 640 men of the 1st Del Rey Infantry Battalion under Lt. Col. Nicolás López, 400 of the 2nd Del Rey Infantry Battalion under Major Figueroa, 480 Tambo Chasseurs under Lt. Col. Esteban Díaz, 320 Granada Dragoons under Lt. Col. Victor Sierra, plus 90 gunners under Lieutenant Coletes for two howitzers and a fieldpiece.

Learning of this movement, Bolívar intercepts them at 2:00 p.m. while they are recrossing the Boyacá River bridge. Gen. Francisco de Paula Santander commands the patriots' Colombian vanguard: 400 men of Col. Joaquín París's *Cazador* Battalion, 410 of Lt. Col. Antonio Obando's 1st Line Battalion, plus the 1st Squadron (200 troopers) of Capt. Diego Ibarra's Apure Guides. General Anzoátegui's center division consists of 220 men of Lt. Col. Arthur Sandes's Rifle Battalion, 120 British Legionnaires under Major Mackintosh, 300 infantrymen of Col. Ambrosio Plaza's Barcelona Battalion, 300 of Colonel Cruz's “Bravos de Páez” Battalion, as well as the 2nd Squadron (200 troopers) of Apure Guides under Colonel Mujica. Bolívar brings up the rear with 500 militiamen of the Tunja Battalion under Cmdr. José Gabriel Lugo, 300 of the Socorro Battalion under Commander Soler, 300 lancers of the *Llano-arriba* (Upper Plains) Regiment under Col. Juan José Rondón, plus 90 carabineers of Capt. Juan Mellado's 3rd Squadron.

After Santander gains the heights, this battle starts with some light cavalry skirmishes. Colonel Jiménez's royalist chasseurs cross the bridge, forming a battle line. At this point, Barreiro orders his main body to withdraw about three-quarters of a mile, thereby allowing the insurgents to come between

both contingents. Santander immediately storms the bridge, while Anzoátegui attacks Barreiro's right and center with his lancers. The right flank of the Spanish infantry is encircled, and their artillery captured, while the patriot rifle battalion assaults it from the front. Meanwhile, the royalist cavalry are cut up and flee, abandoning Barreiro to his fate.

Exposed and without either guns or cavalry, the Spanish general surrenders at 4:30 p.m. along with 1,600 of his infantrymen and entire supply train. Lieutenant Colonel Loño and dragoon lieutenant colonel Sebastián Díaz lead the last few royalist survivors off toward Chiquinquirá. This victory opens the road into New Granada's capital. The next morning, the Liberator rides toward Bogotá with the *Llano-arriba* Regiment, eventually taking control of 12 provinces as a result of this triumph.

AUGUST 9, 1819. This morning, Viceroy Juan Sámano abandons his capital of Bogotá (Colombia), allowing Bolívar to enter triumphantly the next afternoon. After a month and a half spent installing a new administration, the Liberator withdraws to Venezuela, where a coup by Arismendi has challenged his title as president.

AUGUST 11, 1819. Bermúdez's 1,300-man patriot army is driven out of Barcelona (Venezuela) by the approach of the 2nd Navarra and 2nd Valencey Infantry battalions under Spanish colonel José Pereira.

SEPTEMBER 1819. Cochrane's insurgent squadron again returns to blockade the Peruvian port of Callao.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1819. Patriot general Soublette—marching east through the Andes after Bolívar's triumph at Boyacá—clashes with 800 royalists under de la Torre, who are attempting to bar his path at Alto de las Cruces (near Cúcuta, Colombia). Neither side gains any advantage after several hours' combat, during which 60 casualties are inflicted upon each side. The outnumbered Spaniards eventually feel compelled, however, to retire northeast into Mérida de la Grita, temporarily allowing these insurgents passage into northwestern Venezuela.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1819. Patriot naval captain Antonio Díaz—operating far up the Apure with a river squadron—captures 30 loyalist vessels from Nutrias (Venezuela) opposite the town of San Antonio, then

destroys a flotilla from San Fernando at the mouth of Portuguesa River, leaving both cities isolated.

OCTOBER 1819. The Spaniards abandon San Fernando, Nutrias, and Barinas (Venezuela), retiring north.

Also in October, exasperated by a week-long sack of Ríohacha (Colombia) by 300 British occupiers under MacGregor, the residents rise and slaughter 250 of these patriot troops, restoring royalist rule.

OCTOBER 11, 1819. In Bogotá (Colombia), Santander orders the execution by firing squad of Barreiro and 38 other captive Spanish officers.

NOVEMBER 11, 1819. Tucumán (Argentina) proclaims itself an independent republic, with Gen. Bernabé Aráoz as its “Supreme Director.”

NOVEMBER 15, 1819. Patriot general Anzoátegui dies at Pamplona (Colombia) at 30 years of age.

DECEMBER 14, 1819. In a desperate bid to free his country from Portuguese occupation, Uruguayan leader Artigas invades southwestern Brazil with a small army, defeating a contingent under Abreu outside Santa Maria (Río Grande do Sul Province). This victory prompts 3,000 Portuguese troops to enter the area, annihilating Artigas’s vanguard at Belarmino Ravine a few days later and scattering his followers back into Uruguay.

DECEMBER 17, 1819. Páez occupies Barinas (Venezuela)—abandoned by its Spanish garrison—with 1,200 *llaneros* and 1,900 infantrymen of the Colombian *Tiradores* and Boyacá battalions, the Bravos de Apure Battalion, and an English contingent.

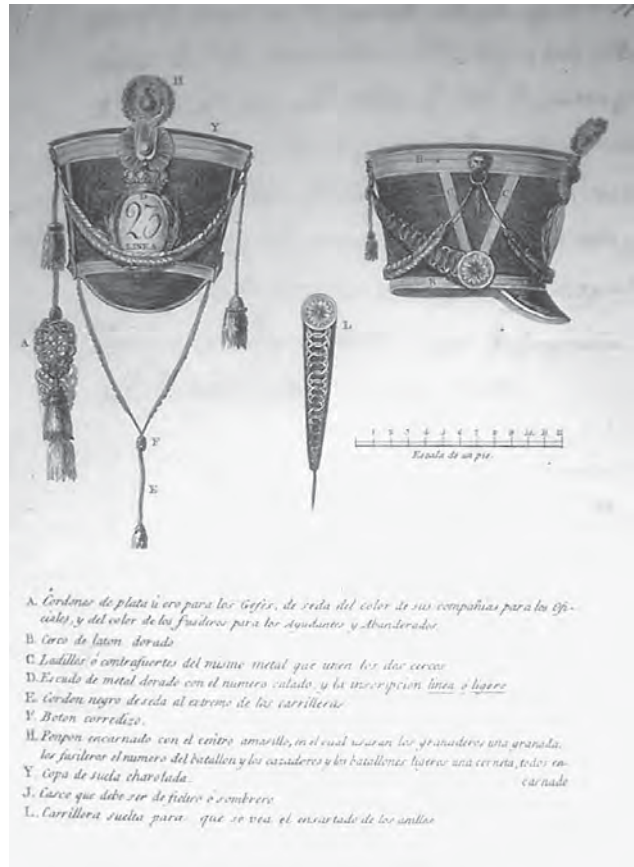
DECEMBER 23, 1819. A royalist contingent under Col. Manuel Lorenzo advances east from Carúpano (Venezuela) and reoccupies Yaguaraparo from the insurgents.

JANUARY 1, 1820. At the town of Cabezas de San Juan (near Seville, Spain), Col. Rafael del Riego of the 2nd Battalion of the Asturias Regiment—rather than take ship with his men for the Americas—mutinies against Ferdinand VII, calling for the restoration of the liberal constitution of March 1812. His example is followed by other contingents of the 14,000-man expeditionary force preparing under Calleja to reconquer the River Plate. Popular sup-

port will eventually compel the king to accept this resolution by March 9, its effects soon spreading to the New World.

JANUARY 8, 1820. Civil war having resumed a month and a half earlier between republican Buenos Aires and federalist Santa Fe, a contingent of Argentine troops under Bustos—marching to join Supreme Director Rondeau at San Nicolás—mutinies and withdraws into Córdoba rather than proceed with this antifederalist campaign, and Bustos is acclaimed city governor. The next day, Capt. Mariano Mendizábal’s 1st Battalion of *Cazadores de los Andes* (“Andean Chasseurs”) does the same at San Juan, rising and proclaiming its leader as governor of that town—although he is soon deposed by Lieutenant Corro.

JANUARY 17, 1820. Cochrane appears outside Valdivia—the last remaining loyalist stronghold in southern Chile—masquerading his flagship *O’Higgins* as the royal frigate *Prueba*, which is daily expected



Shakos for the 23rd Royalist Line Regiment. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

by the Spaniards from around Cape Horn. Capturing Valdivia's pilot, along with a Spanish officer and four soldiers sent out aboard a harbor boat because of this ruse, the admiral inspects the harbor entrance and some of its batteries before being driven off by gunfire.

Cochrane also learns that the 18-gun sloop *Potrillo* is anticipated from Callao with the garrison's *situado* or "payroll," so he intercepts it on January 19. Its charts prove valuable, therefore the British commander hastens to Penco outside Concepción to request a military contingent from its governor, Col. Ramón Freire. He quickly agrees, assigning 250 troops of the 1st Chilean Line Battalion and 3rd Arauco Battalion to this enterprise under the ex-Napoleonic mercenary major George Beauchef. Cochrane separates *Potrillo* on January 25 to convey dispatches to Valparaíso.

Cochrane then puts out to sea again with his *O'Higgins* on the evening of January 28, bound for Valdivia with the Argentine brig *Intrépido* of Capt. Thomas Carter and the Chilean schooner *Moctezuma* under Capt. Robert Casey. While the British admiral is asleep at night, his flagship strikes a reef north of Santa María Island, flooding the hold and dampening all the powder. The expedition nonetheless continues south.

JANUARY 22, 1820. *Tacuarembó Chico.* Some 2,000 Uruguayan patriots under General Latorre are annihilated on the western banks of the Tacuarembó River by 3,000 Portuguese troops under Gen. Gaspar de Sousa Filgueiras, effectively ending organized opposition to Brazil's occupation of this country. (On July 18, 1821, Uruguay is annexed into the Portuguese empire as the "Cisplatine Province," and remains so until 1825.)

JANUARY 23, 1820. At Barbacoas Cliff below the Carare confluence on the Magdalena River (Colombia), a 26-vessel patriot river squadron of 100 sailors and 127 soldiers under Lt. Col. José Antonio Mayz y Alcalá confronts 11 Spanish gunboats manned by 300 sailors under naval captain Mier, plus 153 soldiers under Lt. Col. Isidro Barradas. After a lengthy struggle in which Barradas's troops are defeated on land and four Spanish vessels are captured by the patriots (along with 87 prisoners), a badly wounded Mayz wins control over the Magdalena.

JANUARY 24, 1820. At dawn, Calzada's 1,000 royalists—including the Quito and Patía Infantry

battalions—surprise the 600 patriots stationed at Popayán (Colombia) under Col. Antonio Obando, utterly routing this garrison.

FEBRUARY 1, 1820. *Cepeda.* Buenos Aires supreme director Rondeau's 2,000 demoralized men are attacked southwest of San Nicolás on the banks of Cepeda Creek by 1,600 federalists under Estanislao López and Brigadier General Ramírez, who circle behind their enemy and scatter the host. Shortly thereafter, Rondeau retreats into San Nicolás with only 900 effectives and resigns as supreme director on February 10. Two weeks later, the Argentine Civil War officially ends with the signing of the Treaty of Pilar—although the Uruguayan leader Artigas refuses to acknowledge its validity, thereby bringing him into conflict with his former ally Ramírez.

FEBRUARY 3, 1820. *Fall of Valdivia.* At 4:00 p.m., Cochrane materializes at Aguada del Inglés outside this loyalist port with only the *Intrépido* and the *Moctezuma*, which are disguised as Spanish vessels. Suspicious gunners nonetheless open fire from Fort Inglés, upon which the English mercenary major William Miller leads 44 Chilean marines ashore in two launches, securing a foothold for the entire 325-man landing force to disembark. Overnight, Cochrane directs a series of encirclements behind forts Inglés, San Carlos, and Amargos in rapid succession, all of which are hastily abandoned by their uneasy defenders.

Shortly after midnight, the attackers arrive at the rear gate of Fort Corral, the main Spanish stronghold along the southwestern shore. It is carried in a half hour of confused fighting, most of its defenders rowing away for Valdivia, leaving Col. Fausto del Hoyo to surrender. This capture secures possession of all the western peninsula for Cochrane, at a cost of 7 dead and 19 wounded.

When the *Intrépido* and the *Moctezuma* anchor off the captured fort at dawn, they are fired upon by nearby Fort Niebla, until the waterlogged *O'Higgins* slowly enters the estuary. Believing that its lowness in the water means it is full of more troops and weaponry, the demoralized Spaniards also flee Fort Niebla. That same morning, a boatload of Valdivians appeal to Cochrane, saying that the royalists have looted their city, murdered some inhabitants, and dispersed. The insurgent flotilla therefore proceeds upriver to occupy Valdivia uncontested.

Cochrane's audacity has won past the 17 small forts and batteries guarding Valdivia's approaches, which bristled with a total of 128 cannons. The

defenders included 166 Spanish regulars of the Cantabria Battalion, 219 gunners of the Royal Spanish Artillery Corps, 417 Valdivian militiamen, and 107 chasseurs of the “Dragones de la Reina” Regiment out of Concepción. The outnumbered attackers’ booty includes the anchored ship *Dolores*, plus vast amounts of ammunition and stores. The city is stripped bare, then abandoned.

FEBRUARY 27, 1820. Cochrane returns into Valparaíso after conquering Valdivia.

MARCH 6, 1820. A popular uprising in Buenos Aires deposes the interim governor Sarratea in favor of Gen. Juan Ramón Balcarce. Six days later, the former is reinstalled in office by Estanislao López’s and Brigadier General Ramírez’s federalist army.

MARCH 12, 1820. Patriot admiral Brion appears before Ríohacha (Colombia) from Margarita Island (Venezuela) with 10 small warships and 6 transports bearing Col. Mariano Montilla’s contingent—mostly 700 disgruntled Irish mercenaries, raised and brought from Europe by Lt. Col. John d’Evereux—to reoccupy this Colombian port following its inhabitants’ uprising against MacGregor (*see* “October 1819” entry). The few Spanish defenders under Gov. José Solís flee west toward Santa Marta that same night, allowing the patriots to disembark and enter this empty town unopposed the next day.

APRIL 1820. Spanish general Morillo receives orders from Madrid to promulgate the liberal constitution of 1812. After considerable hesitation, he contacts Bolívar to attempt to arrange a truce toward this end, although realizing that its articles will sap the royalist cause. Desertions to the patriots increase throughout this year.

APRIL 28, 1820. Patriot colonel José Mires, having been detached from Gen. Manuel Valdés’s division at Bogotá to march southwestward with the Albión and Guías de Carvajal battalions, perceives a 310-man royalist unit under Captain Domínguez approaching La Plata (Colombia), which he instantly attacks and outflanks. The Spaniards are routed, suffering 80 casualties and 100 prisoners, as opposed to 28 killed or wounded and 19 missing among the patriot ranks. This small victory opens the way into the Cauca Valley.

MAY 6, 1820. In light of the political upheaval in Spain, royalist general Morillo unilaterally declares a

40-day truce in Venezuela and Colombia, to which all insurgents adhere.

MAY 18, 1820. *Laguna Salada.* After being forced to the defensive and compelled to retire into Ríohacha (Colombia) by the approach of 1,200 loyalists from Santa Marta under Col. Vicente Sánchez Lima, patriot colonel Montilla is further distracted to learn that his 700 Irish mercenaries under d’Evereux refuse to serve the insurgent cause any longer because of lack of pay and food. Notwithstanding this mutiny, the defenders are able to repel a royalist assault against Ríohacha two days later, although the Irishmen subsequently refuse to sally and chase the enemy away.

Montilla must therefore sortie on May 25 with only 380 marines and local militiamen, two fieldpieces, and 200 loyal Irish lancers under Lt. Col. Francis Burdett O’Connor to give battle against Sánchez Lima’s host, which is waiting at nearby Laguna Salada. Despite being outnumbered, the patriots drive the loyalists back, then smash them at Sabana del Patrón, precipitating a headlong flight toward Santa Marta. Montilla thereupon returns into Ríohacha and, with some difficulty, disarms his refractory Irish mutineers, deporting them to Jamaica on June 4.

MAY 24, 1820. The merchants of Veracruz organize a battalion called the “Fernando VII Volunteers” and compel the garrison commander, José Dávila, to proclaim the 1812 liberal constitution. Similar demonstrations occur at Jalapa and other Mexican towns.

MAY 28, 1820. A 4,000-man royalist army under General Ramírez Orozco—with Canterac, Olañeta, José María Valdéz, Marquiegui, Agustín Gamarra, and Vigil as his colonels—occupies Jujuy in northern Argentina, then enters Salta three days later. Their southward progression grows progressively slower, however, as *gaucho* guerrilla resistance stiffens.

JUNE 5, 1820. After the departure of his Irish mutineers, patriot colonel Montilla is compelled to abandon his shaky foothold at Ríohacha (Colombia), sailing southwest with Brion to Sabinilla at the mouth of the Magdalena River by June 11, subsequently to proceed upriver and by June 20 join Lt. Col. José María Córdova’s forces, who have captured Mompos.

JUNE 6, 1820. *Pitayó.* Patriot generals Valdés and Mires, advancing southward down the Cauca Valley

(Colombia) with more than 2,000 troops to put down resistance around Popayán, collide at Pitayó with a loyalist contingent barring the Las Moras Moor approach route. The latter consist of 1,100 troops of the *Cazadores* and Patía battalions under veteran lieutenant colonel Nicolás López. Royalist general Calzada is meanwhile guarding the Guanas Moor approach route farther to the east—at Piendamó—with 500 men of the Aragón Infantry Regiment, plus 100 cavalymen.

Without waiting for Mires's rearguard to join from Páramo, Valdés storms López's lines with his vanguard at noon, only to be repelled. The royalists counterattack, but over the next three hours their resistance is worn down until a charge by the patriot Albión Battalion and Juan Carvajal's Guías breaks the defenders' will. López's army flees toward Guambia, leaving behind 133 casualties and 150 prisoners, compared to 30 dead and 62 wounded among the attackers. (This victory will soon compel the outnumbered royalists to evacuate Popayán without a fight. Valdés enters it triumphantly—after uniting with Concha at Cali—at the head of 2,400 men. However, the patriot general's subsequent harshness blunts the welcome extended by the inhabitants, so royalist resistance continues to smolder.)

JUNE 8, 1820. *Cuesta de la Pedrera.* At dawn, a large patriot guerrilla force under colonels Zerda and Zabala attacks a 2,000-man royalist column southeast of Salta (Argentina), bedeviling it until afternoon, when the royalists regain the city's defenses. Shortly thereafter, they begin a general retirement northward, their rearguard being overtaken six days later at Yala, suffering 60 killed and 200 wounded.

JUNE 15, 1820. *Guachas.* In the Entre Ríos district, south of Tala on the western banks of the Guleaguay River, the Uruguayan patriot Artigas's 2,200 men defeat 500–600 Argentine federalists under Brigadier General Ramírez; heavy casualties are sustained on both sides. The latter retreats downriver, hard pressed by Artigas. Nine days later at Avalos, however, Ramírez takes up a strong defensive position with 900 men and pulverizes his pursuers. Artigas is obliged to make a fighting retreat into Paraguay, which he reaches by September 23, where he is kept a virtual prisoner by its dictator, Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia, for the next 30 years.

JUNE 22, 1820. Patriot colonel Lara and Lt. Col. Francisco Carmona advance from Tamalameque (northeastern Colombia) with 1,500 troops, com-

ing upon Sánchez Lima's 1,100 loyalists two days later at Chiriguaná and scattering them back toward Santa Marta, thus opening up the way for an offensive against Maracaibo.

JUNE 25, 1820. At dawn, a 100-man patriot river squadron under Lieutenant Colonel Córdova and Cmdr. Hermógenes Maza surprise their Spanish counterparts at Tenerife (Colombia). Approaching aboard 7 boats—after first depositing Córdova's troops ashore—Maza captures 9 of the 11 Spanish craft and slaughters their crews. The loyalist commander Vicente Villa blows himself up with his flagship rather than surrender. Of 300 Spaniards present, only 27 are captured alive, and another 70 grenadiers of the León Regiment (stationed ashore under Cmdr. Esteban Díaz) manage to escape. This victory gives the patriots total control over the Magdalena River.

JUNE 28, 1820. *Cañada de la Cruz.* In Argentina's renewed civil war, federalist Estanislao López and the Chilean-born brigadier general José Miguel Carrera march upon Buenos Aires with slightly more than 1,500 troops to restore their ally Alvear as governor. At Cañada de la Cruz, 12 miles southwest of Campana, they are confronted by 1,750 soldiers under rival governor Soler, with French and Pagola as his brigadier generals.

While advancing to commence this battle, French's right wing of the Buenos Aires army unwittingly marches into a swamp, compelling this entire unit to surrender without firing a shot. Soler's main body then sustains some 200 killed, obliging him to retreat from the field and to resign as governor a few days later. The federalists are unable to gain the capital, however, and instead Dorrego is named Soler's successor, while Alvear becomes governor of Luján as a consolation.

JULY 1, 1820. Patriot colonel Montilla establishes his 700 troops at Turbaco (Colombia), supported by Admiral Brion's squadron offshore, to harass the royalist lines of communication leading into Cartagena, only 12 miles away. Its 1,150-man Spanish garrison is rent by dissension because of the recent political turmoil in Spain (see "January 1, 1820" entry), so it does not react. Instead, Viceroy Sámano and other officials are deposed by a coup led by Brig. Gen. Gabriel Torres.

JULY 18, 1820. *Dorrego's Offensive.* This new governor sallies from Buenos Aires with a small army to

drive away the rival Argentine federalist force under López. Two weeks later, on August 2, Dorrego makes a rapid nocturnal march to fall upon 700 unsuspecting federalists under Col. José M. Benavente at San Nicolás. At a cost of 7 dead and 42 wounded, Dorrego destroys this unit, killing 60 and capturing 450. The governor then achieves a second victory 10 days later when he crosses Pavón Creek with 1,500 riders and disperses 500 troopers encamped on its north bank under López himself.

At Gamonal (Pavón Creek headwaters), however, Dorrego's good luck runs out on September 2 when he overtakes the fleeing López with 600 riders and a fieldpiece. Not realizing his opponent has been reinforced and now commands 1,000 cavalymen, both armies collide in a frontal charge that sees Dorrego enveloped and forced to surrender after suffering 320 killed and 100 captured.

AUGUST 20, 1820. At Valparaíso, San Martín leads 2,400 Argentine and 2,000 Chilean troops aboard the transports *Dolores*, *Gaditana*, *Consecuencia*, *Emprendedora*, *Santa Rosa*, *Aguila*, *Mackenna*, *Perla*, *Jerezana*, *Peruana*, *Golondrina*, *Minerva*, *Libertad*, *Argentina*, *Hércules*, and *Potrillo*, planning to sail northward and invade royalist Peru. His Argentine contingent consists of 457 men of Col. Pedro Conde's 7th Infantry Battalion, 478 of the 8th Infantry Battalion under Col. Enrique Martínez, 583 of the 11th Infantry Battalion under Maj. Ramón Antonio Deheza, 418 horse grenadiers under Col. Rudecindo Alvarado, 283 chasseurs under Col. Mariano Necocha, plus 213 gunners under Major Luna. The Chilean contingent is comprised of 630 men of Col. Santiago Aldunate's 2nd Infantry Battalion, 678 of Lieutenant Colonel Sánchez's 4th Infantry Battalion, 343 of Col. Mariano Larrazábal's 5th Infantry Battalion, 52 of Col. Enrique Campino's 6th Infantry Battalion, 30 troopers of Lt. Col. Diego Guzmán's 2nd Dragoon Regiment, 230 artillerymen under Lieutenant Colonel Borgoño, plus 53 sappers. They are accompanied by 35 fieldpieces.

This expedition sets sail the next morning, escorted by Cochrane's 64-gun, 1,300-ton flagship *San Martín* (formerly the British *Cumberland*); the frigates 44-gun, 1,220-ton *O'Higgins* (Spanish prize *María Isabel*), 46-gun, 850-ton *Lautaro* (former British *Windham*), and 28-gun, 380-ton *Independencia* (ex-American *Curiosity*); the brigantines 18-gun, 398-ton *Galvarino* (formerly the *Lucy*), 16-gun, 270-ton *Araucano* (former American *Columbus*), and 16-gun, 220-ton *Pueyreddón* (the Spanish prize *Aguila*);

as well as another prize, the 7-gun, 200-ton sloop *Montezuma*. This squadron is manned by 1,600 sailors, of whom approximately 600 are British.

AUGUST 22, 1820. In Mexico City, a general pardon is offered to all insurgents.

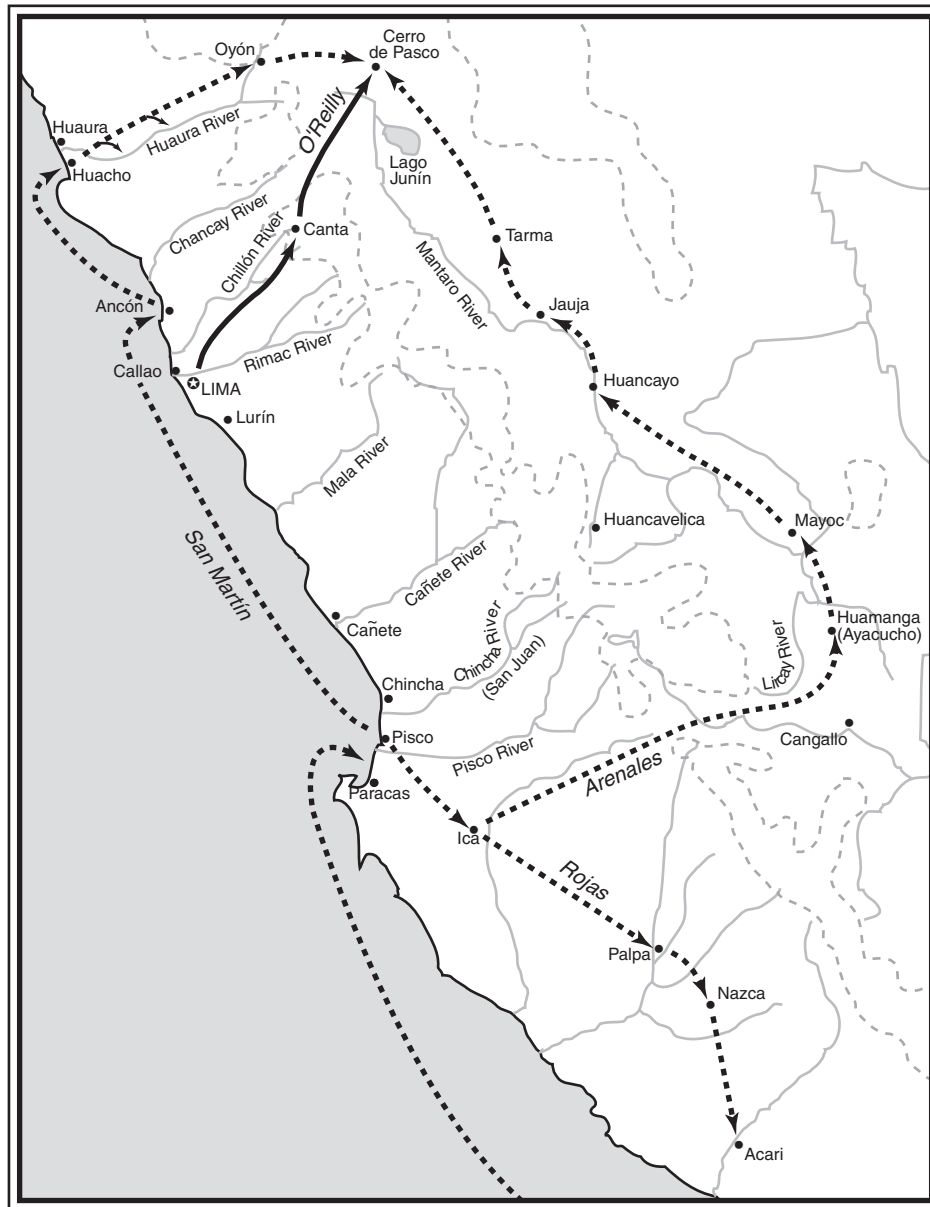
AUGUST 24, 1820. In Portugal, popular discontent at the royal family's refusal to return from Brazil sparks a peaceful insurrection at Oporto. It will quickly spread, resulting in calls for a new liberal constitution.

SEPTEMBER 1820. Royalist commander Vicente Benavídez receives a Peruvian armaments shipment in southern Chile, which he uses to mount a short-lived offensive north of the Bío Bío River, eventually being repulsed when he assaults Freyre's patriot garrison at Talcahuano.

This same month, royalist captain Juan Manuel Silva leads a revolt in Venezuela against Morillo's command and is promoted lieutenant colonel upon joining the patriot cause.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1820. Spanish colonel Balbuena leads a midnight sally out of Cartagena (Colombia) with 420 soldiers of the León Regiment and 60 gunners to attack Montilla's patriot siege lines near Turbaco. They disembark at Cospique and at 6:00 a.m. surprise the 1,000-man patriot garrison at Belavista, which consists of the Magdalena and Bajo Magdalena Chasseur battalions, plus a Soledad cavalry squadron, under Col. Ramón Ayala. The startled defenders flee in disarray, suffering 125 killed and 50 wounded, before the Spaniards retire after spiking the guns.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1820. *San Martín's Peruvian Campaign.* The Argentino-Chilean expedition anchors in Paracas Bay, where las Heras disembarks with the 11th Reinforced Battalion, then marches nine miles northward to seize Pisco. Its 600-man royalist garrison under Col. Manuel Quimper Benítez del Pino withdraws toward Ica rather than resist, hence Pisco falls and the insurgent fleet enters its roadstead four days later, San Martín's main army coming ashore to occupy it along with Caucato and Chincha. Outnumbered by the loyalist forces remaining in Peru, his aim is to avoid battle while winning over the inhabitants. A brief truce is arranged with Viceroy de la Pezuela between September 26 and October 4, after which hostilities resume.



San Martín's Peruvian campaign.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1820. Because of Dorrego's capture (see "July 18, 1820" entry), Gen. Martín Rodríguez is proclaimed governor of Buenos Aires. Five days later, Brigadier General Pagola rises up against him, his faction being put down, however, after two days' heavy fighting in the streets. The 5th *Colorados del Monte* militia cavalry regiment proves crucial in supporting Rodríguez, winning its 27-year-old commander Juan Manuel de Rosas a promotion to colonel.

OCTOBER 1, 1820. Bolívar enters Mérida (Venezuela) with his staff only, its royalist garrison having fled the previous day.

OCTOBER 4, 1820. San Martín's subordinate Gen. Álvarez de Arenales marches inland from Pisco (Peru) with 2,500 men in two battalions, a half squadron of cavalry, and two fieldpieces, to raise an insurrection in the Andes. Three days later, his cavalrymen under Rufino Guido scatter Quimper's royalist force at Palpa, two companies joining Álvarez de Arenales's army rather than continue serving the monarchist cause.

OCTOBER 9, 1820. A popular uprising occurs at Guayaquil against Spanish rule, and this region's independence is proclaimed.

OCTOBER 12, 1820. News reaches Rio de Janeiro that a populist insurrection has erupted in the Portuguese city of Oporto, demanding the creation of a new liberal constitution and the return of the royal family from Brazil, where the family has lived for more than 12 years. As similar revolts erupt amid Portuguese and liberal enclaves throughout Brazil, pressure will increase upon King João VI to reassume his throne at Lisbon as a restricted “constitutional monarch.” Brazilians resent this pressure, fearing that a resumption of Portuguese preeminence will once more reduce them to colonial status.

OCTOBER 15, 1820. Álvarez de Arenales’s subordinate, Lt. Col. Manuel Rojas, leads 80 patriot cavalrymen and 80 mounted grenadiers in a surprise attack against Colonel Quimper’s royalist base at Nazca (Peru), killing 41 and capturing 86. The next day, the loyalists’ ammunition train is also seized at Acari by Lt. Vicente Suárez with 30 chasseurs. By October 21, Álvarez de Arenales’s insurgent army strikes into the Andean foothills.

OCTOBER 28, 1820. Leaving a small patriot garrison at Pisco (Peru), San Martín’s Chileo–Argentine expedition reembarks and sails northwestward, appearing before Callao the next day, then disembarking 30 miles northwest of Lima at Ancón on October 30. Again, San Martín pursues a non-confrontational policy, sowing revolutionary sedition while avoiding major battles.

This same day, the 500-man “British Legion” mutinies at Achaguas (Venezuela), killing or wounding several of its officers before being put down by Páez.

NOVEMBER 3, 1820. Cochrane arrives outside Callao with the *O’Higgins*, the *Lautaro*, and the 28-gun corvette *Independencia*, two nights later leading 14 boats bearing 160 seamen and 80 marines past its boom—as well as the anchored USS *Macedonian* and 42-gun HMS *Hyperion* of Capt. Thomas Searle—to board the 44-gun Spanish frigate *Esmeralda* of Capt. Luis Coig. At a cost of 11 dead and 30 wounded, the insurgents storm this vessel, inflicting 160 casualties among its sleeping crew within 15 minutes before sailing it out with 200 prisoners still aboard. They eventually rename it the *Valdivia*.

NOVEMBER 9, 1820. San Martín’s Chileo–Argentine expedition quits Ancón (Peru), sailing farther north to disembark three days later at

Huacho and then taking up defensive positions beyond the Huaura River. In response, Viceroy de la Pezuela orders royalist colonel Jerónimo Valdéz to advance with 2,000 troops to check this invasion force.

That same day, the so-called *Protectora* (Protector) Division formed by the patriots at Guayaquil—while marching inland under Luis Urdaneta and León de Febres-Cordero with the aim of liberating Quito—defeats a royalist contingent at Camino Real near Bilován under Gen. Melchor Aymerich, president of the regional audiencia.

NOVEMBER 11, 1820. In the Andes, royalist brigadier general José Montenegro, the intendant of Huancavelica, digs in at Izcuchaca Bridge with 600 militiamen and two cannon to oppose Álvarez de Arenales’s passage of the Mantaro River with his patriot army. The latter fights his way across at Mayoc Bridge, obliging Montenegro to retire toward Tarma and eventually to flee into Jauja.

NOVEMBER 16, 1820. The royalist Iturbide quits Mexico City for Teloloapan, having been appointed commander of New Spain’s southern district, with orders to subdue the last vestiges of guerrilla activity under Guerrero and Pedro Ascencio Alquisiras.

NOVEMBER 22, 1820. At Huachi near Ambato (Ecuador), the patriot division marching to liberate Quito is crushed by a royalist division led by Col. Francisco González and compelled to retire toward Guayaquil.

NOVEMBER 24, 1820. The Treaty of Benegas is signed in Argentina, intended to bring a halt to the fratricidal struggle between Buenos Aires, Santa Fe, and Córdoba.

NOVEMBER 26, 1820. After four days of meetings at Trujillo (Venezuela), patriot and royalist delegates arrange a six-month truce between Bolívar’s and Morillo’s forces. Shortly thereafter—December 3—the latter turns over command of his remaining 10,000 troops to de la Torre and returns to Spain, where Morillo is eventually invested as Conde de Cartagena and Marqués de la Puerta (see “March 15, 1818” entry) for his New World services.

NOVEMBER 29, 1820. A large contingent of Indian rebels are slaughtered at Huamanga (Peru) by royalist brigadier general Mariano Ricafort, fol-

lowed by a similarly lopsided encounter at Cangallo three days later.

DECEMBER 1, 1820. News of the constitutional insurrection in Portugal is brought into the Brazilian port of Belém do Pará by the galley *Nova Amazonas*. As this province is temporarily without a governor, colonels João Pereira Vilaça and Francisco José Rodrigues Barata are persuaded to support the election of a nine-member, pro-Portuguese “provisional constitutional junta” one month later.

DECEMBER 2, 1820. General Carrera, dissatisfied with the terms of the Treaty of Benegas, sacks and burns Buenos Aires’s suburb of Salto in conjunction with Indian warriors, then retires southward. He is pursued two weeks later by General Ramírez in the so-called *Expedición al desierto* or “Expedition to the Desert,” which fails to catch the renegade. After capturing San Luis and laying siege to Córdoba in March, Carrera is defeated.

DECEMBER 3, 1820. In Peru, the 675-man Numancia Battalion—originally recruited in Venezuela—

mutinies and switches allegiance, abandoning the royalist cause to join San Martín’s army. Within the next several weeks, its strength is built back up to a full 1,000 men.

DECEMBER 6, 1820. *Cerro de Pasco*. High in the Peruvian Andes, Álvarez de Arenales’s insurgent army is checked at Cerro de Pasco by 1,200 royalist infantrymen, 180 cavalrymen, and two fieldpieces under Gen. Alejandro O’Reilly. Early on this snowy morning, a company of patriots drags four cannon atop Pasco’s commanding hill, opening fire when three patriot attack columns finally advance after the weather clears. After being outflanked, the royalists break and flee, suffering 58 killed, 18 wounded, and 380 captured—plus numerous others taken in following days, including O’Reilly himself.

DECEMBER 15, 1820. To avenge a native assault against Salto, Gen. Martín Rodríguez marches southward out of Buenos Aires with 1,600 Argentine troops to scatter any bands of hostile nomads over the ensuing month.

DECEMBER 29, 1820. More than 5,000 poorly armed Indian rebels under patriot colonel Bermúdez and Maj. Félix Aldao are massacred by royalist general Ricafort at Huancaayo (Peru).

JANUARY 2, 1821. Guerrero defeats a small loyalist contingent at Zapotepéc (Mexico).

JANUARY 5, 1821. The Mexican guerrilla leader Ascencio defeats a royalist force at Tlatlaya.

At Tanizahua (Ecuador), meanwhile, a patriot band under Colonel García is surprised and routed by a royalist contingent.

JANUARY 8, 1821. Álvarez de Arenales’s insurgent army rejoins San Martín at the headwaters of the Chancay River, high within the Peruvian Andes.

JANUARY 10, 1821. Iturbide contacts the insurgent leader Guerrero, proposing that, rather than continue skirmishing against each other, they join forces to forge a new alliance for Mexico’s independence based upon Spain’s liberal constitution of 1812.

JANUARY 18, 1821. A group of Maracaibo’s leading inhabitants conspire against Spanish rule, allowing patriot general Urdaneta to close off the lagoon



José Miguel Carrera. (Library of Congress)

and blockade the royalist garrison inside. On January 26, Urdaneta advances with a battalion of troops to the very edge of this lagoon and, by the evening of the 28th, sends a column under Cuban-born lieutenant colonel José Rafael de las Heras to support a “revolution” within—this offensive being a clear violation of the six-month truce arranged only two months previously. Spanish general de la Torre complains to Bolívar about this breach, to no avail.

JANUARY 29, 1821. Following a mutiny by the Spanish generals Canterac and Valdés at Asnapuquio (near Lima), Peru’s viceroy de la Pezuela is deposed in favor of royalist general de la Serna.

JANUARY 30, 1821. Cochrane arrives before Callao with 650 insurgent troops under the English mercenary lieutenant colonel William Miller to accept the prearranged surrender of its shore defenses. This surrender fails to materialize, so the patriot expedition returns into Huacho.

FEBRUARY 2, 1821. Patriot general Manuel Valdés, having been ordered by Bolívar the previous November to advance against Pasto (Colombia) and secure it at all costs before any general truce can be arranged with the Spaniards, is instead defeated by the royalist forces of Basilio García at Genoy, south of the Juanambú River. He is thus recalled in favor of the 25-year-old Venezuelan, Brigadier General Sucre.

FEBRUARY 21, 1821. A pro-constitutionalist insurrection erupts at Salvador in Bahia (Brazil). When its royal governor Conde da Palma orders the marshal Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes to call out his troops, only 160 prove to be loyal to the king. The governor therefore goes along with the creation of a “provisional constitutional junta,” which contacts the *Cortes* or “Parliament” in Lisbon directly, recognizing it as sole legitimate representative of the government rather than the king at Rio de Janeiro.

The Cortes will in turn send out 1,200 troops of the *Legião Constitucional Lusitana* or “Lusitanian Constitutional Legion” to act as a new pro-Portuguese garrison, while the marshal Luís Paulino de Oliveira Pinto de França becomes the city’s military governor.

FEBRUARY 24, 1821. Iturbide, Guerrero, and other Mexican insurgent leaders announce the “Plan of Iguala,” whereby their nation proclaims its

freedom from Spain, subject to three conditions or “guarantees”: the predominance of Catholic faith, total independence (although under the continuing symbolic rule of Spain’s royal family), and a union or reconciliation between Mexico’s embittered Creoles and peninsulars. Viceroy Ruiz de Apodaca rejects this arrangement and declares Iturbide an outlaw on March 14.

MARCH 10, 1821. At a conference held at Acatempan (near Teloloapan, Mexico), Guerrero agrees to merge his insurgent forces with Iturbide’s loyalists, thus creating the patriotic *Ejército de las Tres Garantías* or “Army of the Three Guarantees” (representing Catholicism, independence, and union, better known as the *Ejército Trigarante*).

That same day in Venezuela, Bolívar informs the Spanish general de la Torre that, because of disputes over certain territories, the six-month truce arranged in November 1820 will be rescinded by the patriots within 40 days.

MARCH 13, 1821. Cochrane departs Huacho (Peru) with three ships bearing 500 patriot infantrymen and 100 cavalymen under Lieutenant Colonel Miller. They disembark one week later at Pisco, being distantly observed by royalist lieutenant colonel García Camba’s 200 troopers in the Chincha Valley. However, neither side campaigns very vigorously due to a malaria outbreak in the region.

MARCH 23, 1821. The 27-year-old loyalist Antonio López de Santa Anna arrives at Orizaba (Mexico) with 200 troopers, arresting Cristóbal Ballesteros for suspected disloyalty. The latter attempts to persuade Santa Anna to join Iturbide and Guerrero’s *Ejército Trigarante*, but the young officer at first resists, then is defeated in an engagement. He subsequently switches allegiance and accepts appointment as lieutenant colonel under insurrectionist general José Joaquín de Herrera, so that together they overrun Córdoba. Herrera then marches off for Puebla, while Santa Anna subdues Topete at Alvarado (state of Veracruz).

MARCH 24, 1821. Insurrectionist generals Luis de Cortazar and Anastasio Bustamante capture the city of Guanajuato.

APRIL 1821. The Argentine town of Dolores is destroyed by an Indian invasion out of the south, prompting a counterexpedition two years later by

Gen. Martín Rodríguez, who builds Fort Independencia on the banks of Tandil Creek.

APRIL 2, 1821. Cochrane blockades Callao for three days.

APRIL 10, 1821. High in the Peruvian Andes, at Ataura (near Jauja), a royalist army under Ricafort slaughters 500 of 3,000 poorly armed Indian rebels, while suffering only a single man slightly injured among its own ranks.

APRIL 15, 1821. A month after breaking Argentina's northern frontier, the vanguard of Olañeta's royalist army briefly enters Jujuy before pressing southward. On April 23, Olañeta's 500-man vanguard under Marquiegui is annihilated seven miles north of Yala at León by 600 patriots under Gen. José Ignacio de Gorriti. This reversal prompts Olañeta to retire to Mojos, leaving a small garrison at Yalvi under Lt. Col. Jerónimo Valdéz.

APRIL 21, 1821. Patriot general Álvarez de Arenales departs Huaura (Peru) with 2,500 men in three battalions and a cavalry squadron, plus four fieldpieces, to once more campaign against the royalists in the Andes.

This same day farther south at Pisco, 180 of Miller's sick patriot troops are reembarked for return to Huacho aboard two of Cochrane's vessels, while the third—his flagship *San Martín*—sets sail southwest with the remaining 400 and another 100 black Peruvian recruits to attack Arica (Chile).

APRIL 22, 1821. Bowing to increased pressure on all sides to return to Portugal and reassume the throne there, King João VI crowns his 22-year-old eldest son Pedro as prince regent of Brazil, then four days later sails away with the rest of the royal family. Brazilians remain angry and uneasy, fearing that their semiautonomous status will be rescinded after the king is back under direct control of the Portuguese Cortes.

APRIL 25, 1821. The insurrectionist Mexican general Herrera is defeated at Tepeaca by loyalist colonel Francisco Hevia, but after being reinforced by Santa Anna, the combined forces drive off colonels Juan Horbegoso and Flores, thus gaining Jalapa.

APRIL 28, 1821. This morning, hostilities resume between Venezuela's patriots and loyalists when a

cavalry detachment crosses the Santo Domingo River and routs a royalist outpost at Boconó. Patriot colonel Ambrosio Plaza's Guardia Division follows this action up by entering Guanare, then marching upon San Carlos, which is evacuated by the loyalists and taken by Bolívar for his headquarters.

MAY 1821. Sucre reaches Guayaquil with 700 troops to bolster its recently proclaimed independence.

MAY 1, 1821. Iturbide's *Ejército Trigarante* enters León (state of Guanajuato, Mexico), having marched uncontested from Teloloapan via Tlalchapa, Cutzamala, Tusanla, Zitácuaro, and Acámbaro. Field Marshal Liñán has refused to stir from his Cuernavaca headquarters with the loyalist southern army during this progression.

MAY 3, 1821. *Argentine Civil War.* Fighting resumes when General Ramírez—deploring Buenos Aires's refusal to declare war against the Portuguese invaders of Uruguay—fords across from Bajada del Paraná with 1,200 riders and advances upon Santa Fe. Three days later, López repels Ramírez's 960 men with four fieldpieces before his capital, obliging the latter to retreat toward Rosario. On May 8, Ramírez meets a similar-sized cavalry force under Lamadrid just north of Rosario, which he defeats and pushes back toward Medio Creek.

MAY 4, 1821. Cochrane's *San Martín* bombards Arica (Chile), then disembarks Colonel Miller's small regiment at nearby Sama. One contingent under Major Soler occupies Arica one week later, while Miller's larger company takes Tacna on May 14 with little opposition.

MAY 11, 1821. Patriot general Urdaneta occupies Coro (Venezuela), installing Col. Juan de Escalona as governor while chasing its fleeing loyalists as far as San Juan del Tocuyo.

MAY 12, 1821. *Guatire.* The Venezuelan patriot general Bermúdez—after arriving from Cumaná with 1,200 men—defeats a similar-sized loyalist force under Col. José María Hernández Monagas at Ibarra Mill (near Guatire), suffering 7 dead and 8 wounded as compared to 50 killed, 60 injured, and 100 captured among his opponents.

Two days later, Bermúdez occupies Caracas at 5:00 p.m., while its loyalist residents flee toward Puerto Cabello and Curaçao aboard a flotilla of 70

vessels, escorted by the Spanish frigate *Ligera* of Capt. Angel Laborde y Navarro. Bermúdez then empties the arsenal at La Guaira, raises a host of volunteers, and proceeds toward the Aragua Valleys by May 18.

MAY 19, 1821. At Lagunetas (Venezuela), Bermúdez's patriot army chases off some loyalist skirmishers, then the next day defeats 700 men under Governor Correa at Consejo, finding the Spanish brigadier general Tomás de Cires among its captives. As the patriots occupy Victoria, the beaten loyalists fall back upon Valencia.

News of Bermúdez's successful sweep persuades Spanish general de la Torre to leave his 1st and 5th divisions (1,700 men) at Araure to watch Bolívar while countermarching toward San Carlos with 2,800 infantrymen to challenge Bermúdez and reconquer Caracas.

MAY 20, 1821. Valladolid (today Morelia, Mexico) surrenders to Iturbide.

MAY 22, 1821. Learning that three royalist columns are converging from Oruro, Puno, and Arequipa (Peru) to contest his invasion of northern Chile, patriot lieutenant colonel Miller surprises the first of these—Lieutenant Colonel La Hera's 250 soldiers—at Mirave with 310 insurgent infantrymen, 70 cavalrymen, and 60 *montonero* guerrillas. The royalists suffer 44 killed and 106 captured, as opposed to 25 deaths among Miller's ranks.

As this engagement is concluding, royalist lieutenant colonel Rivero arrives with an additional 250 troops, only to immediately retire and be pursued. Two days later, another 30 monarchists are killed at Moquegua, and Rivero's company finally collapses upon the insurgent approach against Callera on May 26, most either being captured or voluntarily joining the rebels' ranks.

MAY 23, 1821. The Peruvian viceroy de la Serna signs a brief truce with San Martín, known as the Punchaica Armistice, which ends on June 30.

MAY 24, 1821. *Coronda.* Despite his May 8 setback near Rosario, the Buenos Aires general Lamadrid is reinforced and rides with 1,500 troopers to join López in defense of his capital of Santa Fe (Argentina); however, 24 miles south-southwest of that city at Coronda, Lamadrid chances upon Ramírez with 700 cavalrymen, so attacks in hopes of cutting

this renegade off from the Paraná River. Instead, though, Lamadrid is outflanked and defeated, leaving Ramírez in possession of the battlefield.

Two days later, López—who has been riding with 700 troopers to meet Lamadrid—incorporates 300 of the latter's stragglers into his ranks. He in turn surprises Ramírez at Coronda, who retreats toward Desmochados, hoping to unite with his fellow renegade Carrera.

MAY 24, 1821. *Márquez.* Brigadier General Morales's 2,800 loyalists attack Bermúdez's 1,500 patriots, who are well dug in at Márquez (between Las Lajas and Las Cocuizas, near Caracas). The patriots succeed in repulsing their attackers throughout this day, but after nightfall they retire from the field. They evacuate Caracas by the 26th, continuing their retreat toward Guatire pursued by the 2nd Valencey Battalion under Spanish brigadier general Pereira.

JUNE 5, 1821. The patriot leader Reyes Vargas advances upon San Felipe (Venezuela) with 100 cavalrymen and 500 infantrymen, being defeated southeast of this city at Cocorote by loyalist colonel Lorenzo. The patriots leave 80 dead and a like number of wounded upon the field.

Three days later, Reyes Vargas materializes at Tinajas north of San Felipe, only to once again be beaten by Lorenzo at La Candelaria. He then withdraws south.

JUNE 8, 1821. At dawn, royalist lieutenant colonel Valdéz slips into Salta in northern Argentina with 400 riders, capturing this city along with patriot general de Güemes. Two weeks later, royalist general Olañeta arrives with 1,200 troops, but by July 14 he comes to terms with the local patriots and retires into Bolivia.

JUNE 11, 1821. Páez joins Bolívar at San Carlos (Venezuela) with 1,000 infantrymen and 1,500 cavalrymen. When Urdaneta arrives five days later with another 2,000 troops, the total patriot strength is brought to 6,500 soldiers in three divisions.

JUNE 14, 1821. Bermúdez, after a rapid march, surprises Lucas González's 550 loyalists at Macuto Promontory near Santa Lucía (Venezuela) and destroys this force. The loyalist commander loses his life, while his men suffer 148 casualties and 200 taken prisoners, only 260 managing to escape. Patriot losses are 73 dead and wounded.

JUNE 16, 1821. Having joined forces, the renegade generals Ramírez's and Carrera's 700 troopers fall upon 200 Argentine republican cavalymen, 300 infantrymen, and four fieldpieces under Bustos at Cruz Alta (west of Rosario). Unable to overwhelm this position, the attackers withdraw toward Fraile Muerto upon learning of Lamadrid's approach with a relief column. Ramírez then retires north of Córdoba with some 200 followers, while Carrera proceeds toward the Cuarto River with 700 men, hoping to regain his Chilean homeland.

JUNE 19, 1821. Patriot lieutenant colonel Laurencio Silva's cavalry squadron overruns a Spanish picket force at Tinaquillo (near Carabobo, Venezuela).

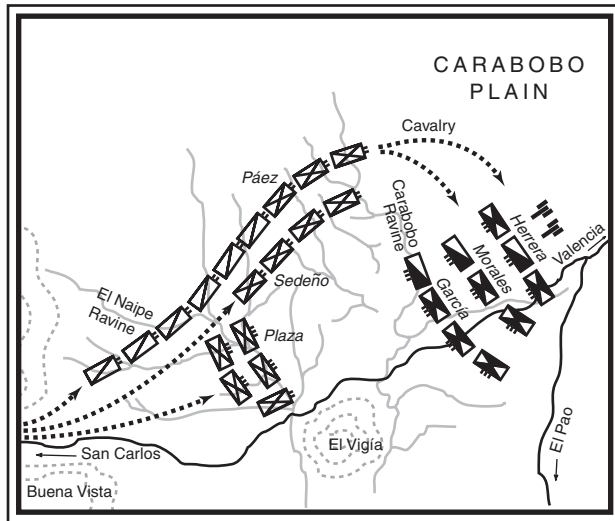
JUNE 22, 1821. Colonel Carrillo's 1,000 patriots enter San Felipe (Venezuela), after its loyalist garrison under Lorenzo was compelled to evacuate because of a threatened encirclement.

JUNE 23, 1821. *Calvario.* On Calvario Hill just west of Caracas, Brigadier General Pereira makes a stand behind Caruata Creek with 1,200 loyalists against Bermúdez's similar-sized patriot force. The latter attacks ferociously in twin columns until his small army is annihilated by the afternoon, having suffered 500 casualties plus another 500 lost as prisoners or deserters. Bermúdez retreats toward Guaremas with his 200 survivors, briefly pursued by the victorious Pereira.

JUNE 24, 1821. *Carabobo.* This morning, while advancing northeastward against Valencia (Venezuela), Bolívar crests Buena Vista Heights with General Páez's 1st Division in the van, consisting of the Bravos de Apure Battalion under Colonel Torres, the *Cazadores Británicos* or "British Legion" under Col. Thomas Farriar, the Honor Infantry Regiment under Colonel Muñóz, Páez's Hussar Regiment under Colonel Iribarren, the *Regimiento de la Muerte* or



Scene from the Battle of Carabobo, detail from a mural in Venezuela's capitol building, Caracas. (*El Capitolio, Caracas*)



Battle of Carabobo.

“Regiment of Death” under Colonel Borrás, the Honor Lancer Regiment under Colonel Farfán, the *Cazadores Valientes* or “Brave Chasseurs” under Lieutenant Colonel Gómez, the “Venganza” Regiment under Major Escalona, plus a reserve under Colonel Rosales. General Sedeño’s 2nd Division is comprised of the Vargas Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Gravete, the Boyacá Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Flegel, the “Tiradores” Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel de las Heras, and the Sagrado Squadron of Colonel Aramendi. General Plaza’s 3rd Division brings up the rear: the Anzoátegui Battalion of Colonel Arguindegui, the “Vencedor en Boyacá” Battalion of Col. Johann von Uslar, the Grenadier Battalion of Col. Francisco de Paula Vélez (under its acting commander, Manrique), the Rifle Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Sandes, the “Primero de la Guardia” Cavalry Regiment of Colonel Rondón, the dragoon squadron of Lt. Col. Julián Mellado, and a hussar squadron under Col. Fernando Figueredo.

These 6,400 patriots sight 5,100 royalists awaiting them three miles away on the Carabobo Plain and its surrounding hills under General de la Torre, Col. Tomás García’s 1st Division consisting of the 1st Valencey Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Riesco, the Barbastro Light Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Montero, the Hostalrich Light Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Illas, and the “Fernando VII” Hussar Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Calderón. General Morales’s Vanguard Division is comprised of the 2nd Burgos Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Dalmar, the “In-

fante don Francisco de Paula” Light Infantry Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel Sicilia, as well as the Del Rey Lancer Regiment of Lieutenant Colonel Renovales. Colonel Herrera’s 5th Division is made up of the Príncipe Light Infantry Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel de Castro, the “Leales a Fernando VII” Dragoon Regiment of Lieutenant Colonel Morales, General de la Torre’s Regiment under Lieutenant Colonel López, plus two horse artillery pieces and 62 men under Capt. Vicente Mercadillo.

The Liberator sends Páez’s division down a track running off to the left of the San Carlos Road, passing through a narrow defile in hopes of outflanking the defenders. The patriots’ Apure Battalion, backed by the British Battalion and several companies of the “Tiradores” Battalion of the 2nd Division, manage to fight their way through after 15 minutes of bloody exchanges, during which they lose a third of their number. At this point, the insurgent cavalry charges out onto the plain, putting the royalist riders to flight, then rolling up their infantry, which surrenders in large numbers. Within an hour, de la Torre abandons his artillery to make an orderly retreat with his reserves and part of his cavalry the 20 miles into Valencia, closely pursued by Páez’s *llaneros* and the Grenadier and Rifle battalions under Bolívar. The Spanish general succeeds in cutting his way through, although only the royalist Valencey Battalion actually reaches the city intact.

Loyalist losses are estimated at 1,000 dead or wounded, plus another 1,500 captured. Patriot losses total 200 killed, mostly among the British mercenaries, and an unknown number of injuries. Generals Sedeño and Plaza, plus colonels Farriar and Mellado, are among the most prominent of the dead.

JUNE 25, 1821. At dawn, patriot colonel Montilla launches a surprise attack against Cartagena’s beleaguered loyalist garrison, in conjunction with a naval squadron under Commo. José Padilla—which has gained the inner roadstead thanks to the defenders’ earlier retreat from its Bocachica fortress. The royalists mass all their strength to oppose a feint against their landward defenses by Col. Friedrich de Adlercreutz (a Swedish count serving the republican cause), thus allowing Padilla to make off with 11 ships.

JUNE 28, 1821. This evening, Bolívar enters Caracas to a tumultuous reception. The next day he detaches Lt. Col. Diego Ibarra to occupy its nearby port of La Guaira. The latter is at first prevented by the intervention of Col. José Pereira’s loyalist col-

umn, but it surrenders upon the appearance of the main republican army. In all of Venezuela, only Puerto Cabello and Cumaná remain in royalist hands.

JULY 1, 1821. Bravo besieges the Mexican city of Puebla.

JULY 2, 1821. Surrounded by patriot forces, loyalist commander Pereira retreats into La Guaira (Venezuela), surrendering his 700 men the next day before sailing with 200 followers for Puerto Cabello aboard a French vessel. He dies shortly thereafter of yellow fever.

JULY 5, 1821. Most of New Spain having joined Iturbide's call for independence, artillery general Francisco Novella mutinies in the isolated royalist capital of Mexico City at the head of a group of officers, deposing the seemingly ineffectual viceroy Ruiz de Apodaca and returning him to Spain. Some 5,000 soldiers are then mustered to defend the city.

JULY 6, 1821. Peruvian viceroy de la Serna has evacuated Lima in favor of the seaport of Callao on the previous dawn because of starvation and disease within the capital (leaving behind only 1,000 troops who are too sick to march). The city becomes the scene of widespread looting as royalist civilians also take flight. The insurgents arrive three days later, proclaiming the country's independence by July 28.

JULY 7, 1821. Santa Anna storms loyalist Veracruz in a failed assault, which costs him half his men. He then imposes a tight siege.

JULY 10, 1821. Renegade Argentine general Ramírez is overtaken at San Francisco del Chañar (110 miles north of Córdoba) by 400 republican cavalymen under the acting governor Bedoya, who defeats and slays him.

JULY 11, 1821. After leading a loyalist revolt in Coro (Venezuela), Spanish lieutenant colonel Pedro Luis Inchauspe sorties with 800 men and attacks patriot governor Escalona at the port of Cumarebo, being repulsed with considerable losses.

JULY 17, 1821. A group of royalists rebel at Guayaquil (Ecuador), seizing the corvette *Alejandro* and bombarding the city wharf, until driven out to sea several hours later by the shore batteries under

Commander Reina. The loyalists are then pursued by the patriot brig *Sacramento* and two schooners under Commander Luzarraga, who recaptures their boats.

JULY 19, 1821. Patriot commander Nicolás López mutinies with his infantry battalion northeast of Guayaquil at Babahoyo (Ecuador) and marches east up into the Andes to join the royalist general Aymerich at Guaranda. However, López is overtaken at Palo Largo by several of Sucre's dragoon squadrons and must fight his way through, ending up with only 170 survivors.

JULY 22, 1821. Patriot lieutenant colonel Miller evacuates Arica (Chile), his small regiment traveling aboard two brigantines.

JULY 30, 1821. Viceroy-designate and liberal lieutenant general Juan O'Donojú reaches New Spain to find that only three of its cities remain loyal to Madrid—Mexico City, Acapulco, and Veracruz—while the rest of the country has already joined Iturbide's cause. Bowing to the inevitable, O'Donojú obtains a safe conduct from Veracruz's besieger Santa Anna and three weeks later signs the Treaty of Córdoba recognizing Mexico's independence as a limited constitutional monarchy to be governed by a three-member regency (an agreement that the Spanish government later refuses to ratify).

AUGUST 3, 1821. Álvarez de Arenales's patriot army enters Lima from its Andean campaign.

AUGUST 4, 1821. The armies of royalist generals de la Serna and Canterac unite at Jauja (Peru) for a last stand. They total some 4,000 sickly troops.

AUGUST 8, 1821. Loyalist commander Inchauspe has been reinforced at Coro (Venezuela) by 500 Spanish troops from Puerto Cabello under Colonel Tello. Both contingents—now totaling 1,250 men—advance to once more attack patriot governor Escalona at Cumarebo. However, the latter has also been joined by 500 cavalymen under Col. Juan Gómez, so his combined force of 800 men successfully repels this assault.

AUGUST 12, 1821. *Yaguachi.* Sucre waits on Palo Largo Plain (Ecuador) with his 1,200-man patriot army for the approaching 700 royalist cavalymen and 1,200 infantrymen under General Aymerich

advancing from Guaranda. The latter appears this same day, yet refuses to attack, expecting the arrival of a further 1,000 loyalist infantry—Colonel González’s “Constitución” Battalion—from Cuenca that will allow them to threaten the patriots from two directions.

Learning on August 17 that this second loyalist force is drawing near, Sucre retires swiftly to Yaguachi (alternate spelling, Yahuachi), reconnoitering through its surrounding woods for González’s column the next day. On the 19th, he finds it nine miles away at Cone and brings up his main body to interpose across its path, while simultaneously launching a surprise attack with his vanguard: Mires’s “Santander” Battalion plus a squadron of dragoons. González’s startled loyalists form a square in a clearing, only to be pulverized by a cavalry charge, then chased from the field by the Albión and “Guayaquil” battalions. Spanish losses total 152 dead, 88 wounded, and 600 captured, González escaping back across the Río Nuevo with scarcely 120 followers. Sucre suffers 18 killed and 22 injured. He then retraces his steps on August 22 toward Babahoyo, prompting Aymerich to retreat northeast into the Andes a few days later.

AUGUST 14, 1821. *Siege of Callao.* A month after the occupation of Lima, patriot general las Heras assaults the Pacific port of Callao with 1,200 men, only to be repelled by its 2,000-man royalist garrison under Gen. José de la Mar.

On September 10, another 3,200 royalists under Canterac slip past the 5,900 patriots guarding Lima and help themselves to Callao’s vast quantity of military stores. With the sickly insurgent forces powerless to intervene, Canterac emerges six days later and marches northward into the Chillón Valley with his booty, trailed at a discreet distance by 800 patriot riders under Miller.

De la Mar thereupon offers on September 19 to switch allegiances and surrender empty Callao, his terms being accepted by the patriots two days later.

AUGUST 25, 1821. Inchauspe surrenders to patriot colonel Rangel at Pedregal (Venezuela), thus bringing the brief loyalist insurrection at Coro to an end.

AUGUST 31, 1821. After defeating republican general Bruno Morón on the banks of the Cuarto River, the Chilean-born renegade Carrera is intercepted at Médano Point on the north shore of Guanacache Lake (Argentina) while marching around Mendoza

toward San Juan. His contingent is overtaken by Col. José Albino Gutiérrez’s cavalry and annihilated. Carrera is executed in Mendoza four days later.

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1821. Mexican forces under Isidro Montes de Oca and 31-year-old Juan N. Álvarez besiege the royalist garrison within Fort San Diego at Acapulco, while Santa Anna takes Perote near Jalapa (state of Veracruz).

SEPTEMBER 12, 1821. *Huachi (or Ambato).* Having advanced northeast up into the Andes following his victory at Yaguachi (Ecuador), Sucre’s 100 patriot cavalrymen and 900 infantrymen are cornered at Huachi—near the town of Ambato—by 500 loyalist troopers and 1,200 infantrymen under Aymerich. Hoping to fight a defensive battle from behind fences and hedges, Sucre is let down by his second-in-command, Mires, who leads the “Guayaquil” Battalion out into the open during a heated counterattack.

Compelled to support this advance unit or watch it be destroyed, Sucre’s other contingents sally and are defeated after five hours of heavy fighting by a two-pronged loyalist infantry assault, preceded by a heavy cavalry charge led by Spanish colonel José Moles. The patriot army is devastated, suffering more than 300 casualties and 500 captives—including Mires and numerous other officers. Sucre is lucky to escape this rout with 100 men.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1821. At a meeting held between Iturbide, O’Donojú, and Novella at the Pateza Hacienda near Mexico City, the latter agrees to surrender the capital without a struggle.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1821. Insurgent admiral Brion dies in Amsterdam.

Also on this date, the 9,000 infantrymen and 7,000 cavalrymen of Iturbide’s *Ejército Trigante* occupy Mexico City on his 38th birthday, effectively ending Spanish rule in the viceroyalty and marking the country’s full independence. The next day, Nicaragua also declares its independence, followed by El Salvador on September 29.

OCTOBER 1, 1821. Loyalist brigadier general Gabriel de Torres surrenders the city of Cartagena (Colombia) to its 2,500 patriot besiegers under Montilla. By the terms of this capitulation, more than 700 Spanish officers and men are allowed to sail away to Cuba.

OCTOBER 6, 1821. Cochrane departs Callao, angered by arrears in pay owed to his revolutionary squadron.

OCTOBER 15, 1821. In Mexico, the 31-year-old insurgent leader Juan N. Alvarez officially accepts the surrender of Fort San Diego at Acapulco.

OCTOBER 16, 1821. The Spaniards formally surrender the city of Cumaná (Venezuela) to patriot general Bermúdez, who arranges for their 800-man garrison under Caturla to be transported to Puerto Rico aboard Colombian ships.

OCTOBER 25, 1821. General Dávila, still loyal to Spain's Ferdinand VII, retires across the bay from the city of Veracruz to hold its offshore island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa for the Crown.

OCTOBER 26, 1821. Spanish general Juan de la Cruz Mourgeon departs Panama with 800 regulars as reinforcements for South America, reaching Quito (Ecuador) on the day before Christmas.

NOVEMBER 6, 1821. The loyalist commander Carrera besieges Col. Juan Gómez's patriot garrison within Coro (Venezuela). On the third day of this siege, patriot commander León Pérez fights his way inside with a relief column, then the next day their combined forces scatter the besiegers.

NOVEMBER 12, 1821. Learning that Chiapas has declared its independence from Spain and wishes to become incorporated into Mexico, Iturbide dispatches 5,000 soldiers under the Conde de la Cadena to ensure the peaceful fulfillment of this goal.

NOVEMBER 19, 1821. At Babahoyo (Ecuador), Sucre signs a temporary armistice with Aymerich's representative, Col. Carlos Tolrá, whereby the royalists agree to retire high up into the Andes around Riobamba, while the patriots remain concentrated around their coastal stronghold of Guayaquil.

NOVEMBER 22, 1821. Juan Lindo, insurgent leader at Comayagua (Honduras), announces his country's incorporation into Mexico.

NOVEMBER 28, 1821. Panama declares itself independent from Spain, instead opting to become part of Colombia.

DECEMBER 7, 1821. Royalist colonel Lórida defeats 300 badly armed insurgent militiamen and 5,000 Indians at Cerro de Pasco (Peru).

DECEMBER 9, 1821. Decrees issued by the Portuguese Cortes reach Rio de Janeiro, abolishing Brazil's status as a kingdom and ordering the return to Lisbon of Prince Regent Pedro. A groundswell of support soon coalesces behind the young monarch.

DECEMBER 17, 1821. Royalist colonel Carratalá torches the town of Cangallo (Peru) for rebelling.

DECEMBER 29, 1821. Certain factions in Guatemala City and Quezaltenango request to become incorporated into Mexico.

JANUARY 9, 1822. The former Spanish captain general of Guatemala, Gabino Gaínza, announces the union of all of Central America.

JANUARY 11, 1822. The Spanish frigates *Venganza* and *Prueba* contact Sucre at Guayaquil, offering to switch allegiances and join the insurgent cause in return for payments to their crews. Four days later, they receive 80,000 pesos and become incorporated into Peru's navy under orders from San Martín.

JANUARY 12, 1822. *Luso-Brazilian Schism.* At Rio de Janeiro, the Prince Regent Pedro has refused three days earlier to obey the Portuguese Cortes's recall to Lisbon, as well as their peremptory relegation of Brazil to secondary status within the empire. Lt. Gen. Jorge Avilez's *Voluntarios d'El Rei* or "King's Volunteers" Regiment—2,000 Portuguese regulars recently returned from service at Montevideo—thereupon proclaims its intention of embarking that same evening for Europe, taking the prince with them.

Thousands of Brazilian militiamen, black Henriques guerrillas, and Indian units mass to contest this threat, prompting Avilez to call for their disbandment. Pedro refuses and in turn attempts to replace the general. When this fails, the prince on January 14 at least orders his regiment's removal from the commanding Flagstaff Hill to across Rio's bay into Praia Grande.

After a lengthy standoff, Pedro will address Avilez through a speaking trumpet from the frigate *União* on February 9, commanding his men to depart, which the Portuguese general grudgingly obeys six

days later. As he sails away, Brazilian legislators gradually begin to pave the way to assume full independence, with Pedro as their monarch.

JANUARY 29, 1822. Cochrane appears outside Acapulco, hunting for the Spanish frigates *Venganza* and *Prueba*. Learning three days later that they are at Guayaquil, he steers southeastward.

FEBRUARY 8, 1822. *Hispaniola Unified.* Resentful and distrustful of the Dominicans' perpetuation of slave holding and many other colonial-era practices, the 45-year-old Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer has called upon black and mulatto residents to assert complete freedom from Spanish rule, then has marched to their support with a large army. He and his menacing host arrive this day at the town of San Carlos, just outside the capital of Santo Domingo. The invaders are received the next morning with a 21-gun salute, a *Te Deum*, and the city keys on a silver platter. For the next two decades, the eastern Dominican half of this island will remain under Haitian rule.

FEBRUARY 9, 1822. Sucre reaches Saraguro (Ecuador) with 1,200 patriot troops under Bolivian-born colonel Andrés Santa Cruz, to be reinforced by two infantry battalions and two cavalry squadrons sent by San Martín. With his strength increased to 3,000 men, Sucre is to advance northward into the Andes and eliminate its royalist defenders headquartered around Quito under Aymerich, while Bolívar brings another army southward out of Colombia in a simultaneous movement.

FEBRUARY 19, 1822. Portuguese general Inacio Luiz Madeira de Melo seizes control of the port city of Salvador (Brazil) at a cost of 100 lives, holding it in Lisbon's name against a rising tide of Brazilian nationalism.

FEBRUARY 21, 1822. Sucre's army occupies the town of Cuenca.

FEBRUARY 25, 1822. Bolívar's army begins marching out of Popayán (Colombia) with 3,000 troops to help push back the royalists in the southwestern theater.

APRIL 2, 1822. The Spanish lieutenant colonel Francisco Buceli rises against Mexican rule at Juchi but is put down the next day.

APRIL 7, 1822. *Bomboná.* While circling around the Galeras Volcano to approach the royalist stronghold of Pasto (Colombia) from the south, Bolívar's army is confronted by Col. Basilio García's 2,000-strong division (comprised of the 1st Aragón, 2nd Cataluña, and Pasto battalions, plus two fieldpieces and some irregulars) dug in atop the Cariaco Heights. The patriot vanguard—composed of the Vargas and Bogotá battalions under Gen. Pedro León Torres—makes a belated attack against the defenders' center left at noon, only to be repulsed, with Torres mortally wounded. Col. Luis Carvajal thereupon leads a second republican assault, which is also repelled, with its commander injured.

Meanwhile, Gen. Manuel Valdés is leading the patriots' Rifles Battalion in a flanking maneuver around the Yusepe Heights to fall upon García's right. When Bolívar sees Valdés gain this summit, he orders a third frontal assault by José Ignacio Pulido's Vencedor Battalion. Caught between two fires, the royalist right breaks, leading to a wholesale retreat by García's division. Nevertheless, their 250 casualties are many fewer than the republicans' 116 dead and 341 wounded, so the Liberator is forced to retrace his steps across the Juanambú River and await further reinforcements from Popayán.

APRIL 7, 1822. *Macacona.* Learning of a 2,000-man royalist army advancing westward from the Mantaro Valley (Peru) under Canterac, plus another 500-man contingent under Valdéz approaching from Arequipa, rebel general Tristán—once a staunch monarchist (see “June 20, 1811” entry et seq.)—evacuates Ica on April 6 with his 2,000 troops. At Macacona, north of Ica, he is ambushed at 1:00 the next morning by Canterac, who captures 1,000 rebels while scattering the rest.

APRIL 14, 1822. Three days after advancing from Cuenca (Ecuador), Sucre's cavalry vanguard under Col. Diego Ibarra invests the town of Alausi, thereby opening the road toward Riobamba.

APRIL 19, 1822. *Riobamba.* Ibarra's patriot cavalry column appears before Riobamba (Ecuador), which is held by 1,500 royalist defenders under Col. Nicolás López. A temporary truce is arranged, and patriot cavalry officers even dine with their royalist counterparts within the city on April 21.

However, their meal is interrupted when fighting unexpectedly erupts between opposing units, prompting Ibarra to quickly storm Riobamba's

defenses at the head of his mounted grenadiers and dragoons. Lt. Col. Juan Lavalle distinguishes himself by leading a squadron of 96 Argentine mounted grenadiers in a charge against 420 disorganized royalist cavalrymen under Col. Carlos Tolrá, driving them back upon their infantry in confusion. When Tolrá recuperates and leads a countercharge, Lavalle—his numbers now augmented by 30 Colombian dragoons—scatters this second attack as well, killing 52 royalists and wounding 40, so that they abandon the city altogether. At the cost of only 2 patriots dead and 20 wounded, Riobamba is fully secured by April 22, to await the arrival of Sucre's main army.

MAY 2, 1822. Sucre's advancing patriot army occupies Lacatunga (Ecuador), while royalist forces begin erecting defenses at Machachi to check his progression toward the capital of Quito. Instead, Sucre outflanks their preparations by striking out across the barren eastern plains of Cotopaxi and Sincholagua, reaching the Valle de los Chillos—14 miles from Quito—by May 17. He finds that the royalists have only that morning regrouped into new defenses at Puengasi.

MAY 8, 1822. The United States of America recognizes the independence of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, and Peru.

MAY 21, 1822. *Pichincha.* Opting to slide around the Puengasi defenses barring the road into Quito (Ecuador) by traversing the Turubamba Plain to Chillogallo, Sucre reaches this latter hamlet and braces for a royalist sally. When this fails to materialize, he resumes his advance along the Machachi road to circumvent the entrenched royalists atop Panecillo Heights outside the capital. He gives another order on the rainy evening of May 23 for his patriot army to circle westward around the narrow, slippery road at the foot of the Pichincha Volcano to sever the vital northeastern road linking Quito with Pasto.

Only Sucre's patriot cavalrymen succeed in completing this maneuver before Aymerich and Col. Nicolás López perceive the shifting patriot army and redeploy their 1,700 royalists at 8:00 a.m. on May 24 to parade down from the Panecillo Heights and initiate action west of the city an hour and a half later. Sucre commands 2,600 soldiers: 500 infantrymen of the Trujillo Battalion under Colonel Olazábal, 400 of the Piura Battalion under Colonel Villa, 260 of the Yaguachi Battalion under Col. Antonio Morales, 600 Cazadores del Paya under Lieu-

tenant Colonel Leal, 200 men of Lt. Col. John Mackintosh's Albi6n Battalion, and 200 of the Alto Magdalena Battalion under Col. Jos6 Maríá Córdoba. The patriot cavalry consists of 100 Mounted Grenadiers of the Andes under Lieutenant Colonel Lavalle, a like number of Dragones del Sur under Lt. Col. Friedrich Rasch, plus 100 troopers of Squadron No. 1 under Lieutenant Colonel Arenales.

The difficult terrain impedes both armies from deploying their cavalry, as well as the patriot artillery, which consists of two fieldpieces manned by 40 gunners under the German mercenary captain Adolf Klinger. The 2nd "Cazadores del Paya" Battalion is the first patriot unit to become engaged, soon reinforced by Olazábal's Trujillo Battalion and two companies of the Yaguachi Battalion. Córdoba tries unsuccessfully to outflank the royalist lines with two companies of his Alto Magdalena Battalion but is repelled, after which the Trujillo and Yaguachi battalions begin running low on ammunition so retire up the volcano's lower folds. A royalist pursuit is in turn repulsed by the Paya Battalion, after which a thrust on the left flank by three companies of the royalist colonel Valdéz's 1st Aragón Battalion is smashed at noon by a like number of companies from the Albi6n Battalion, who have been escorting the ammunition train in the patriot rear.

Córdoba is then ordered to follow up this success by launching a counterattack, which routs the royalists and collapses their morale by 12:30 p.m. on May 24. Sucre resumes his advance against hapless Quito, and that same afternoon his cavalry disperses the royalist cavalry reserve, who have been holding a suburb of the capital. In total, the defenders suffer 400 dead and 190 wounded, compared to 200 killed and 140 injured among the patriot ranks. The next day, Aymerich surrenders the Panecillo redoubt along with 160 of his surviving officers and 1,100 troops, 14 cannon, 1,700 muskets, as well as a considerable stockpile of ammunition and stores. In the popular euphoria following this triumph, it is decided to submit on May 29 to Bolívar's wishes, incorporating Quito and its jurisdiction into the newly created Republic of Gran Colombia as the *Departamento del Sur* or "Southern Department."

JUNE 7, 1822. Spanish general Morales sorties from Puerto Cabello and defeats a patriot force under Soublette at Dabajuro (Venezuela).

JUNE 8, 1822. At 5:00 p.m., Bolívar's 2,000-man army enters Pasto (Colombia) unopposed, its loyalist

garrison agreeing to capitulate because of Sucre's recent conquest of Quito.

JULY 14, 1822. San Martín departs Callao aboard the sloop *Macedonia* to meet Bolívar at Guayaquil.

JULY 25, 1822. Bolívar and San Martín meet at Guayaquil to discuss the future of South America. Generally speaking, the latter favors a constitutional monarchy, the former, republican forms of government. San Martín requests Bolívar's help to eliminate the royalist strongholds high in the Andes, but the latter refuses.

AUGUST 12, 1822. Spanish general Morales is defeated at Naguanagua (Venezuela) by Páez while marching from Puerto Cabello toward Valencia at the head of 1,800 loyalists.

AUGUST 27, 1822. A trio of Portuguese warships arrives off Salvador (Brazil), evading the ineffectual blockade of Brazilian commodore Rodrigo Lamare and disembarking 600 troops to reinforce its loyalist garrison under General Madeira. When Prince Pedro learns of this escalation of hostilities 11 days later,

while returning into São Paulo from Santos, he proclaims Brazil's full independence from Portugal.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1822. After sailing with a royalist expedition from Puerto Cabello, Morales disembarks on the Guajira Peninsula and defeats patriot general Lino Clemente at Salina Rica (Venezuela), occupying nearby Maracaibo the next day.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1822. San Martín resigns his office as "Protector of Peru" and the next day sets sail from Callao toward Chile aboard the brigantine *Belgrano* to go into retirement at his small farm near Mendoza (Argentina).

OCTOBER 17, 1822. Patriot general Alvarado sets sail from Callao to attack the royalist stronghold of Arica (Chile).

LATE OCTOBER 1822. Led by the royalist Benito Boves, Pasto (Colombia) rises against insurgent rule.

NOVEMBER 6, 1822. Portuguese commodore Félix de Campos reaches the loyalist holdouts at Salvador (Brazil) with 1,200 reinforcements, escorted by

Empire of Brazil

Among the South American struggles for independence, Brazil won a unique form of liberty. When the Portuguese prince regent João first arrived at Salvador in January 1808, fleeing Lisbon two days ahead of Napoleon's army, he was given a warm welcome by his colonial vassals. They proved most eager to harbor their overseas ruler. Since João also brought along Portugal's entire government, some 10,000–15,000 retainers, a new imperial administration was installed at Rio de Janeiro as of March 7.

This shift of power was very beneficial to Brazil. In addition to enjoying a trade boom thanks to eased restrictions, its businesses, industries, and agriculture were all encouraged by the resident monarch. Schools were founded, along with scientific, cultural, and banking institutions, while the bureaucracy was also overhauled. Portugal meanwhile endured occupation and war, until the French were finally expelled from the Iberian Peninsula by 1814.

Even then, João stayed in the New World rather than return home. On December 16, 1815, he elevated Brazil from the status of a colony to a kingdom. Three months later, on the death of his deranged mother, Maria, he officially became ruler of Portugal's global empire as King João VI. Yet he delayed returning to Lisbon for five more years.

Portuguese discontent finally erupted into a peaceful insurrection at Oporto on August 24, 1820. The return of the royal family was demanded, along with a new liberal constitution that would limit their powers. A mutiny the next February by the Portuguese troops garrisoning Rio de Janeiro forced João to concede. After crowning his eldest son, Pedro, as prince regent of Brazil, the king sailed for Lisbon in late April 1821. Brazilians were left uneasy, fearful that their new status and privileges might be rescinded by the Portuguese *Cortes* or "Parliament."

Such decrees did indeed reach Rio de Janeiro by December 9, 1821. Brazil was to be reduced to a colony once more, while Prince Pedro was ordered to sail for Lisbon. But popular support quickly formed behind the young monarch. When a homeward-bound Portuguese regiment threatened to carry him off in January 1822, thousands of Brazilian volunteers mustered in defiance. Thus the first step toward Brazilian independence was to back a young prince who was soon to be elected emperor.

the 74-gun ship of the line *Dom João VI* and the frigate *Perola*.

DECEMBER 1, 1822. Throwing off allegiance to Portugal, Pedro I is proclaimed emperor of Brazil.

DECEMBER 6, 1822. A 4,300-man, 10-gun patriot expedition under Alvarado disembarks at Arica (Chile) without opposition, remaining 20 days while gathering mounts to press northward against regional royalist forces.

DECEMBER 23, 1822. *Fall of Pasto.* After numerous skirmishes, Sucre's 1,500-man patriot army fights its way across Guátara Bridge and advances toward Taindala to put down Boves's loyalist insurrection at Pasto (Colombia). The latter attempts to make a brief stand at Yacuanquer but is brushed aside by Sandes's Rifle Battalion.

The next day, the 2,000-man garrison within Pasto requests terms, but Sucre ignores this overture, instead launching a two-pronged offensive at noon intended to seize both its commanding heights and Santiago Church. After a desperate struggle, the defenders break and flee toward Sebondoy or Juanambú, leaving behind 300 dead. Sucre's losses total 8 dead and 32 injured, and after three days of looting, he offers a general amnesty.

DECEMBER 29, 1822. The vanguard of Alvarado's patriot army—1,000 men under General Martínez—advances north from Arica and occupies Tacna (Peru). Three days later, the royalist commander Valdéz attempts to surprise them with a dawn attack, but after becoming lost in the darkness, his 800 troops arrive well past sunup, so Valdéz instead prudently withdraws into Moquegua by January 10, 1823.

JANUARY 14, 1823. A royalist detachment under Colonel Ameller fails to prevent Alvarado from crossing the Locumba River (southern Peru) with his large patriot army.

JANUARY 19, 1823. *Torata-Moquegua.* After being driven out of Moquegua or Moquehua in southern Peru by Alvarado's implacable advance, Valdéz's 1,000 outnumbered royalists make a stand at nearby Torata, hoping to be joined in time by Canterac's approaching two infantry battalions and four cavalry squadrons. Alvarado engages and seems on the verge of achieving victory when Canterac's

cavalry suddenly materializes and puts the patriots to flight. Alvarado suffers 500 casualties, double the royalists' number.

Two days later, Canterac and Valdéz storm the disorganized patriot army within Moquegua, engaging it with a frontal assault, then winning the day by driving in Alvarado's right flank. More than 1,000 patriots are subsequently taken prisoner—including 60 senior officers—while the survivors flee toward the coast. Lavalle's division of Andean Grenadiers is one of the few patriot formations to maintain cohesion, repeatedly fighting rearguard actions. Alvarado goes aboard ship at Ilo with only 500 survivors, escaping north toward Callao.

JANUARY 28, 1823. Surrounded by mutinies and continued resistance, Chile's dictator O'Higgins resigns.

MARCH 6, 1823. To extend Argentine control into the desert tribe lands southwest of Buenos Aires, Gen. Martín Rodríguez leads 2,500 troops on a campaign that establishes Fort Independencia and the town of Tandil, yet fails to subdue the semi-nomadic inhabitants.

MARCH 13, 1823. Cochrane, having quit the Chilean service amid complaints about official corruption, reaches Rio de Janeiro and agrees to assume command over Brazil's newly independent navy: the 74-gun *Pedro I*; the frigates *Piranga* of 62 guns, *Real Carolina* of 44, and *Niterói* of 38; the corvettes *Maria da Gloria* of 26 guns, and *Liberal* and *Maceió* of 20; the brigs *Caboclo* of 18 guns, *Cacique* of 16, and *Real Pedro* and *Guaraní* of 14; plus the 10-gun brigantines *Real*, *Atlanta*, and *Rio de Plata*.

MARCH 18, 1823. To repair Alvarado's disastrous losses in southern Peru, patriot general Valdés leads 2,400 troops aboard the transports *Proserpina*, *Cornelia*, *San Juan*, *Bomboná*, *Flecha*, *Sacramento*, *Soñía*, and *Chimborazo*. The bulk of this expedition is comprised of Jacinto Lara's brigade, being the "Vencedor en Boyacá," Voltijeros, and Pichincha battalions.

MARCH 20, 1823. Gen. Gregorio Tagle leads a dawn uprising in Buenos Aires against the anti-ecclesiastical reforms promulgated by Argentina's republican government on November 18, 1822. His 200 followers, including colonels Bauzá and Viera, are quickly crushed.

APRIL 1, 1823. Cochrane sets sail from Rio de Janeiro with the Brazilian *Pedro Primeiro* (flag), *Piranga*, *Maria de Gloria*, and *Liberal* to blockade the Portuguese garrison holding Salvador (see “February 19, 1822” entry).

APRIL 12, 1823. Sandes departs Guayaquil with 1,250 men of the Bomboná Rifles and 1st “de la Guardia” Battalions aboard the transports *Rosa*, *Perla*, *Dolores*, and *Mirlo* to take part in a second patriot expedition under generals Santa Cruz and Gamarra against royalist forces in southern Peru. The frigate *O’Higgins* follows a few days later with another 300 troops, plus another 582 aboard three transports on April 18.

MAY 4, 1823. Cochrane’s Brazilian squadron skirmishes inconclusively with de Campos’s Portuguese warships outside beleaguered Salvador, neither side being able to gain a decisive advantage because of their green and disaffected crews. When the Portuguese commodore withdraws inside the inner roads of Bahia, Cochrane retires 30 miles south to São Paulo fortress and concentrates all his veteran British and American sailors aboard the *Pedro Primeiro* (flag) and the *Maria da Gloria*, so as to provide himself with at least two reliable vessels. By the end of that month, he is also joined off Salvador by Capt. James Thompson’s *Real Carolina*, plus the *Niterói* and the brig *Bahia* toward the end of June.

MAY 11, 1823. Col. León Galindo departs Guayaquil with 668 men of his Bogotá Battalion aboard the brig *Balcarce*, sloop *Armonia*, and another transport to take part in Santa Cruz’s and Gamarra’s expedition to subdue royalist forces in southern Peru. Galindo’s contingent is followed three days later by another 250 of his men aboard the frigate *Brown*, plus 200 recruits from Pasto and Chocó aboard the English brig *Romeo*. (The latter mutiny off Muerto Island, kill or capture their officers, then compel the English master to deposit them at Esmeraldas on the Atacames coast.) On May 15, the brig *Chimborazo* also sails with 250 cavalymen of the Venezuelan Hussars and Venezuelan Mounted Grenadiers, this whole division being commanded by Col. Luis Urdaneta.

Eventually, Santa Cruz’s expedition swells to 5,100 men and eight fieldpieces. He disembarks at Ilo in mid-June with the main body while detaching his subordinate Gamarra toward Arica with another contingent. The latter establishes his base of

operations at Tacna, while Santa Cruz chooses Moquegua.

JUNE 2, 1823. Having gathered 9,000 troops and 14 fieldpieces at Huancayo (Peru), royalist generals Canterac and Valdéz descend from the Andes to drive upon Lima during the absence of the main patriot armies farther south.

JUNE 12, 1823. The Venezuelan-born patriot colonel Juan José Flores sorties from Pasto (Colombia) to subdue yet another local insurrection. Instead, 600 rebels under Col. Agustín Agualongo fall upon his column three miles south of this city at Catambuco, killing 300 and capturing 200 of his troops after ferocious hand-to-hand combat.

JUNE 18, 1823. *Royalist Seizure of Lima.* Canterac and Valdéz surprise and occupy Lima with their 9,000-man army, while Sucre’s 5,000 patriots must retire inside Callao’s defenses. Despite this easy victory, the invaders are unable to remain inside the capital for want of provisions and begin their evacuation toward Jauja and Huancavelica by July 1, completing it two weeks later.

JULY 2, 1823. *Fall of Salvador.* After more than a year’s siege and blockade, General Madeira and Commodore de Campos decide upon the evacuation of Bahia, their supplies having become exhausted and Cochrane threatening a fireship attack with his Brazilian squadron. Some 13 Portuguese warships therefore exit, escorting 60–70 troop transports northward with 2,000 surviving soldiers and numerous noncombatants. Behind them, jubilant Brazilian irregulars surge into the empty city of Salvador, while Cochrane’s 5 warships pursue the convoy northward to prevent it from reinforcing the last loyalist holdouts in Maranhão Province.

Because of a lack of skilled prize crews, the chasing squadron must cripple many transports by boarding and cutting down their masts, or staving in water casks, thus obliging them to return into Bahia to be captured. Capt. John Taylor (a 30-year-old Royal Navy deserter, ex–first lieutenant of Sir Thomas Hardy’s flagship HMS *Doris*) even pursues some fleeing vessels as far as Portugal with his frigate *Niterói*, burning 4 within sight of Lisbon. Altogether, 16 ships bearing 1,000 troops are taken.

JULY 13, 1823. Sucre sends patriot general Alvarado by ship from Callao with the 2,000 soldiers

of Lara's Brigade to reinforce Santa Cruz. They are soon followed by another 1,200 under Gen. Francisco Antonio Pinto, consisting of the 2nd and 4th Chilean battalions plus two cavalry squadrons and four fieldpieces.

JULY 17, 1823. *Ibarra.* To crush the recurrent Pasto (Colombia) rebellions once and for all, Bolívar marches swiftly northward from San Pablo with 1,500 men to attack its 2,000 rebels gathered at Ibarra (Ecuador) under Colonel Agualongo. He attacks their right flank by 2:00 that same afternoon, driving the rebels precipitately back across Ta-hoando Creek, then up Aluburo Hill. Agualongo's troops finally break and flee, leaving behind 600 dead, as compared to 13 killed and 8 wounded among Bolívar's ranks.

JULY 20, 1823. Sucre sails from Callao toward Arequipa with 3,000 troops, hoping to join Santa Cruz in subduing royalist resistance in Upper Peru (Bolivia).

JULY 23, 1823. Santa Cruz marches inland from Moquegua (Peru), while his subordinate Gamarra does the same from Tacna. Their objective is to ascend the Andes and occupy the royalist stronghold of La Paz (Bolivia), which Santa Cruz reaches by August 8. The next day, Gamarra appears 20 miles farther south at Viacha, turning on August 12 to pursue the outnumbered royalist army under Olañeta, which is retiring toward Oruro.

JULY 24, 1823. The previous evening, Spanish commodore Laborde has anchored north of Maracaibo (Venezuela) between Capitán Chico and Bella Vista with his brigantine *San Carlos*, the schooners *Esperanza*, *Riego* (alias *Maratón*), *Especuladora*, *María Salvadora*, *Estrella*, *Cora*, *Mariana*, *Rayo*, *María Habana*, and *Zulia*, plus 17 lesser auxiliaries, armed with a total of 67 guns and crewed by 670 men. The insurgent commodore José Prudencio Padilla has come to anchor on the eastern shoreline of the lake opposite, off Puertos de Altigracia, with his brigantines *Independiente*, *Marte*, *Fama*, *Confianza*, and *Gran Bolívar*; and the schooners *Espartana*, *Independencia*, *Manuela*, *Chitty*, *Emprendedora*, *Aventina*, *Peacock*, *Antonia Manuela*, and *Leona*.

After awaiting a favorable wind, the insurgent squadron weighs anchor shortly after 2:00 p.m. on the afternoon of July 24, gliding across the gap in a single line to engage the anchored royalist squadron

by 3:45 p.m. After two hours of intense fighting, the insurgents emerge triumphant, despite suffering 44 dead and 165 wounded. Laborde retreats beneath the batteries of Fort San Carlos at the entrance to the lake with only three surviving schooners, leaving behind 437 prisoners.

JULY 26, 1823. Hastening past the defeated Portuguese troop convoy that has evacuated Bahia (see "July 2, 1823" entry), Cochrane enters the loyalist stronghold of São Luis—capital of Maranhão Province—with false colors flying aboard his 74-gun Brazilian flagship *Pedro Primeiro*. Once anchored in a position commanding the city, Cochrane bluffs Gov. Agostinho Antônio de Faria into surrendering, for which feat Brazil's emperor will later ennoble the admiral as Marques de Maranhão.

AUGUST 2, 1823. Sucre's expedition reaches Chala, then steers toward Arequipa upon receiving news of Santa Cruz's movements.

AUGUST 3, 1823. Now besieged within Maracaibo by both insurgent land and sea forces, the Spanish general Morales surrenders to the patriots.

AUGUST 10, 1823. Cochrane's 23-year-old flag lieutenant John Pasco Grenfell enters the loyalist port of Belém (eastern mouth of the Amazon), his Brazilian brig *Maranhão* flying false Portuguese colors until safely at anchor. He then compels its cowed civic leaders to declare for independence.

Five days later, rioters begin looting the warehouses of Portuguese merchants, only to have Grenfell's crew intervene and arrest 261 participants, shooting 5 as ringleaders and incarcerating the remaining 256 aboard a ship out in the harbor. During the ensuing night, 255 die in its stifling hold, the guards misinterpreting their agitation as a prelude to an uprising.

AUGUST 25, 1823. *Zepita.* After falling back from Carratalá three days earlier, Valdéz's 1,900 royalists are overtaken on the Chua-Chua Plains near the town of Zepita on the southwestern shores of Lake Titicaca by Santa Cruz's 2,500 patriots. Both commanders fight an indecisive battle, however, with only minor casualties being inflicted before the monarchists retire after nightfall. Patriot losses total 28 dead and 84 wounded, while Valdéz suffers 100 killed and 184 prisoners.

AUGUST 31, 1823. Sucre lands near Arequipa (Peru) and occupies the city, contacting Santa Cruz inland to propose a joint operation against the royalists in Upper Peru (modern Bolivia), which is refused.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1823. Bolívar reaches Callao aboard the frigate *Chimborazo*, accompanied by 1,500 troops, and a fortnight later assumes office as Peru's governor.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1823. *Santa Cruz's Flight.* Santa Cruz's and Gamarra's patriot armies reunite at Panduro, some 20 miles north of Oruro (Bolivia), marching southward 4,500 strong. Four days later, a 4,000-man royalist army circles east of Sora Sora under Viceroy de la Serna and General Valdéz and, on September 14, joins Olañeta's contingent approaching from Potosí to give a combined strength of 6,500 men.

Learning of this formidable host, Santa Cruz and Gamarra hastily retreat northwestward, hoping to find Sucre near Lake Titicaca. The patriots are overtaken by royalist pursuers near Ayo Ayo on September 17, and Santa Cruz contemplates making a stand. However, when informed that his artillery has not arrived, he opts to renew his retirement, which quickly degenerates into a rout. His troops—now desperate to flee the highlands—fall easy prey to their opponents, some 2,000 being taken prisoner, along with all the patriot guns, plus their artillery and supply trains (taken at Desaguadero Ford on September 20). Santa Cruz reenters Moquegua by September 24 with 900 weary survivors, immediately continuing on toward Ilo to sail away.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1823. Sucre's army is 24 miles northeast of Arequipa (Peru) when informed of Santa Cruz's rout. The patriot general therefore retraces his route back to the coast and sails off with his army by October 12.

NOVEMBER 8, 1823. The loyalist garrison holding out within San Felipe Castle at Puerto Cabello capitulates to the insurgents under Páez, marking an end to Venezuela's struggle for independence.

NOVEMBER 11, 1823. Bolívar departs northwest from Lima with 4,800 troops to put down the mutinous patriot José de la Riva Agüero, headquartered around Huaráz and Trujillo (Peru). Two weeks later, Riva Agüero is arrested at dawn by one of his own

subordinates—Col. Antonio Gutiérrez de la Fuente—who believes that he and his ministers are about to strike a pact with the Spanish loyalists at Jauja.

NOVEMBER 12, 1823. Brazil's emperor Pedro I uses troops to dissolve its legislature, many delegates being arrested.

DECEMBER 10, 1823. Spanish brigadier general Juan Loriga occupies Cerro de Pasco (Peru) with 350 loyalist cavalrymen and 300 infantrymen, only to retire toward Jauja shortly thereafter upon receiving word of Riva Agüero's arrest.

FEBRUARY 5, 1824. *Callao Mutiny.* The Argentine "Río de la Plata" Regiment—performing garrison duty in this Peruvian port—rises in rebellion and detains its colonel, Ramón Estomba, plus fortress commander Rudecindo Alvarado because of arrears in pay. The mutineers are joined the next day by Callao's 11th Infantry Battalion and artillery companies. When threatened with harsh reprisals, they place themselves under the royalist colonel Casariego (who has been confined in one of the fort's dungeons), offering to surrender the place to the loyalists.

When the mounted "Grenadiers of the Andes" Regiment is ordered to ride from Cañete on February 14 to help put down this insurrection, they, too, mutiny at Lurín, arresting their officers and professing loyalty to the Crown.

After first suspecting a trap, royalist general Canterac at last dispatches a column under Brig. Gen. Juan Antonio Monet from Jauja in the central highlands to take advantage of this opening. After a two-day march from Lurín, Monet arrives on February 29, prompting Bolívar's weak, divided government to order the evacuation of Lima in favor of Pativilca. The capital is thus briefly reoccupied by the royalists, who forsake it again on March 18—although Callao is left under Brig. Gen. José Ramón Rodil for another two years.

APRIL 8, 1824. Having been dispatched by Brazilian emperor Pedro I to put down a republican election at Recife (Pernambuco Province), Capt. John Taylor attempts to persuade Gov. Manoel de Carvalho País de Andrade to install a royalist candidate, then—when this is refused—institutes a blockade with his frigates *Niterói* and *Piranha*.

JUNE 20, 1824. Royalist general Olañeta refuses to obey Viceroy de la Serna's orders in Upper Peru

(Bolivia), who delegates Valdéz to deal with this rebellious officer.

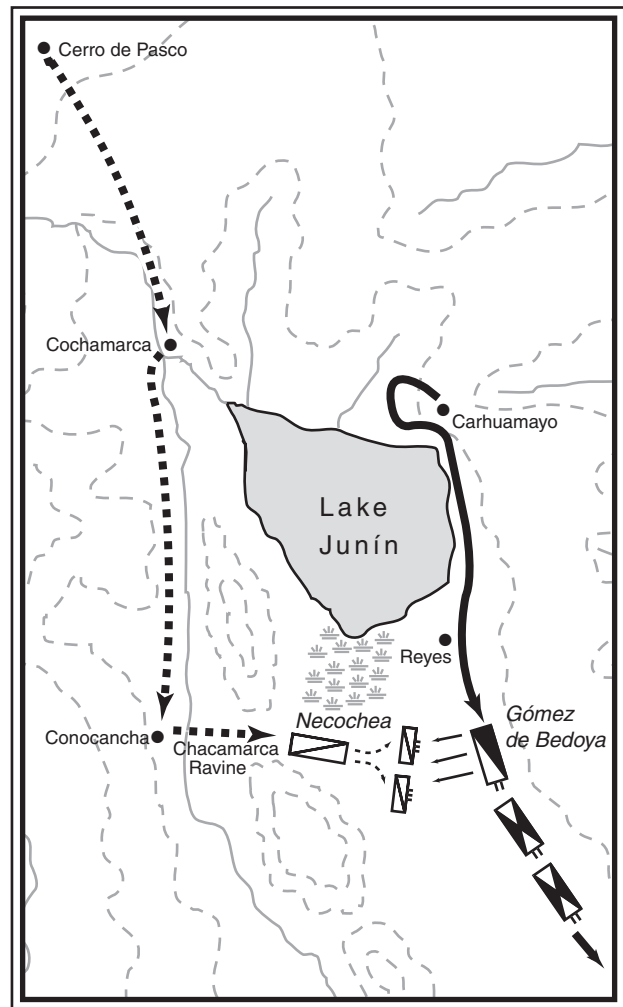
JUNE 28, 1824. Taylor lifts his blockade of Recife (Brazil) to rejoin Admiral Cochrane, who is concentrating his forces against a threatened invasion out of Portugal.

JULY 2, 1824. De Carvalho declares Pernambuco to be an independent republic, then sends two vessels under John Mitrovich (a Maltese deserter from the Royal Navy) to invade Barra Grande. Instead, they are captured on July 25 by an imperial Brazilian schooner.

AUGUST 2, 1824. Cochrane sails from Rio de Janeiro with his squadron, transporting 1,200 Brazilian troops to put down the separatist republican regime in Pernambuco Province. He deposits this royalist contingent at Alagoas (80 miles short of Recife) by August 10, then arrives off that port eight days later to institute a blockade. After failing to come to terms with its leader de Carvalho, the admiral shells the city with his schooner *Leopoldina*, until the arrival overland of Pedro's 1,200 troops effectively puts an end to this insurrection by mid-September. A few executions ensue, while de Carvalho flees into exile aboard the brand-new, 28-gun frigate *HMS Tweed*.

AUGUST 5, 1824. *Junín.* Two days after departing southward from Cerro de Pasco (Peru), Bolívar's 9,600 patriots reach Conocancha, only to learn that Canterac's 7,000–8,000 royalists have been meanwhile circling around the far side of Lake Junín toward the insurgents' previous base and have now reached Carhuamayo. The Liberator therefore turns east toward the hamlet of Reyes, while his opponent Canterac—surprised to discover that the patriots have sallied—hastily retraces his steps southward, hoping to avoid being caught by a flank attack.

On August 6, the patriot army is still advancing through Chacamarca Ravine, with Necochea's 900 cavalymen six miles in advance of Bolívar's main body, when the royalists are sighted in retreat toward Tarma. Hoping to delay their retirement, Necochea disgorges onto Junín Plain and is attacked by Canterac's cavalry screen, 1,300 royalist troopers under Ramón Gómez de Bedoya. These six squadrons overwhelm the two squadrons of Mounted Colombian Grenadiers in the patriot forefront, then drive the remainder back through the ravine's narrow confines.



Battle of Junín.

However, the charging royalist troopers are in turn surprised by a flank attack by Lt. Col. Isidoro Suárez's Peruvian Hussars, who chase Bedoya's men back through the ravine toward the fleeing royalist army. Neither side engages with their infantry or artillery, only cavalry charges being involved, and losses are light on both sides: 248 royalist troopers dead, wounded, or missing, as opposed to a comparable number of patriots. Nevertheless, Canterac's precipitate flight shatters the morale of his followers, some 3,000 dropping out by the time he recrosses the Apurímac River. Bolívar meanwhile proceeds into Chalhuanca, then in early October turns over command of his army to Sucre, so as to travel himself toward Lima.

AUGUST 17, 1824. Spanish general Valdéz's 3,000-man army defeats a column from Olañeta's rebellious royalist faction at Lava (Bolivia), then is recalled

toward Cuzco by Viceroy de la Serna to prepare for a forthcoming campaign against Sucre.

OCTOBER 6, 1824. At Callao, the loyalist corvette *Ica*, plus the brigs *Pezuela*, *Constante*, and *Moyano*—having been reinforced from Europe by the 64-gun Spanish ship of the line *Asia* and the brig *Aguiles* of Commo. Roque Guruceta—are challenged by Rear Adm. Martín Jorge Guise’s insurgent frigate the *Protector*, the corvette *Pichincha*, the brig *Chimborazo*, plus the sloops *Macedonia* and *Guayaquileña*. This Colombo–Peruvian squadron drops anchor off San Lorenzo Island, provoking the Spaniards into emerging the next day and engaging in an inconclusive, long-range exchange of salvos. Both sides then observe each other until October 22, when they withdraw—the patriots north toward Guayaquil, the Spaniards southward.

(A month and a half later, after the patriot victory at Ayacucho, *Asia* and *Constante* attempt to sail across the Pacific to the Philippines; however, their crews mutiny in the Marianas, and Guruceta’s flagship is eventually handed over to the Mexican authorities at Acapulco, the *Aguiles*’s crew surrendering to the Chileans.)

OCTOBER 10, 1824. Valdéz rejoins Viceroy de la Serna at Cuzco with 3,000 men of the 1st and 2nd Gerona battalions, Imperial Alejandro Battalion, 1st Cuzco Regiment, 2nd Fernando VII Regiment, plus four squadrons of the “de la Guardia” Mounted Grenadiers and one squadron of Peruvian Dragoons. This concentration gives the royalists a numerical superiority over Sucre’s approaching patriot army.

OCTOBER 22, 1824. De la Serna and Valdéz quit Paruro with 11,200 royalists (leaving behind another 1,800 to garrison nearby Cuzco), then cross the Apurimac at Agcha and advance upon Sucre, who at the approach of this vast host 10 days later retires north toward Andahuaylas Province.

OCTOBER 25, 1824. In the Brazilian city of Salvador, its mostly black 3rd Battalion rise against a rumored disbandment of their unit, storming the regional headquarters to slay their commander in chief, Gen. Felisberto Gomes Caldeira. Although the city’s two other battalions and artillery company join in a month-long spree of looting and murder, they eventually surrender to loyal troops without resistance. This uprising is remembered as the *Periquitos* or “Parakeets” Rebellion because of

the distinctive, bright green uniforms of the 3rd Battalion.

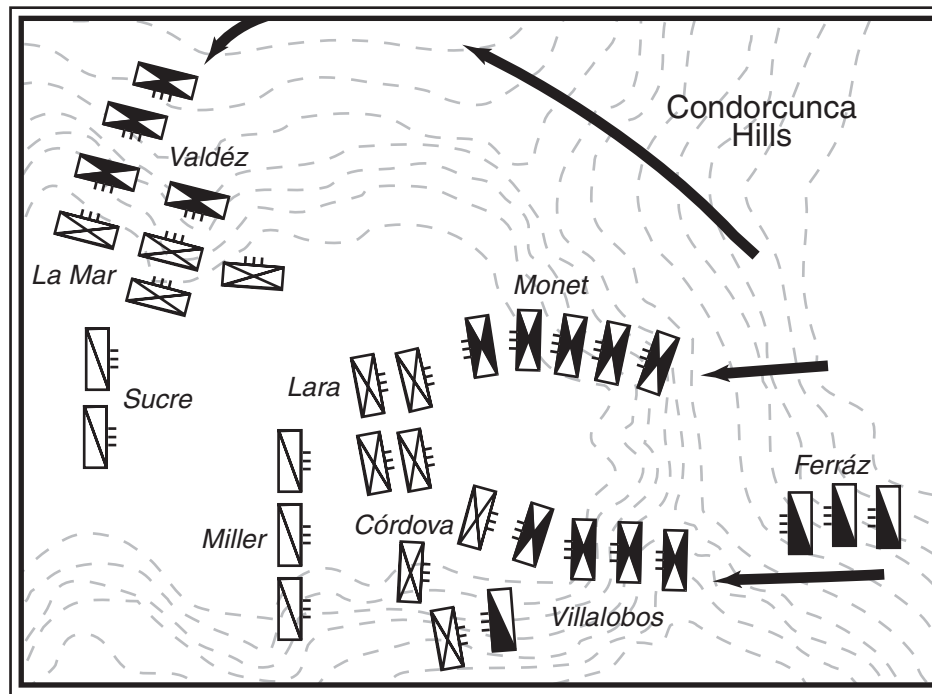
NOVEMBER 3, 1824. After Urdaneta reoccupies Lima, a patriot contingent advancing upon the nearby seaport of Callao is ambushed at La Legua by two royalist cavalry squadrons and four infantry companies, who scatter the patriots. Bolívar appears shortly thereafter, however, fresh from his victory at Junín, and soon reimposes a siege upon the isolated 2,700-man royalist garrison inside Callao—comprised of two infantry battalions, a cavalry squadron, artillery brigade, and irregulars—with 3,000 patriot troops.

NOVEMBER 9, 1824. Cochrane intervenes in the civil strife at Maranhão (Brazil), deposing Miguel Bruce in favor of Manuel Lobo, to little effect.

NOVEMBER 20, 1824. Discovering that de la Serna’s larger royalist army has swung southwest behind him, Sucre turns his own 6,000-man army around and digs in on Bombón Heights. Through clever maneuvering, de la Serna is able to trick the patriot general into believing he is about to be attacked from the rear, compelling him to forsake this strong position four days later and slowly retire farther westward.

DECEMBER 3, 1824. In Collpahuayco Ravine (Peru), Valdéz’s royalist cavalry defeat a patriot rifle battalion from Lara’s brigade, serving as Sucre’s rear-guard. The patriots suffer 300 casualties, as well as losing a fieldpiece.

DECEMBER 6, 1824. *Ayacucho.* Sucre’s 5,800 retreating patriots and single fieldpiece reach Quinua Plain—called Ayacucho by its local Quechua Indians, signifying “Dead Men’s Corner”—seven miles from Huamanga (modern Ayacucho, Peru). The following units deploy into defensive positions: Marshal de la Mar’s Peruvian Division, comprised of Colonel Plaza’s “Peruvian Legion” infantry battalion, the 1st Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Bermúdez, the 2nd Infantry Battalion of Lieutenant Colonel González, and the 3rd Infantry Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Benavides; General Lara’s 1st Colombian Division made up of the “Vencedor en Boyacá” Infantry Battalion under Col. Ignacio Luque, the Vargas Infantry Battalion of Col. José Trinidad Morán, and the Rifle Battalion under Col. Arthur Sandes; Gen. José María Córdo-



Battle of Ayacucho.

va's 2nd Colombian Division constituted of the Bogotá Infantry Battalion under Col. León Galindo, the Pichincha Infantry Battalion of Col. José Leal, the *Voltijeros* Battalion under Colonel Guas, and the Caracas Infantry Battalion of Col. Manuel León; and General Miller's Cavalry Division consisting of two squadrons of Colombian Hussars under Col. Laurencio Silva, two squadrons of Colombian Horse Grenadiers under Col. Lucas Carvajal, two squadrons of Junín Hussars under Lieutenant Colonel Suárez, and one squadron of Argentine Horse Grenadiers under Lieutenant Colonel Bogado.

Two days later, the 9,300 royalist pursuers with 11 cannon approach out of the northeast from Huamanguilla under Viceroy de la Serna to encamp atop Condorcunca Hills. At 9:00 a.m. on the morning of December 9, the royalists drive across Ayacucho Plain in three columns. The first is General Valdéz's Vanguard Division comprised of four infantry battalions: the 1st Imperial Alejandro, the 1st Castro, the 1st Centro, and the 1st Cantabria. The second column is made up of the marshal Monet's 1st Division, five infantry battalions in total: the 2nd Primer Regimiento de Cuzco, the 2nd Burgos, the 2nd Guías (Tacnena Legion), the 2nd Victoria, and the 2nd Infante. The third column is constituted of four infantry battalions from the marshal Alejandro Villalobos's 2nd Division: the 1st Gerona, the 1st Primer

Regimiento de Cuzco, the 2nd Imperial Alejandro, and the Fernando VII. The royalist foot soldiers are backed by Brig. Gen. Valentín Ferráz's Cavalry Division: two squadrons of Grenadiers of the Guard, three squadrons of Fernando VII Hussars, three squadrons of *Dragones* of the Union, two squadrons of Peruvian Dragoons, plus one squadron each of the San Carlos Cavalry Regiment and Viceregal Halberdiers. Their artillery battalion is commanded by General Cacho, and their engineers, by General Atero.

After assembling, the battle is joined at 11:00 a.m., Villalobos's division on the left being repelled by Córdova's Colombians, while the same occurs to Monet's royalists in the center when counterattacked by Suárez's Junín Hussars and Bruix's Mounted Grenadiers. Only Valdéz's division on the royalist right does well at first, driving back de la Mar's Peruvians. However, the patriot cavalry soon bests their royalist counterparts, and when de la Serna commits his reserves—the Fernando VII Battalion—they are also defeated, and the wounded viceroy is captured by 1:00 p.m. Seeing this, Valdéz's division begins a disorganized retirement, and the royalists flee back into the hills, having suffered 1,800 killed and 700 wounded, as opposed to 310 dead and 609 injured among the patriots.

That night, Canterac assumes overall command of de la Serna's defeated survivors and attempts to

order the royalists to march back into Cuzco. Instead, his demoralized forces mutiny, and the next day the remaining 1,000 royalists surrender to Sucre, bringing organized resistance to Spanish American independence to a virtual end.

DECEMBER 12, 1824. After a brief pause, Sucre inaugurates a campaign into Bolivia to stamp out the last sparks of royalist resistance in that district. He encounters no opposition, General Alvarez tamely surrendering the 1,700-man royalist garrison at Cuzco to Gamarra two weeks later. The same occurs at Arequipa, where the self-proclaimed vice-roy Domingo Pío Tristán capitulates with 700 troops, followed shortly thereafter by Brigadier General Echeverría at Puno with another 480 men. Only Olañeta continues to pose a threat, with 5,900 troops concentrated around La Paz.

JANUARY 10, 1825. The republican frigate *O'Higgins* appears off Callao, eventually being joined by the vessels *Pichincha*, *Chimborazo*, *Moctezuma*, *Limeña*,

Macedonia, and *Congreso del Perú* to blockade this last remaining royalist outpost.

JANUARY 14, 1825. The royalist garrison commander at Cochabamba (Bolivia)—Col. A. S. Sánchez—throws off Olañeta's rule, proclaiming himself in favor of republicanism.

FEBRUARY 1, 1825. Republican guerrilla chief José Miguel Lanza occupies La Paz (Bolivia), obliging Olañeta to fall back upon Potosí.

FEBRUARY 7, 1825. Sucre reaches La Paz.

FEBRUARY 12, 1825. Olañeta's garrison in Valle Grande (Bolivia) mutinies and detains General Aguilera.

FEBRUARY 16, 1825. Gen. Bartolomé Salom's patriot besiegers defeat a sally by Rodil's royalist garrison out of Callao, inflicting 200 casualties.



Mexican caricature of the insurgent triumph over the royalists. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

FEBRUARY 22, 1825. Olañeta's subordinate, Col. Francisco López, mutinies at Chuquisaca (Bolivia) with a squadron of Charcas Dragoons, proclaiming himself governor. This brings the number of soldiers who have switched allegiance from Olañeta's royalist cause to 1,800.

APRIL 1, 1825. Royalist general Olañeta is mortally wounded at Tumusla near Potosí (Bolivia) while attempting to put down a mutiny in favor of republicanism by a chasseur battalion under his subordinate colonel Carlos Medina Celi. Most of the surviving loyalists thereupon switch their allegiance to the patriot general Álvarez de Arenales.

MAY 18, 1825. Cochrane deserts the Brazilian service, sailing from São Luis with the frigate *Piranha* and reaching Spithead (England) by June 26.

JANUARY 23, 1826. After nearly two years of stubborn resistance, 13 months of close investment, and 12 days of negotiations, the royalist general Rodil finally surrenders his isolated 700-man garrison holding Callao to the Peruvian general Salom, while Chile's last loyalist holdouts under Col. Antonio de Quintanilla also surrender in the remote Chiloé Archipelago that same month, thereby marking an end to Spanish America's 18-year struggle for independence. Ominously, its last few years have been marred by increasingly bitter feuding between republicans, a portent of the civil wars soon to follow.

Struggles of the Young Republics (1812–1860)



Remember our maxim:
it is better to do well late,
than never.

—*Sam Houston (1835)*

WAR OF 1812 (1812–1815)

Although the United States (population 7.5 million) has already fought a limited “quasi-war” against France (*see* “French Revolutionary Wars”), the War of 1812 has the distinction of being the first full-scale conflict conducted by an independent New World government against an international foe.

For several years, neutral American shipping has been harassed by England’s Royal Navy, as the latter attempts to throttle Napoleonic France and its satellites. Settlers in the American South and West furthermore complain of British trade restrictions having created economic depressions throughout their regions, while Indian resistance to American expansion inland—especially under the 43-year-old Shawnee chief Tecumseh, whose confederacy encompasses the Great Lakes—is suspected of being fomented out of Canada (population 135,000). The Americans also manifest designs upon Florida, owned by Spain, England’s current European ally.

In the autumn of 1811, after fruitless negotiations, the American governor of the so-called Indiana Territory—38-year-old William Henry Harrison—advances with a mixed force of 900 regulars and militiamen against Tecumseh’s home village of Tippecanoe (near modern Lafayette). Arriving on November 7, Harrison repulses a dawn counterattack by this chief’s brother, Lolawau-chika, “the Prophet,” slaying at least 38 natives before the American forces advance and burn the deserted town to the ground. The next spring, Tecumseh requests aid from the British at Amherstburg (Ontario), as tensions escalate.

Finally, President James Madison succumbs on June 1, 1812, to pressure from “war hawks” in the U.S. government—their rallying cry being “Free trade and sailors’ rights!”—and requests that Congress declare war against London because of British impressment of American sailors, interference with neutral trade, and intrigues involving North American tribes. Although New England and the Middle Atlantic states are reluctant, this measure passes the House of Representatives three days later by a 79–49 vote and—after two weeks of bickering—by 19–13 in the Senate. Hostilities officially commence on June 19.

JUNE 22, 1812. Commodores John Rodgers and Stephen Decatur depart New York with the 44-gun frigates USS *President* and *United States*, the 38-gun *Congress*, plus the sloop *Hornet* and the brig *Argus*, of 16 guns apiece, to protect homeward-bound American shipping. Two days later, they intercept a British convoy sailing from Jamaica toward England but fail to capture either its 36-gun escort HMS *Belvidera* or any prizes, despite a lengthy transatlantic pursuit.

JUNE 24, 1812. Rumors of war reach Montreal, followed five days later at Halifax.

JULY 8, 1812. Capt. Charles Roberts—British garrison commander at the island fortress of St. Joseph in the St. Mary’s River, southeast of Sault Sainte Marie (Ontario)—is ordered to surprise the nearby American outpost of Fort Michilimackinac (upper Michigan).

JULY 12, 1812. The 61-year-old U.S. brigadier general William Hull—governor of the “Michigan Territory” and uncle to naval captain Isaac Hull—crosses the Detroit River with 1,200 troops and 1,000 auxiliaries, occupying the village of Sandwich (western Windsor, Ontario) unopposed. Meanwhile, Lt. Col. Thomas Bligh St. George falls back with 300 British regulars of the 41st Foot, Royal Artillery, and Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, plus 400 Indian allies. Rather than continue south against the main British stronghold of Fort Malden (Amherstburg), however, Hull remains immobile, and his volunteer army soon begins to dissipate.

JULY 16, 1812. This morning, Roberts departs Fort St. Joseph with 45 British regulars of the 10th (Royal Veterans), 180 Canadian militiamen, and 400 Indian warriors aboard the North West Company schooner *Caledonia* and a boat flotilla, sailing 50

Impressment

For centuries, the Royal Navy was allowed to force or “press” British seamen into its service. This practice was in addition to the usual conscription used in England or other countries. As skilled sailors were always scarce, whenever hostilities erupted and the king’s warships were activated, they had to compete with privateers and merchantmen for trained crews. Therefore, legal authorization of naval impressment simply meant that, in times of war, royal vessels enjoyed precedence in securing “eligible men of seafaring habits between the ages of 18 and 55 years.” Volunteers and recruits were usually gathered up in England by the Impress Service, often through use of bounties or press-gangs. Warships at sea could also scour British vessels, as well as neutral ships, for British subjects.

Private masters felt aggrieved at losing prime hands, as well as being held liable for due wages. Many sailors objected as well, often petitioning the Admiralty to be released, which were granted in numerous cases. Yet a surprising percentage also found conditions better aboard navy ships, and while the pay might be lower, prize money and serving under a popular commander might make up for it. Recruitment abuses nevertheless abounded during Britain’s 20-year struggle against France, as the Royal Navy strained to maintain more than 100,000 prime sailors for its far-flung fleets.

In Atlantic or Caribbean waters, U.S. seamen found themselves in an especially vulnerable position. During the years immediately after American independence, many still looked and sounded British and were often English born. Royal Navy press-gangs therefore ignored their claims of American citizenship and forcibly enrolled almost 6,000 unwilling seamen in the years prior to the War of 1812. Even “protection certificates” issued by U.S. officials failed to halt this practice, which contributed greatly to the outbreak of hostilities.

miles southwestward across Lake Huron to surprise the Americans at Fort Michilimackinac. His expedition disembarks at 3:00 a.m. the next morning, dragging a 6-pounder atop a nearby hill and then calling upon Lt. Porter Hanks to surrender his log fort at the southeastern tip of Mackinac Island by sunup. The unprepared 61-man U.S. garrison surrenders, and the soldiers are paroled.

JULY 17, 1812. At dawn, the 54-gun, 460-man frigate USS *Constitution* of Capt. Isaac Hull—proceeding from Baltimore to join Rodgers at New York—is

Struggles of the Young Republics (1812–1860)

pursued off New Jersey by the 64-gun HMS *Africa*, plus the frigates *Belvidera*, *Guerrière*, *Shannon*, and *Aeolus*, escaping into Boston 10 days later.

JULY 19, 1812. A British lake squadron out of Kingston (Ontario) attempts to bombard Sackets Harbor (New York) but is driven off.

AUGUST 1, 1812. A British ship reaches Quebec City from Halifax with news that London has belatedly agreed to stop interfering with neutral American shipping. This report is forwarded to 61-year-old major general Henry Dearborn’s headquarters at Greenbush (across the Hudson from Albany, New York), producing a brief local truce.

AUGUST 2, 1812. Michilimackinac’s paroled American garrison reaches Hull at Detroit, and that same day the local Wyandot Indians switch allegiance, crossing over into Amherstburg (Ontario) to join the British. Three days later, Tecumseh leads two-dozen warriors against an American supply train approaching from Ohio, provoking Hull into contemplating an assault upon Fort Malden.

AUGUST 8, 1812. Reversing his decision to attack Fort Malden (because of the rumored approach of a British relief column under 42-year-old major general Isaac Brock, commander in chief for Upper Canada), Hull recrosses the Detroit River with most of his army.

The next day, he sends 600 men to protect an American supply train arriving from the Raisin River, this escort being ambushed early that afternoon near the Indian village of Maguaga by 150 British regulars and Canadian militiamen under Capt. Adam Muir, plus an indeterminate number of Tecumseh’s warriors. The Americans repel the attack, suffering 18 killed and 64 wounded, compared with 6 dead, 21 injured, and 2 enemy captives. While retiring into Detroit the next day, the Americans are further shelled by the brig *Queen Charlotte* and the schooner *General Hunter*.

AUGUST 11, 1812. Hull orders the last of his troops to evacuate Sandwich (Ontario) and return into Detroit, prompting his disgusted subordinates to circulate petitions demanding his recall.

AUGUST 13, 1812. Shortly before midnight, Brock reinforces 25-year-old colonel Henry A. Procter’s garrison at Fort Malden with 50 British regulars,

250 Canadian militiamen, and a 6-pounder. Two days later, he calls upon Hull to surrender Fort Detroit but is rebuffed, so he opens fire with a three-gun battery and two mortars, installed at Sandwich under Capt. M. C. Dixon.

AUGUST 15, 1812. This morning—having previously been ordered by Hull to evacuate Fort Dearborn (modern Chicago)—Capt. Nathan Heald's garrison of 54 U.S. regulars, 12 militiamen, and 27 noncombatants begins retiring toward Fort Wayne (Indiana), when 400 Pottawatomie warriors under Chief Blackbird attack and massacre 26 soldiers, all the militia, 2 women, and a dozen children, while capturing the rest and torching the empty building. Soon the 70-man garrison at Fort Wayne is also besieged.

AUGUST 16, 1812. *Detroit.* Some 600 warriors under Acting Lt. Col. Matthew Elliott of the British Indian Department, having disembarked the previous night at Spring Wells (three miles below Detroit), are joined this morning by 700 redcoats and Canadian militiamen under Brock, supported by the *Queen Charlotte* and *General Hunter* offshore. With 400 of his best Ohio volunteers absent under colonels Lewis Cass and Duncan McArthur, and with Michigan militiamen deserting into their homes, Hull decides he cannot resist. Detroit surrenders, the U.S. commander and 582 regulars being marched off into captivity at Quebec City, while 1,600 Ohio volunteers are paroled. Brock—later created a knight of the Bath for this success—also gains 33 cannon, 2,500 muskets, and the 14-gun brig *Adams* (renamed the *Detroit*).

AUGUST 19, 1812. At latitude 41°42' N and longitude 55°48' W (400 miles south of Newfoundland), Hull's *Constitution* defeats the 48-gun, 244-man frigate HMS *Guerrière* of Capt. James Richard Dacres in a two-and-a-half-hour duel starting around 5:00 p.m. British casualties total 15 killed and 63 wounded, compared with 7 American dead and a like number injured.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1812. After duly ending the truce of August 1, Dearborn resumes offensive operations.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1812. In the Indiana Territory, Fort Harrison is attacked by hostile warriors but successfully defended by 27-year-old captain Zachary Taylor.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1812. Governor Harrison—now a major general in the Kentucky State Militia—relieves the U.S. garrison trapped in Fort Wayne (Indiana) without opposition from its Indian besiegers.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1812. An American boat party attacks a British supply convoy opposite Toussaint Island (below Prescott, Ontario, on the Saint Lawrence River), only to be repelled by its military escort.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1812. Availing themselves of the absence of part of the Canadian garrison at Gananoque (17 miles below Kingston, Ontario), Capt. Benjamin Forsyth's company of gray-clad U.S. regulars and 30 New York militiamen traverse the Saint Lawrence River from Cape Vincent, disembarking west of this village to overrun it. At a cost of one American killed and another wounded, the raiders wound four Leeds militiamen and capture another eight before withdrawing.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1812. With 500 redcoats and a like number of native allies, Muir—now a brevet major—discovers 2,500 Americans under elderly brigadier general James Winchester advancing northeast along the Maumee River (Ohio). Both sides dig in for a defensive struggle and then withdraw in opposite directions when neither presses home an attack.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1812. Col. Daniel Newnan leads a force of Georgia militiamen 100 miles deep into northern Florida to punish its Seminole and fugitive black residents. In a two-week running engagement between September 27 and October 11, his column is badly mauled by King Payne's subjects and obliged to retreat.

OCTOBER 4, 1812. The elderly British colonel Robert Lethbridge assembles two companies of green-clad Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles and 600 other Canadian militiamen at Prescott this Sunday to strike across the Saint Lawrence against Ogdensburg (New York). His flotilla is checked in mid-river by American shore batteries under 37-year-old militia brigadier general Jacob ("Potash") Brown. Lethbridge is subsequently recalled to Montreal because of this fiasco and replaced by Lt. Col. Thomas Pearson.

OCTOBER 6, 1812. The 40-year-old U.S. commodore Isaac Chauncey arrives at Sackets Harbor

(New York) to create a naval counterweight against the British squadron at Kingston (Ontario).

OCTOBER 9, 1812. An American boat party under 31-year-old naval lieutenant Jesse Duncan Elliott cuts the British brigs *Caledonia* and *Detroit* out from under the guns at Fort Erie (Ontario), burning the latter when it runs aground.

OCTOBER 11, 1812. *Queenston Heights.* After an abortive nocturnal attempt to invade Ontario across the Niagara River from Lewiston, Maj. Gen. Stephen van Rensselaer of the New York State Militia makes a second try at 3:00 a.m. on October 13, sending over 300 U.S. regulars under Lt. Col. John Chrystie of the 13th Infantry, plus 300 volunteers under Lt. Col. Solomon van Rensselaer aboard 13 boats. Most disembark a bit above Queenston, being pinned down by the British 49th Hertfordshire or “Green Tigers” Regimental Grenadier Company, until Capt. John E. Wool leads a company of the

13th Regiment up a winding path to the top of Queenston’s 350-foot heights.

Here, the Americans overrun a single-gun redan and then slay Brock when he leads an unsuccessful counterattack with 100 redcoats of the 49th Regiment, plus 100 Lincoln militiamen. His successor and aide—British lieutenant colonel John Macdonell—is also wounded and driven back into Vrooman’s Point, after launching a second failed counterattack with two York volunteer companies. Wool now being badly injured as well, he is reinforced and superseded by the 26-year-old American lieutenant colonel Winfield Scott.

By midmorning, 1,300 invaders have ferried across into Queenston, although many others refuse to leave New York. Only 350 U.S. regulars and 250 militiamen are actively engaged against the defenders atop Queenston Heights when British major general Roger Hale Sheaffe—born 49 years earlier in Boston—arrives at noon with reinforcements: 300 redcoats of the 41st Foot, a horse-drawn field battery, plus 250 Canadian militiamen of Niagara



Romanticized depiction of the death of General Brock at the Battle of Queenston Heights. (Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library)

Light Dragoons, Capt. Robert Runchey's "Company of Coloured Men," more Lincoln and York militiamen, as well as Mohawk warriors. At the behest of some Indians, Sheaffe leads them in a flanking maneuver, gathering en route an additional 100 regulars, 150 militiamen, and 300 Six Nations warriors under Chief John Brant. At 3:00 p.m., Sheaffe takes the Americans completely by surprise out of the west, obliging Scott to surrender with 958 men. The invaders have suffered another 300 casualties, compared to only 14 British and Canadian dead, 77 wounded, and 21 missing, plus 14 casualties among their native allies. Van Rensselaer retires across the border and resigns his command at nearby Buffalo to the regular brigadier general Alexander Smyth. Sheaffe, in contrast, is knighted for his timely action.

OCTOBER 23, 1812. At dawn, American militiamen from French Mills (New York) surprise 31 Franco-Canadian militia voyageurs at St. Regis, killing 8 and capturing the remainder.

OCTOBER 27, 1812. The 32-gun frigate USS *Essex* of Capt. David Porter slips out of Boston, to be followed three days later by Commo. William Bainbridge's *Constitution* and *Hornet* for a raid against British shipping in the South Pacific.

NOVEMBER 8, 1812. Chauncey sorties from Sackett's Harbor (New York) with his 18-gun brig *Oneida* (flag) and a half-dozen armed schooners, chasing the 22-gun British corvette *Royal George*, plus the schooners *Prince Regent* and *Duke of Gloucester*, into Kingston (Ontario) two days later. Although checked by its shore batteries, the Americans mount a blockade. Anglo-Canadian losses are one dead and a few injuries, compared with two killed and eight wounded among Chauncey's crews.

NOVEMBER 20, 1812. *Stillborn Invasion.* At dawn, advance elements of Dearborn's 3,000 U.S. regulars and 3,000 militiamen break the border near Champlain (New York) in a long-anticipated northern offensive. A screen of gray-clad *voltigeurs*—French Canadian light infantrymen—and 300 Caughnawaga warriors, stationed at Lacolle (Quebec) under Maj. Charles Michel d'Irumberry de Salaberry, engage in the darkness. Some American units fire upon each other in the resultant melee, after which the Vermont and New York militia furthermore refuse to leave the United States, prompting Dearborn to order a general retirement. Three days later, his troops

withdraw into winter quarters at Plattsburgh (New York).

NOVEMBER 23, 1812. British captain Andrew Gray leads 70 redcoats, plus some Cornwall and Glengarry militia companies, in a descent upon the American outpost on the Salmon River near French Mills (New York).

NOVEMBER 28, 1812. *Smyth's Offensive.* Before dawn, this American brigadier general pushes twin assault columns under Col. William Henry Winder and Lt. Col. Charles G. Boerstler of the 14th U.S. Infantry Regiment across the Niagara River from Black Rock (New York), disembarking two and a half miles below Fort Erie (Ontario). The invaders establish a beachhead by overrunning a small British battery and, by midday, have 1,200 men ashore. However, after being counterattacked by British regulars and Canadian militiamen—whose numbers quickly swell to 1,100—under Lt. Col. Cecil Bishopp, Smyth cancels this operation and retreats back across the river. Redcoat losses total 17 killed, 47 wounded, and 35 captured or missing.

Two nights later, the American brigadier general again attempts an invasion, embarking 1,500 troops, only to abandon this second try at daylight on November 30.

DECEMBER 29, 1812. The *Constitution* is lying 30 miles off São Salvador (Brazil) waiting for its consort, the *Hornet*—which has ventured inshore searching for the missing *Essex*—when Bainbridge sights the 38-gun frigate HMS *Java* of Capt. Henry Lambert towing the American prize *William*. The Royal Navy warship casts off its tow and bears down upon the *Constitution*, which maneuvers away to use its heavier artillery at long range, starting at 2:00 p.m. Once his foe is crippled, Bainbridge closes upon the *Java* and compels the British to strike after two hours, the latter suffering 22 dead (including Lambert) and 102 wounded. American losses are 12 killed and 22 injured.

JANUARY 18, 1813. *Frenchtown.* On Winchester's initiative, 660 Kentucky militiamen under lieutenant colonels William Lewis and John Allen advance northeast up the Maumee River to surprise the 50 Essex militiamen and 100 Indian warriors garrisoning the Canadian outpost at Frenchtown (modern Monroe, Michigan). After several hours of fighting, they are driven toward Brownstown—20 miles

away—Winchester joining the Frenchtown victors two days later with an additional 300 U.S. regulars under Col. Samuel Wells.

In reaction, Procter crosses the ice from Fort Malden (Amherstburg, Ontario) with 273 redcoats, 275 Canadian militia, 600 Shawnee warriors under the Wyandot chief Roundhead, 28 sailors, plus sleigh-drawn 3-pounders. They fall upon the unwary Americans before dawn on Friday, January 22, quickly breaking their militia contingent (of whom only 30–40 escape through the deep snow). The U.S. regulars resist bravely until called upon to surrender by the captive Winchester—still clad in nightclothes—who fears an Indian bloodbath. British and Canadian casualties total 185, compared to 400 American dead, plus 500 prisoners. Some 30 captives are murdered by drunken Shawnees, this battle being remembered by Americans as the “River Raisin Massacre,” and Procter dubbed as “the Butcher.”

This defeat prompts Harrison to burn his stores, stockpiled at the nearby Maumee Rapids for an anticipated advance against Detroit, and retire south. Procter is promoted to brigadier general by Canada’s governor general (45-year-old lieutenant general Sir George Prevost, himself a veteran West Indian campaigner [see “June 19, 1803” entry in “Napoleonic Wars”]).

FEBRUARY 1813. The 45-year-old militia major general and former senator, Andrew (“Old Hickory”) Jackson reaches Natchez after a month-long trek from Nashville with 2,000 western Tennessee volunteers. His force is intended to occupy Spanish Florida, but instead it is recalled at the last minute by Madison.

Only the disputed borderland between Louisiana and western Florida is to be seized. This operation is carried out by 55-year-old major general James Wilkinson, who leads a contingent from New Orleans to displace the Spanish garrison at Fort Charlotte (Mobile, Alabama) by April 15. The outnumbered Spaniards retire into Pensacola, without bloodshed.

EARLY FEBRUARY 1813. A detachment of U.S. regulars, plus 250 mounted Tennessee volunteers under Col. John Williams, plunge into northern Florida, destroying scores of Seminole villages during a three-week campaign starting on February 7.

FEBRUARY 7, 1813. At dawn, Forsyth’s 200 troops surprise the Canadian militia outpost at Brockville



Canadian Glengarry light infantryman. (Parks Canada)

(formerly Elizabethtown, Ontario), returning across the icy Saint Lawrence into Ogdensburg (New York) with 52 prisoners—most soon paroled—and being promoted to major for this exploit.

FEBRUARY 22, 1813. At 7:00 a.m., recently promoted lieutenant colonel “Red George” Macdonell and Capt. John Jenkins of the Glengarry Light Infantry launch a two-pronged strike from Prescott (Ontario) across the frozen Saint Lawrence with 120

regulars of the 8th (King's) Foot, 30 Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, 350 Canadian militiamen, and sleigh-drawn guns, storming into Ogdensburg (New York) before its defenders are fully alert. After an hour-and-a-half fight, Forsyth's garrison retreats southwest toward Black Lake, having killed seven Anglo-Canadians and wounded 48—including Macdonell and Jenkins. American losses are 20 dead and 70 captured (mostly wounded). Their ice-bound gunboats are torched and Ogdensburg looted before the raiders retire.

Fearing this crossing presages a larger winter offensive, Dearborn hastily reinforces Sackets Harbor with 800 U.S. regulars from Plattsburgh (New York) under 33-year-old colonel Zebulon Montgomery Pike, plus 400 militiamen out of Greenbush.

MARCH 17, 1813. American artillery at Black Rock (New York) bombards Fort Erie (Ontario), apparently to mark Saint Patrick's Day.

APRIL 25, 1813. *Little York.* This Sunday, Chauncey exits Sackets Harbor (New York) with the 24-gun American corvette *Madison*, brig *Oneida*, schooner *Julia*, and a dozen lesser consorts, conveying Dearborn's army across Lake Ontario to attack Little York (modern Toronto). They bear 1,700 troops, mostly regulars from the 6th, 15th, and 16th U.S. Infantry regiments, detachments from the 14th and 21st, two companies of light artillery, Forsyth's Rifle Corps, plus some volunteers.

The next afternoon, their vessels are spotted off Scarborough Bluffs, and Sheaffe's 750-man British garrison stands to arms: two companies of the 8th Foot, another pair from the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, a company of Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, flank companies of the 3rd York Militia, 50–100 Mississauga, Chippewa, and Ojibwa warriors, plus assorted dockyard workers. Around 8:00 a.m. on April 27, the Americans disembark west of York at Sunnyside, Forsyth brushing aside opposition from native snipers and from Capt. Neale McNeale's 8th Grenadier Company (whose commander dies during an American bayonet charge to secure this beachhead). By 10:00 a.m., most of Pike's contingent is ashore, and Chauncey's dozen armed schooners commence bombarding the two-gun Western Battery. One of the battery's magazines explodes accidentally an hour later, killing 20 defenders and wounding many others, compelling the Canadians to fall back once the small American army—now bolstered by its field artillery—pushes east. Briefly

checked at 12:30 p.m. by the two 12-pounders of Half Moon Battery, the Americans soon subdue it with their cannon, so Sheaffe (having suffered 62 dead and 94 wounded) orders a general retirement toward Kingston.

However, the defenders delay the invaders by leaving Half Moon's flag flying; they also ignite their main magazine, which lies farther behind this battery, upon departing. The subsequent explosion kills 38 Americans and injures 222, Pike being among the mortally wounded. The Americans hold York for four days, setting many of its buildings ablaze during April 30–May 1, after which they depart toward Niagara.

APRIL 28, 1813. *Fort Meigs.* Procter arrives from Amherstburg at the Maumee River mouth with 550 redcoats, 61 fencibles, and 464 Canadian militiamen aboard a half-dozen vessels, two gunboats, and a boat flotilla. Quickly erecting batteries on both banks, he is joined by 1,200 Indians under Tecumseh. Procter then advances six miles upriver to invest Harrison's newly constructed Fort Meigs by May 1 (just below the Maumee Rapids, named for Ohio's governor Return J. Meigs). The attackers cannot completely encircle this stockaded American stronghold, so that Harrison is able to contact 1,200 Kentucky militiamen who are approaching out of the southwest in his support under Brig. Gen. Green Clay.

On the morning of May 5, the first 900 Kentuckians arrive to disembark under Col. William Dudley and rush the British siege batteries on the north bank, while Harrison launches a simultaneous sally from inside beleaguered Fort Meigs against the besiegers' southern battery. Three companies of the British 41st Foot and some Canadian militiamen under Muir check the first attack, allowing Tecumseh's warriors to close in behind the Kentuckians, killing or capturing almost all their opponents. Nevertheless, a second disembarkation by Clay overwhelms the southern British battery, after which he and Harrison retire inside the fort, arranging a two-day truce. American losses total 400 dead and 600 captured; Procter suffers 15 killed, 46 injured, and 40 captured.

Yet despite his victory, Procter cannot carry Fort Meigs, and as his weary militiamen insist upon returning home to plant their spring crops, the British general is compelled to abandon his siege by May 9.

MAY 8, 1813. After destroying York and heading south across Lake Ontario, Dearborn and Chauncey's

expedition appears outside Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario), but, being “sickly and depressed” because of foul weather, the force sails back east instead of attacking the fort, making toward Sackets Harbor (New York).

MAY 15, 1813. The 31-year-old veteran commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo (*see* “December 1808” entry in “Napoleonic Wars”) arrives at Kingston (Ontario) with 150 British seamen, soon joined by another 300, to help man the newly launched 23-gun *Wölfe*, the 21-gun *Royal George*, the 14-gun brig *Earl of Moira*, plus the 14-gun schooner *Prince Regent* (soon renamed *Lord Beresford*) and the 12-gun schooner *Sir Sidney Smith*.

That same day on the Atlantic Seaboard, a British naval force disembarks to sack Havre de Grace (Maryland).

MAY 25, 1813. *Fort George.* This morning, Chauncey’s American lake squadron begins bombarding Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario), quickly setting all its log buildings ablaze. Two days later, Colonel Scott—having been exchanged during the preceding winter (*see* “October 11, 1812” entry) and now substituting for the indisposed Dearborn—

disembarks his vanguard, followed by contingents under brigadier generals John Parker Boyd, Winder, and John Chandler.

To oppose the 4,000 Americans, British brigadier general John Vincent has 1,000 men of the 8th and 49th Foot, Royal Newfoundland Fencibles, Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, plus 300 Canadian militiamen. Unable to contain Scott’s beachhead, and having suffered 52 killed and 306 wounded or missing, the British commander spikes Fort George’s guns, then retreats southwest toward Beaver Dam (Thorold). Scott thus secures this strategic outpost, at a cost of 40 American dead and 120 injured.

Around that same time, American lieutenant colonel James P. Preston pushes across the Niagara from Black Rock and occupies deserted Fort Erie (Ontario).

MAY 27, 1813. *Sackets Harbor.* Availing themselves of Chauncey’s absence at the west end of Lake Ontario, Prevost and Yeo slip southeast out of Kingston (Ontario) with a 750-man assault force aboard the *Wölfe*, the *Royal George*, the *Earl of Moira*, two armed schooners, two gunboats, and 30 lesser craft. Col. Edward Baynes brings a grenadier company of the 100th (County of Dublin) Foot, a section of the



Attack on Sackets Harbor.

1st (Royal Scots), two companies of the 8th, four of the 104th (ex-Brunswick Fencibles), one of Glen-garry Light Infantry, and two of Canadian *voltigeurs*, plus a pair of 6-pounders.

The next morning, this expedition appears off Sackets Harbor (New York) and is unable to close because of contrary winds. The 400 U.S. defenders under militia major general Brown are reinforced by several hundred hastily assembled local militiamen. Shortly after daybreak on May 29, however, Baynes fights his way onto Horse Island (a mile west-southwest), scattering its 500 American defenders, although being checked in the outskirts of Sackets Harbor by U.S. regulars at Fort Tompkins. Fighting then bogs down until Brown finally slips a militia contingent behind the British right, persuading Prevost and Bayne to withdraw three hours later. The Britons and Canadians set sail for Kingston that same night, having suffered 47 killed (including Captain Gray), 194 wounded, and 16 missing. American losses are 21 dead, 85 injured, 154 captured, plus three 6-pounders taken. Brown is promoted to brigadier general in the regular U.S. Army for this defense.

JUNE 1, 1813. The 38-gun frigate USS *Chesapeake* of Capt. James Lawrence emerges from Boston, being engaged 20 miles out at 5:50 p.m. by Capt. Philip Bowes Vere Broke's 38-gun frigate HMS *Shannon*. Within 15 minutes, the American vessel is pounded into submission, suffering 61 dead (including Lawrence, who falls mortally wounded, crying: "Don't give up the ship!") and 85 wounded, as compared with 24 killed and 59 injured aboard the *Shannon*. The *Chesapeake* is then sailed to Halifax by its captors.

JUNE 2, 1813. This evening, 30-year-old lieutenant Thomas Macdonough's U.S. armed schooners *Growler* and *Eagle* anchor at Rouses Point (the north end of Lake Champlain, New York). The next morning, they penetrate the Richelieu River mouth to attack the British garrison at Île aux Noix (later Fort Lennox, Quebec), only to be surprised by a mist-shrouded boat sortie. Both American men-of-war are captured, suffering 1 killed, 19 wounded, and more than 90 prisoners. The defenders' losses are only 3 injured; the prizes are renamed the *Shannon* and the *Broke*.

JUNE 3, 1813. Yeo's British squadron sails west across Lake Ontario, bearing 220 redcoats of the 8th Foot, ammunition, and stores to relieve Vincent.

JUNE 5, 1813. Stoney Creek. Having observed American brigadier generals Winder and Chandler's 3,500 men and four fieldpieces bivouac for the night at Stoney Creek (Ontario), Vincent detaches 700 redcoats of the 8th and 49th Foot under Lt. Col. John Harvey to check their westward progress toward Burlington by mounting a nocturnal raid. Armed with the invaders' password, the British column silently penetrates the U.S. encampment at 2:00 a.m. on June 6, surprising the enemy.

Although startled, the Americans react well, ejecting Harvey's outnumbered force by dawn with a loss of 23 dead redcoats, 134 wounded, and 5 missing. U.S. casualties are only 55, with another 100 missing; but among the latter are both American generals, carried off as prisoners. Command therefore devolves upon Col. James Burn of the 2nd Dragoons, who opts to retreat toward Forty Mile Creek (Grimsby).

The American depot at this place is attacked from offshore by Yeo's squadron on the afternoon of June 7, seizing 16 boatloads of supplies, thus causing Burn to withdraw as far as Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario) by June 8.

JUNE 13, 1813. British naval forces sack Hampton (Virginia) but, nine days later, suffer a heavy repulse off Craney Island.

JUNE 22, 1813. This evening, Laura Ingersoll Secord—a Canadian housewife from Queenston (Ontario)—reaches Lt. James FitzGibbon's detachment of the 49th Foot at Beaver Dam to warn it that an American column is advancing southwest from Fort George.

These attackers appear two mornings later, consisting of 575 cavalymen and infantrymen under Lieutenant Colonel Boerstler, plus two fieldpieces. At 9:00 a.m., the American rear is attacked by 300 Caughnawaga warriors under Capt. Dominique Ducharme of the British Indian Department, soon joined by 100 Mohawks under Capt. William Johnson Kerr and Chief John Brant. By the time FitzGibbon arrives at noon with 50 redcoats, the wounded Boerstler is already so discouraged that he surrenders his entire command. The Caughnawagas, having borne the brunt of this fighting, suffer 15 killed and 25 wounded. Some 462 U.S. regulars are marched off into captivity, their militia contingent—mounted partisans under Cyrenius Chapin of Buffalo (New York), better known as the "Forty Thieves"—being paroled.

JULY 5, 1813. An Anglo-Canadian party under Lt. Col. Thomas Clark crosses the Niagara River and raids an American depot at Fort Schlosser (New York), capturing a 6-pounder and numerous other stores.

JULY 11, 1813. Bisshopp raids the American depot at Black Rock (New York) with 250 British regulars and Canadian militiamen, only to be overtaken by Tuscarora warriors while retiring with valuable booty; he is mortally wounded. Redcoat losses total 13 killed and 25 wounded.

JULY 18, 1813. Two American gunboats capture 15 British supply boats near Rockport (Ontario), then repel a rescue mission out of Kingston at Goose Creek (New York).

JULY 20, 1813. Having traversed Lake Erie from Amherstburg (Ontario) with 300 redcoats and 3,000 warriors, Procter invests Fort Meigs (Ohio), withdrawing eight days later when its American garrison under Clay refuses to be lured out into the open.

JULY 21, 1813. Chauncey sorties west from Sackett Harbor (New York) with his new 26-gun corvette *General Pike*, accompanied by another warship, brig, and 10 schooners. They load a troop contingent at Fort Niagara before probing Vincent's defenses at Burlington (Ontario).

JULY 27, 1813. *Creek War.* In Alabama, American settlers under militia colonel James Caller attack 300 Lower Creek warriors under Chief Peter McQueen, who are returning home from obtaining arms at Spanish Pensacola. Although this tribe is contemplating hostilities against their Upper Creek rivals—already at war against the Americans around the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers—Caller's men are convinced that the visit to hostile Pensacola portends treachery. This Battle of Burnt Corn Creek ends inconclusively, but drives the Lower Creek to join their brethren in hostilities against the settlers.

JULY 29, 1813. *Plattsburgh Raid.* This morning, British lieutenant colonel John Murray departs Île aux Noix (Quebec) with 950 troops of the 13th, 100th, 103rd, and Canadian Fencibles, plus two-dozen gunners for a pair of 3-pounders and 35 militiamen. They travel aboard 47 boats, escorted by a trio of gunboats and the captured American

schooners *Broke* and *Shannon*—now commanded by Cmdr. Thomas Everard of HMS *Wasp* and Lt. Daniel Pring.

Pushing south into Lake Champlain, this expedition overruns Chazy, then surprises the American depot at Plattsburgh (New York) the next dawn, disembarking without opposition from its few militia defenders—Hampton being absent at Burlington (Vermont) with his main army and squadron. Storehouses both here and at Swanton are destroyed, after which Everard continues toward Burlington with his schooners and a gunboat to capture four American vessels. Murray meanwhile retires north into Canada.

JULY 31, 1813. Chauncey's squadron returns to York (Toronto). Finding no British troops, the Americans pillage its storehouses and then set them ablaze before departing two days later toward Fort Niagara (New York).

AUGUST 1, 1813. Early this morning, after retreating from Fort Meigs (see "July 20, 1813" entry), Procter disembarks 300 redcoats and a like number of Indian allies near the Sandusky River mouth (Ohio) to invest smaller Fort Stephenson. After a preliminary bombardment, the British attackers launch their assault at 4:30 p.m., which this garrison stoutly resists. Although earlier ordered by Harrison—whose large American army lies nearby—to evacuate, Fort Stephenson's 160 U.S. regulars and single 6-pounder under Maj. George Croghan break Procter's columns and oblige him to reembark the next day, having suffered 96 casualties.

AUGUST 7, 1813. Yeo's two British ships, pair of brigs, and two schooners confront Chauncey's larger squadron off Fort Niagara, both commanders circling warily. Two American schooners capsize in a squall that same night, then two more become separated and are captured in the early hours of August 11, before Yeo retires.

AUGUST 25, 1813. The 28-year-old American commodore Oliver Hazard Perry appears outside Fort Malden (Amherstburg, Ontario) with his new 20-gun brigs *Lawrence* (flag) and *Niagara*, plus lesser the vessels *Ariel*, *Caledonia*, *Ohio*, *Scorpion*, *Somers*, *Tigress*, *Porcupine*, and *Trippe* (mounting 15 guns between them). This 490-man squadron has earlier ventured west from Presque Isle (Erie, Pennsylvania) to establish a base at Put-in-Bay (Ohio). The

one-armed, 28-year-old British acting commodore Robert Heriot Barclay has insufficient strength to sortie.

AUGUST 29, 1813. *Fort Mims.* A black slave reports hostile Indians approaching Fort Mims (40 miles north of Mobile, on the eastern bank of the Alabama River), but is flogged for lying.

The next day at noon, 800–1,000 Creek warriors (known as “Red Sticks”), under chiefs William Weatherford and Josiah Francis, steal up on the outpost’s open gates, surprising its garrison of 100 Mississippi volunteers and 400 noncombatants. After a lengthy struggle, the attackers overrun this blazing structure, massacring 247 people and carrying most of the remainder off as captives. This action not only spreads terror throughout the American settlements but provokes an all-out military counter-effort from neighboring Tennessee and Georgia.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1813. Perry’s American squadron again shows itself off Amherstburg (Ontario), increasing pressure on Barclay to sortie because of disruptions to British lake-borne traffic.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1813. Chauncey’s American squadron sights Yeo’s weaker force off the Niagara River mouth, chasing it across Lake Ontario for five days until the British shelter in a fortified bay five miles west of Kingston, having suffered four killed and seven wounded.

SEPTEMBER 9, 1813. *Lake Erie.* This Thursday morning, Barclay sallies from Amherstburg (Ontario) with his new 19-gun flagship *Detroit*, the 17-gun *Queen Charlotte* under Lt. Robert Finnis, the 10-gun *Hunter*, plus the *Chippawa*, the *Lady Prevost*, and the *Little Belt*—armed with 19 guns between them—to beat southeast and surprise Perry’s more powerful American squadron at its anchorage 10 miles southwest of Pelee Island.

Because of contrary winds, Perry can see the British slowly approaching the next morning, so he sorties with virtually his entire strength, nine vessels in a straggling line (the *Ohio* being absent on a cruise). Barclay opens fire around noon with his more long-range guns, but the Americans enjoy the weather gauge so close with the 103-man *Lawrence* in the van so that their carronades might bear. By 2:00 p.m., both flagships are incapacitated, and Barclay is severely wounded. A half-hour later, the American commodore transfers a half mile from his

devastated *Lawrence* aboard Elliott’s undamaged vice-flagship, the *Niagara*; he then sails through the British line, splitting it asunder. Barclay’s *Detroit* and two other battered British schooners are put out of action, and by 3:00 p.m., Finnis is dead, the attackers’ entire fleet being crippled.

Eventually all British vessels strike, their casualties totaling 41 killed and 94 wounded, as opposed to 27 dead and 96 injured among Perry’s vessels—83 lost aboard the *Lawrence* alone. (Upon taking possession of his prizes, the American commodore makes a famous report to Harrison: “We have met the enemy, and they are ours: two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop.”)

SEPTEMBER 19, 1813. The 59-year-old U.S. major general Wade Hampton pushes across the Canadian border near Odelltown (Quebec) to divert attention from a larger American buildup at Sackets Harbor (New York). The next day, Hampton retires back across the border into Chazy.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1813. Following Barclay’s defeat, Procter torches his supply dump within Detroit, then retreats cross-river into Fort Malden (Amherstburg, Ontario).

SEPTEMBER 26, 1813. As Perry’s victorious warships enter the Detroit River from the south, Procter destroys Fort Malden and then begins slowly retiring eastward into Ontario the next morning, with 800 redcoats—mostly of the 41st Infantry—plus 1,000 Indian allies under Tecumseh.

That same day, Harrison arrives with 4,500 U.S. regular and militia infantrymen, occupying Amherstburg, Sandwich, and Detroit. On September 28, he sets out with 3,000 troops in pursuit of the retreating British.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1813. Chauncey’s American squadron—despite suffering considerable damage—chases Yeo’s warships into Burlington Bay (Ontario), killing 5 British seamen and wounding 13.

OCTOBER 1, 1813. Harrison’s column is reinforced by 500 mounted Kentucky rifles under 32-year-old lieutenant colonel (and congressman) Richard Mentor Johnson, giving his army greater mobility. Late the next day, they rendezvous with Perry’s gunboats at the Thames River mouth (eastern Lake Saint Clair), pressing upstream together on October 3 in pursuit of the retreating Procter and Tecumseh.

OCTOBER 5, 1813. *Thames (or Moraviantown).*

On the north bank of the Thames River, five miles southwest of Moraviantown (modern New Fairfield, Ontario), Procter's and Tecumseh's retreating columns make a stand against their American pursuers. A rearguard of 500 British troops forms into two lines across the road into some woods, while 500 Shawnee and allied warriors hide in a nearby swamp. Although they are equipped with a 6-pounder, it has no ammunition.

Upon contacting this deployment with his 3,000-man army, Harrison refuses to be drawn into a flanking attempt; instead, he follows Johnson's suggestion and makes a direct frontal charge with his 500 mounted Kentuckians at midafternoon. This scatters the demoralized redcoats within 10 minutes, after which the Americans dismount to attack the Shawnee farther north into the swamp, who hold their ground for an hour until Tecumseh is mortally wounded. They, too, then break and flee, leaving behind 33 dead. British casualties total 18 killed, 22 wounded, and 477 captured, as opposed to 15 Americans dead and 30 injured (among the latter is Johnson, who receives five wounds, but survives).

Procter eventually reaches Burlington with 250 survivors, while the American cavalry retire into Detroit four days later, followed by its infantry on October 10.

OCTOBER 11, 1813. In a diversionary move, American colonel Isaac Clark enters Missisquoi Bay (Quebec) with 200 militiamen, surprising its tiny Canadian garrison at Philipsburg.

OCTOBER 12, 1813. After dispatching his kinsman—42-year-old militia major general John Coffee—south with a cavalry vanguard toward Huntsville (Alabama), Jackson departs Fayetteville (Tennessee) with his 2,500-man main body to invade Creek territory.

OCTOBER 14, 1813. After signing an armistice with the Pottawatomie, Wyandot, Miami, and Chipewia Indians at Detroit, receiving numerous hostages, then appointing Brigadier General Cass as his successor, Harrison departs on a triumphal progression toward Washington. (He is eventually elected ninth president of the United States, serving only a single month before dying. His subordinate, Johnson, becomes ninth vice president under Van Buren—campaigning under the slogan: "Rumpsey, dumpsey, Johnson killed Tecumseh.")

OCTOBER 17, 1813. This evening, Wilkinson departs Henderson's Bay (west of Sackets Harbor, New York) with 8,000 American troops—14 infantry regiments, 2 of dragoons, plus 3 artillery companies—to join Hampton's army farther northeast, then drive upon Montreal. Wilkinson's expedition sails aboard 300 craft, escorted by a dozen gunboats, but is struck by a storm before reaching Grenadier Island (at the Saint Lawrence River mouth); he is further decimated by cold weather and poor supplies. Wilkinson, now quite ill, does not resume his advance until two weeks later.

OCTOBER 21, 1813. This morning, Hampton crosses the Quebec border from Four Corners (New York) with 4,000 American infantrymen, 200 dragoons, and 10 fieldpieces—1,400 New York militiamen refusing to march out of state—to push up the Châteauguay River, join Wilkinson on the Saint Lawrence, then threaten Montreal.

OCTOBER 25, 1813. *Châteauguay River.* After moving north to within 14 miles of Montreal, Hampton's scouts, early this afternoon, detect 50 Canadian fencibles, 150 *voltigeurs*, 100 militiamen, and 50 native allies under Lieutenant Colonel de Salaberry occupying a defensive line on the western side of the Châteauguay. Without awaiting Wilkinson—whom he dislikes—Hampton decides to brush aside this formation the next morning with a two-pronged assault, so he detaches Col. Robert Purdy's 1,500-man 1st Infantry Brigade over to the eastern bank for a flanking maneuver—little realizing that another 1,300 Canadian troops under Swiss-born major general Louis de Watteville are dug in upriver.

Purdy's column becomes slowed and disoriented overnight, not arriving opposite de Salaberry's position until noon on October 26. When the main American body moves forward under Brig. Gen. George Izard at 2:00 p.m., it draws fire from hitherto-undetected Canadian militia companies, after which, Purdy is struck by a counterattack led by captains Joseph Bernard Bruyère and Charles Daly. Surprised by this unexpected strength, the 4,000 invaders—having suffered only 50 casualties—withdraw as far south as Chateaugay (New York), without informing Wilkinson. De Salaberry's losses are 2 dead, 16 wounded, and 7 missing.

NOVEMBER 2, 1813. This evening, Coffee fords the Coosa River at Fish Dams with 900 cavalrymen, attacking the Creek village of Tallushatchee

(near modern Jacksonville, Alabama) an hour after sunrise on November 3, killing 186 natives and capturing 84—of whom only 40 are marched back into Jackson's main camp. American losses total 5 dead and 41 wounded.

NOVEMBER 6, 1813. This evening, British major general Francis, Baron de Rottenburg, detaches Lt. Col. Joseph W. Morrison—born 30 years earlier in New York City—from Kingston (Ontario) to pursue Wilkinson with 450 regulars (nine companies) of the 89th Foot and 160 of the 49th, plus 20 gunners for two 6-pounders. They sail aboard Cmdr. William Howe Mulcaster's schooners *Lord Beresford* and *Sir Sydney Smith*, plus seven gunboats and numerous lesser craft.

NOVEMBER 7, 1813. Wilkinson disembarks at Morristown (opposite Brockville, Ontario) to work his empty boats past Fort Wellington—farther down the Saint Lawrence at Prescott—under cover of darkness. Once past these British defenses, American brigadier general Leonard Covington is set ashore the next morning at Iroquois with 1,200 troops to clear its northern shoreline of snipers; he is then joined on November 9 by Brown's 2,500 men and some fieldpieces to drive upon Cornwall. Although Wilkinson continues to press his advance, he remains worried about his rear, because Morrison's counterexpedition has also reached Prescott that same morning of November 9.

NOVEMBER 8, 1813. *Talladega.* This evening—after a 30-mile forced march from the Coosa River—Jackson's 2,000 troops arrive within six miles of a village of 160 friendly Creeks at Talladega (east of modern Birmingham, Alabama), who are being besieged by 1,000 hostile Red Sticks. The next dawn, the Americans advance with cavalry on both wings, their vanguard luring the Creek warriors into a counterattack, during which the Red Sticks are enveloped. Indian casualties total at least 299 dead, compared with 17 killed and 80 wounded among Jackson's ranks. Notwithstanding this victory, the Americans are obliged to retire north into Fort Schlosser at Ten Islands because of a lack of supplies.

NOVEMBER 10, 1813. *Crysler's Farm.* On a rainy afternoon, Morrison's 900 redcoats and three 6-pounders overtake the rear of Wilkinson's much larger American army as it prepares to drive through Cornwall toward Montreal. Headquartered at John



French Canadian voltigeur, or light infantryman. (Parks Canada)

Crysler's farm, the British commander probes the U.S. rearguard the next morning, provoking a minor exchange that goads Wilkinson into ordering brigadier generals Covington, Boyd, and Robert Swartout to swing about with their 2,000 troops, then march in three columns to drive off these pursuers.

The American counterattack begins well, easily pushing back a line of three Canadian *voltigeur* companies. By 2:00 p.m., however, they are checked by Morrison's main body, which the Americans vainly try to outflank. Boyd suffers heavy casualties charging the British lines in piecemeal fashion, eventually drawing off two and a half hours later in disarray.

His losses total 102 dead (including Covington), 237 wounded, more than 100 captured, plus a lost fieldpiece. The Britons and Canadians suffer 22 killed, 148 wounded, and 9 missing.

On the morning of November 12, Wilkinson learns that Hampton has withdrawn into New York, so he cancels his own operation. His army veers south two days later to recross the Saint Lawrence and enter winter quarters on the Salmon River banks at French Mills (renamed Fort Covington).

NOVEMBER 18, 1813. Militia brigadier general James White—a subordinate of Jackson's bitter eastern Tennessee rival, major general John Cocke—attacks the Hillabee (or Hillabee) towns of the Upper Creek along the Tallapoosa River headwaters, little realizing that these tribes have already asked Jackson for peace. Over the next couple of days, White slaughters more than 60 Indians and captures 250, without suffering a single loss; thus, he unwittingly goads the Upper Creek into renewing hostilities.

NOVEMBER 28, 1813. This evening, Brig. Gen. John Floyd's 950 Georgia militiamen bivouac within a few miles of the Upper Creek village of Auttose (20 miles from the Tallapoosa-Coosa confluence, Alabama). The next dawn, a surprise attack upon this place kills an estimated 200 Indians, compared with 11 American dead and 54 wounded.

NOVEMBER 30, 1813. The 26-gun sloop HMS *Raccoon* of Cmdr. William Black reaches the American fur-trading outpost of Fort Astoria (Oregon), finding it already flying the Union Jack. Two weeks later, it is renamed Fort George in a formal ceremony ashore.

DECEMBER 10, 1813. With only 100 men left to garrison Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario), American brigadier general George McClure turns 400 Canadian civilians out into the snow, then torches the fort along with the villages of Newark and Queenston before retreating across the Niagara River into New York.

DECEMBER 19, 1813. *Riall's Winter Forays.* Before dawn, Murray slips across the Niagara River with 550 redcoats, disembarking three miles beyond the U.S. garrison at Fort Niagara (New York). A bayonet charge slays 67 of its surprised defenders and wounds 11, only 20 Americans escaping. Murray thus secures this fort at a cost of 5 British dead and 3 injured.

Murray is followed by the recently arrived 38-year-old Irish-born major general Phineas Riall with 500 men of the Royal Scots and the 41st Foot, plus 500 Indian auxiliaries, who destroy the villages of Youngstown, Lewiston, Tuscarora, Fort Schlosser, and Manchester in retaliation for the burning of Fort George. The raiders then halt at Tonawanda Creek—10 miles north of Buffalo—having secured 422 prisoners, 27 cannon, 3,000 firearms, and copious stores.

Ten days later, Riall again crosses the Niagara under cover of darkness, this time disembarking beyond the Falls with 1,000 redcoats and 400 natives. Lt. Col. James Ogilvie of the 8th Foot leads the vanguard two miles toward Black Rock (New York), securing the bridge over Scajaquada Creek at dawn on December 30 so that Lt. Col. John Gordon can charge through this village at sunrise, fighting his way into neighboring Buffalo. Despite resistance from Maj. Gen. Amos Hall's 1,200-man American garrison, the British take and torch both places, along with four armed schooners and large supply dumps, before retiring into Ontario. The attackers' casualties total 112, whereas the defenders' total 30 killed, 40 wounded, and 69 captured.

DECEMBER 23, 1813. After a 10-day, 100-mile march north from Fort Caroline (Alabama), Brig. Gen. Ferdinand L. Claiborne's 1,000 U.S. regulars, Mississippi militiamen, volunteers, and Choctaw allies fall upon Chief Weatherford's village of Econochaca, killing 30 residents and scattering the rest. American casualties are 1 dead and 6 wounded.

DECEMBER 30, 1813. The British ship *Bramble* reaches Annapolis (Maryland) with news of Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig, plus a proposal from Foreign Minister Lord Castlereagh to open peace negotiations between London and Washington. Madison accepts 10 days later.

JANUARY 17, 1814. *Jackson's Reverse.* After his previous army of western Tennesseans has demobilized after the expiration of their enlistments, Jackson is reinforced at Fort Strother by 800 new recruits, setting out with 930 men and a 6-pounder to fall upon a Creek concentration at Emuckfaw Creek (a tributary of the Tallapoosa River, Alabama). En route, his army is bolstered by 200–300 friendly Creeks and Cherokees.

On January 22, hostile Indians ambush Jackson's column, forcing a retreat, then deliver a second deadly

Andrew Jackson

Andrew Jackson was born on March 15, 1767, in a backwoods settlement in the Waxhaws area between North and South Carolina. The third of three sons born to Scottish-Irish settlers, his father died a few weeks before his birth from a logging accident. Andrew's mother therefore moved the family to the home of one of her sisters. All three children served as teenaged volunteers during the American Revolution, Hugh dying after the Battle of Stono Ferry. Robert and Andrew were held captive in April 1781—a British officer ordered them to clean his boots, and when they refused, he beat them with his sword, cutting Andrew's hand to the bone. This brutal act created in Jackson a lifelong enmity.

Robert died soon afterward of smallpox, as did Jackson's mother after she went to nurse American prisoners in Charleston. Orphaned at 14, young Andrew lived for the next year and a half with relatives, apprenticed to a saddle maker. In 1784, however, he went to Salisbury (North Carolina) to study law and was admitted to the bar three years later. Appointed as prosecutor at Nashville early in 1788, he excelled in his rough-and-tumble life on the frontier. As he prospered, Jackson bought slaves and built a mansion called the Hermitage. In 1791 he married a young divorcée named Rachel Donelson, but two years later, they learned that her divorce was not final. After some litigation, they remarried in 1794.

Jackson became such a prominent local figure that, when Tennessee was granted statehood in June 1796, he was elected as its first U.S. congressman. The next year, he also was appointed as senator; instead, he resigned to become a judge on the State Supreme Court in 1798. In 1801, he was elected a colonel in the Tennessee militia and promoted to major general the next year. His judicial term ended in 1804, so Jackson became more involved in military affairs.

A year after the War of 1812 erupted, he started a series of campaigns against the Creek Indians.

attack two days later at Enotachopco. Many recruits panic and flee, the rearguard being saved with difficulty. American losses total two-dozen dead and 71 wounded, compared with 72 slain Creeks.

JANUARY 27, 1814. *Calibee Creek.* After a nine-day, 50-mile march from Fort Mitchell (located on the Chattahoochee River bank, south of Columbus, Georgia) to attack the Upper Creek village of Tuckaubatchee, Floyd's 1,200 volunteers and 400 Indian allies suffer a dawn attack 10 miles short of their

destination. After a bitter engagement around Calibee Creek, the warriors draw off, leaving behind 37 fallen comrades. Floyd's losses are 22 killed and 147 wounded, prompting his expedition to retreat.

FEBRUARY 1, 1814. Wilkinson evacuates French Mills (New York), detaching Brown toward Sackets Harbor with 2,000 men, meanwhile leading the remainder southeast into Plattsburgh (New York).

FEBRUARY 6, 1814. Royal Marines and Canadian militiamen cross the Saint Lawrence from Cornwall (Ontario), plundering Madrid (New York).

FEBRUARY 8, 1814. After a year-long Pacific cruise during which he has captured dozens of British prizes, Porter's USS *Essex* is blockaded within Valparaíso (Chile) by Capt. James Hillyar's 36-gun frigate HMS *Phoebe* and Cmdr. Tudor Tucker's 26-gun sloop *Cherub*. Porter eventually exits on March 28, being partially dismasted by a squall and then defeated three miles down the coast.

MARCH 5, 1814. This evening, a 165-man foraging party under Capt. A. H. Holmes of the 24th U.S. Infantry is attacked near Longwood (Ontario) by 240 redcoats, Canadian militiamen, and Indian warriors under Capt. James Basden of the 89th Foot. The Americans are dug in, so the three-pronged British attack through deep snow fares badly, resulting in 14 dead and 52 wounded. Holmes's casualties are only 7, allowing him to retire unmolested into Detroit.

MARCH 27, 1814. *Horseshoe Bend.* After being reinforced by the 39th U.S. Infantry Regiment and making a two-week advance south from Fort Strother, Jackson's 3,000 regulars, militiamen, and native allies (including 21-year-old major Sam Houston of the 39th) come upon 1,200 Creek warriors this morning, ensconced with their families upon a 90-acre peninsula called Tohopeka on a horseshoe bend in the Tallapoosa River. The neck of this peninsula is protected by a log breastwork, and canoes are beached at its far end to facilitate escape.

The American commander orders Coffee's riders, plus Cherokee and Creek allies, to take up position opposite this bend to impede flight. Meanwhile, Jackson's two fieldpieces bombard the breastwork until he learns that Coffee's force has attacked the Creeks from the rear. At that point, the 39th launches a frontal assault, and the attackers fight their way



HMS Phoebe engages the damaged USS Essex outside Valparaíso. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

into this compound from both directions. By nightfall, 557 Creeks lie dead, and another 350—mostly women and children—are prisoners; several hundred more have drowned or been shot attempting to swim away. American casualties total 26 dead and 106 wounded; Cherokee, 18 killed and 36 wounded; friendly Creeks, 5 and 11.

MARCH 30, 1814. *Wilkinson's Last Gasp.* After advancing up Lake Champlain with 4,000 troops in three brigades, plus a pair of 12-pounders, Wilkinson breaks the Canadian border and occupies Odelltown (Quebec). But upon proceeding farther north against the 180-man garrison of Maj. Richard B. Hancock at the Lacolle River Ford (10 miles west of Île aux Noix), his army becomes bogged down by heavy snow, then fails to carry the thick stone mill serving as Hancock's blockhouse. Rocket artillery fired by a detachment of Royal Marines inflicts considerable punishment, obliging the discouraged Americans to retire south into Plattsburgh (New York).

Wilkinson requests a court of inquiry, so is replaced on May 1 by the newly promoted 37-year-old major general George Izard.

MARCH 31, 1814. In Europe, allied armies enter Paris. Ten days later, Marshal Arthur, Duke of Wellington, wins the Battle of Toulouse, compelling Napoleon I to abdicate the next day at Fontainebleau. As the emperor goes into exile on Elba Island, Britain will begin diverting troops into the North American theater.

APRIL 7, 1814. A half-dozen British barges ascend eight miles up the Connecticut River, destroying 20 American vessels.

APRIL 14, 1814. At Kingston (Ontario), Yeo launches the 58-gun HMS *Prince Regent* and the 40-gun *Princess Charlotte*, which become the most powerful warships on Lake Ontario.

MAY 5, 1814. At noon, Yeo materializes off Fort Oswego (New York), his squadron bearing a British raiding force under the recently arrived 41-year-old veteran lieutenant general Gordon Drummond (see "June 2, 1794" entry in "French Revolutionary Wars"). Because of a heavy northwesterly gale, Swiss-born lieutenant colonel Victor Fischer cannot disembark until the next morning with 140 redcoats,

400 marines, and 200 seamen; however, the 290 American defenders—mostly artillerymen—quickly retire into the interior, having suffered 6 killed, 38 wounded, and 25 missing. British casualties are 18 dead and 73 injured, after which the raiders strip Fort Oswego of its stores, then depart by May 7.

MAY 10, 1814. Capt. Hugh Pigot with the brigs HMSS *Orpheus* and *Shelburne* reaches the Apalachicola River mouth (West Florida) to recruit Creeks and Choctaws against the Americans.

MAY 14, 1814. This afternoon, 800 American raiders descend upon Port Dover (Ontario); they torch it the next afternoon. The worst excesses are committed by Canadian turncoats under Maj. Abraham Markle.

MAY 19, 1814. A small American raiding party destroys Port Talbot (Ontario).

MAY 20, 1814. To prevent the Americans from sending heavy artillery from Oswego Falls to arm the recently launched, 62-gun USS *Superior* at Sackets Harbor (New York), Yeo institutes a close blockade of the latter.

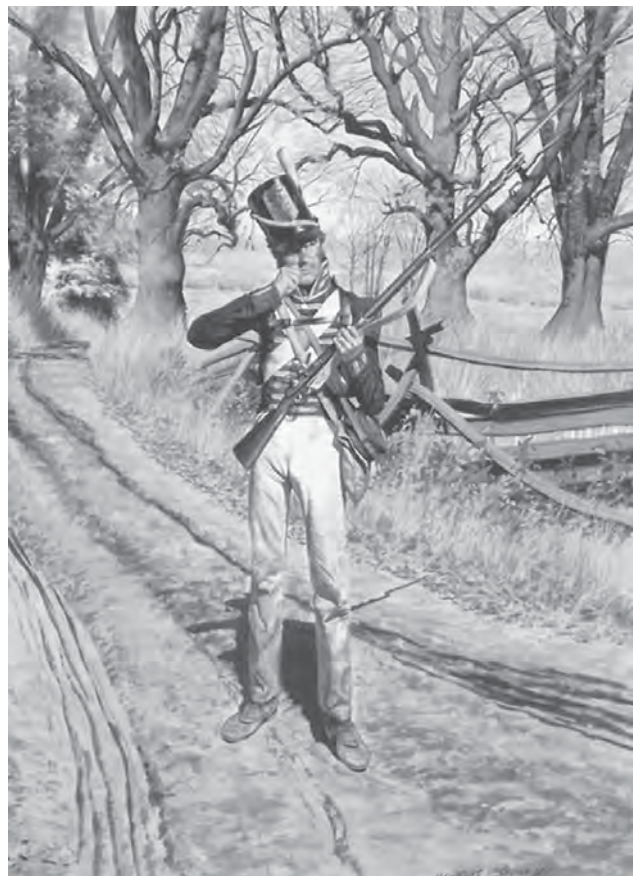
MAY 30, 1814. Soon after daylight, British naval commanders Stephen Popham and Francis B. Spilsbury sight 18 American boats hiding up Sandy Creek under the master commandant Melancthon T. Woolsey—a friend of James Fennimore Cooper—waiting to dash eight miles past them and into Sackets Harbor (New York). Popham moves his three gunboats and four lesser craft, manned by 200 sailors, inshore to steal upon this flotilla—little realizing that it is escorted by brevet major Daniel Appling's 130 U.S. regulars, 120 Oneida warriors, plus a strong contingent of troops out of Sackets Harbor. A half mile from his objective, Popham is ambushed, suffering 14 killed and 28 wounded before surrendering.

JUNE 6, 1814. Having failed to impede American guns from reaching the new U.S. warship *Superior*, Yeo lifts his blockade of Sackets Harbor (New York) and retires into Kingston (Ontario).

JUNE 21, 1814. A small British expedition under Capt. Robert Barrie captures the American outposts of Thomaston and St. George (west of Penobscot Bay, Maine).

JULY 1814. The recently arrived veteran vice admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane (see “April 3, 1805” in “Napoleonic Wars”) detaches Capt. William Henry Percy with the 28-gun frigate *Hermes*, the sloop *Carron*, and two other Royal Navy warships—plus 100 marines, two howitzers, and a fieldpiece, all under Acting Lt. Col. Edward Nicholls—to the Apalachicola River (West Florida) to take aboard Creek and Choctaw warriors and convey them into Spanish Pensacola for a forthcoming assault against American Fort Bowyer (south Mobile Bay, Alabama). Percy eventually recruits 600 warriors for this purpose.

JULY 3, 1814. Early on this rainy morning, Brigadier General Scott disembarks 1,300 New England troops below Fort Erie (near Niagara Falls, Ontario), while Brig. Gen. Eleazer Wheelock Ripley brings another 1,000 U.S. regulars ashore above this stronghold, prompting its isolated garrison of two British companies (137 men) under Maj. Thomas Buck to surrender that same day. Brown—now promoted to major general—then arrives with 325 gunners and 600 Pennsylvania volunteers under



American regular line infantryman. (Parks Canada)

Brig. Gen. (and New York congressman) Peter B. Porter, plus 500–600 Six Nations warriors.

The next day, Scott pushes north to Street's Creek and by evening spots 1,500 British troops and 300 natives concentrating south of the Chippawa (modern Welland) River under Riall. The Americans bring up reinforcements and prepare to fight on July 5.

JULY 5, 1814. *Chippawa River.* Unaware that Fort Erie has already fallen—which means he is confronting the bulk of Brown's invasion force—Riall advances across open fields toward the American positions south of Street's Creek. The British commander is further oblivious to the fact that this host contains a large percentage of U.S. regulars rather than undisciplined frontier militiamen.

At 5:00 p.m., Brown orders Scott to move his three battalions out and meet this British challenge head-on. After a brief exchange of long-range artillery salvos, Riall sends the 8th Foot to assault the American left, while the 1st and 100th regiments drive against the center. The steady counterfire and unwavering U.S. ranks reveal the true nature of his opposition, but this knowledge comes too late; by the time Riall signals the recall, 148 of his men have been killed, 321 have been wounded, and 46 are missing, as opposed to 60 dead and 268 injured among the American forces. The British then retire north behind the Chippawa River, having destroyed its lone remaining bridge.

JULY 7, 1814. Brown crosses the Chippawa River at two places, prompting Riall to retreat into Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario), forestalling any potential encirclement. The Americans follow, occupying Queenston and fortifying its strategic heights, while waiting for siege artillery and reinforcements to arrive from Sackets Harbor (New York) aboard Chauncey's squadron.

JULY 11, 1814. At 3:00 p.m., British lieutenant colonel Andrew Pilkington's 102nd Regiment—recently arrived at Halifax from Bermuda—is deposited on Moose Island (Passamaquoddy Bay, New Brunswick) by Commo. Thomas Hardy's 74-gun *Ramillies* and several transports. It subdues the 88-man American outpost under Maj. Perley Putnam at Eastport without resistance.

JULY 17, 1814. A retired Canadian fur trader named William McKay—temporarily appointed

militia lieutenant colonel—reaches Prairie du Chien (Fort Shelby, Wisconsin) with 120 volunteers, 530 Indian allies, and a 3-pounder, obliging its garrison of 66 U.S. regulars and five guns under Lt. Joseph Perkins to surrender after three days' desultory exchanges, on condition that they be paroled into American territory. Total casualties are three wounded warriors.

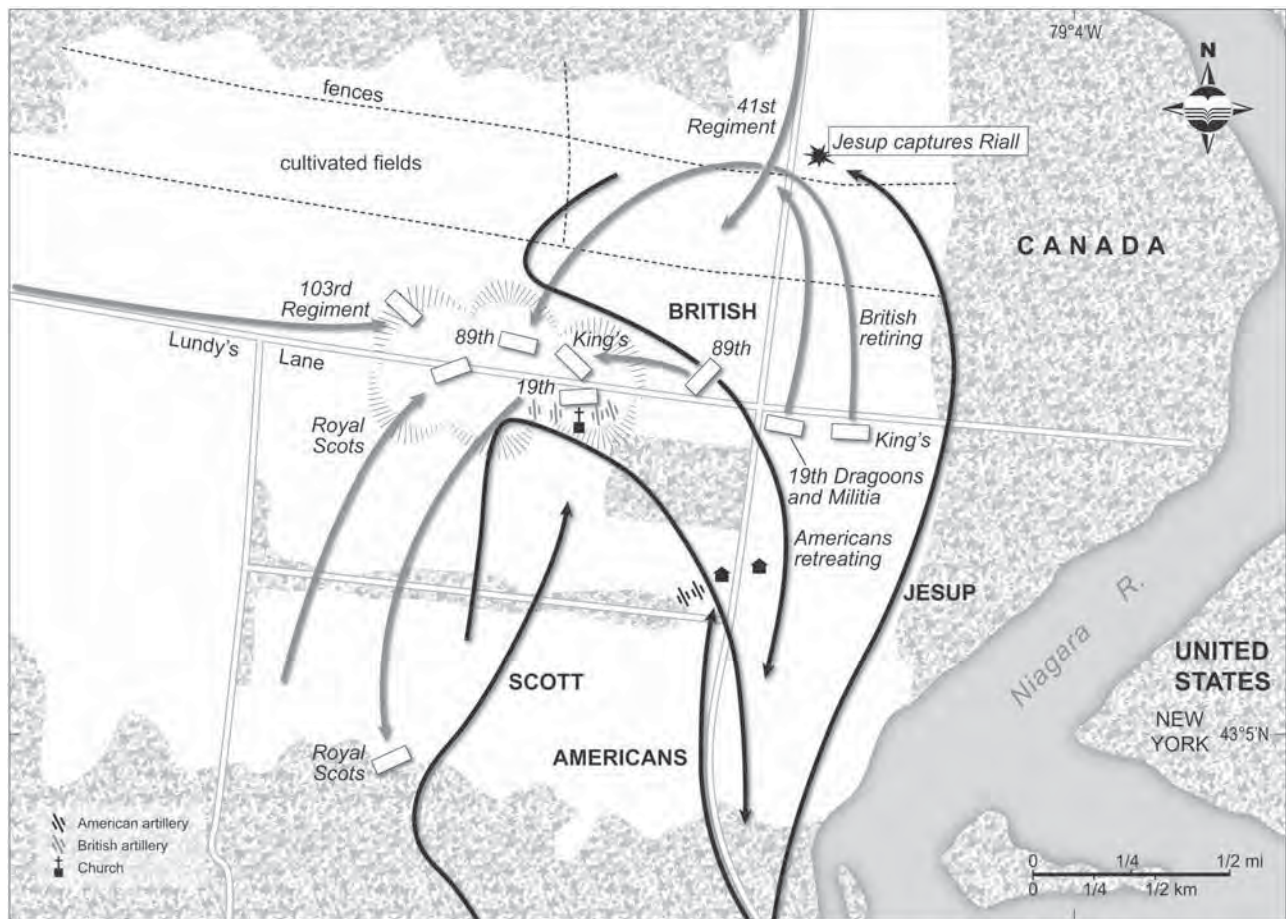
About 400 Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo Indians then pursue the escaping 14-gun U.S. gunboat *Governor Clark* down the Mississippi, overtaking it at Rock Island Rapids, along with some other craft. A much more hard-fought battle ensues, during which 35 Americans are killed or wounded, before this flotilla retires into St. Louis.

JULY 22, 1814. By the Treaty of Greenville, the Creek, Delaware, Miami, Seneca, Shawnee, and Wyandot Indians make an alliance with the United States, declaring war against Britain.

JULY 24, 1814. Learning that no reinforcements will reach him from Sackets Harbor (New York), and with his army outside Queenston (Ontario) now depleted to 2,644 effectives because of disease and desertion, Brown withdraws south of the Chippawa River. He is pursued by 1,000 redcoats under Pearson out of Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake), followed by another 600 under Riall, dragging four fieldpieces: two 24-pounders and two 6-pounders.

JULY 25, 1814. *Lundy's Lane.* This morning, Drummond reinforces Fort George from York (Toronto), sending Morrison's 89th Foot south to join Riall, while detaching another 500 redcoats and Indians out of Fort Niagara under Lt. Col. J. G. P. Tucker to threaten Lewiston (New York). Learning of this two-pronged menace, Brown orders Scott to advance north at 5:00 p.m. with the 1,070 survivors of his brigade and launch a diversionary strike against Riall's vanguard at Lundy's Lane (a mile from Niagara Falls).

At 6:00 p.m., Scott smashes into this 1,600-man British formation; Maj. Thomas Sidney Jesup's 25th U.S. Infantry Regiment drives back Riall's left, while Drummond fends off the American 11th and 22nd in the center. Riall is badly wounded, then captured when his stretcher bearers mistakenly enter American lines. By 8:30 p.m., Scott's brigade is reduced to 600 effectives, but he is then joined by Brown with Ripley's and Porter's brigades. They succeed in pushing back Drummond and seizing



Battle of Lundy's Lane.

some British guns, only to have 1,200 redcoats of Lt. Col. Hercules Scott's 103rd Regiment and assorted Canadian militiamen, plus two 6-pounders, arrive at 10:00 p.m. from Twelve Mile Creek (St. Catharines) and swing the advantage back to the defenders. By midnight—Brown and Scott being wounded—Ripley orders a withdrawal to the Chippawa River; the Britons and Canadians are too exhausted to pursue. American casualties total 173 dead, 571 wounded, and 117 missing; British losses are 84 killed, 559 injured (including Drummond and Riall), and 193 missing among their regulars, plus a further 162 casualties among the Canadian militiamen. The next morning, the invaders destroy the Chippawa's lone bridge and their baggage train before retiring southeast into Fort Erie.

JULY 26, 1814. More than three weeks after quitting Detroit to sail up Lake Huron aboard five small U.S. vessels, Croghan—now a lieutenant colonel—appears off British-held Michilimackinac with 700 American regulars (five companies) and Ohio mili-

tiamen. Judging its fortifications too strong for a direct assault, he disembarks at the other end of the island on August 4, moving inland to take its defenders from the rear. Lt. Col. Robert McDouall of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment—commanding only 140 redcoats, plus 280 Canadian militiamen and Indian warriors—emerges from his lines to await the Americans behind a low breastwork in a woodland clearing. When Croghan drives against this position, he suffers 13 killed and 51 wounded; he reembarks the next day and departs, leaving behind a pair of blockading vessels.

(While returning toward Detroit, this American expedition destroys the British schooner *Nancy* of Lt. Miller Worsley near the Nottawasaga River mouth, although its commander and crew escape into Michilimackinac by canoe.)

AUGUST 2, 1814. *Fort Erie Siege.* Having recuperated from their encounter at Lundy's Lane, advance elements of Drummond's army arrive outside Fort Erie (opposite Buffalo, New York) to find its

2,200 American defenders completing a newly fortified camp. Brig. Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines has also traveled from Sackets Harbor to assume command over this U.S. garrison, in place of the wounded Brown.

The British commander appears the next day with his main body, but, realizing that 3,500 redcoats are insufficient to storm its defenses, he settles down to await his siege train. On August 5, Chauncey's squadron materializes out of Lake Ontario, detaching several U.S. warships to support the defenders ashore and restrict British lake traffic. On August 12, the American men-of-war *Somers* and *Ohio* are captured by Cmdr. Alexander Dobbs's *Charwell*, and the next day, Drummond opens fire upon Fort Erie's ramparts with six siege guns. Two hours before daylight on August 15, he sends five columns of redcoats to assault Gaines's lines; this attempt proves premature, and he is repulsed with heavy losses (especially when an advance British magazine blows up). All told, the attackers suffer 57 dead, 309 wounded, plus 539 captured or missing, as opposed to 84 Americans killed or injured.

Following this repulse, Drummond is reinforced by two fresh regiments—1,200 men—so maintains his siege. On August 29, a British shell explodes in Gaines's quarters, wounding him so severely that the convalescent Brown must reassume command. On September 15, the besiegers complete a third battery, compelling the Americans (now reinforced by 1,000 New York militiamen) to contemplate a sally. At 3:00 p.m. on August 17, during a heavy downpour, Porter emerges with 1,600 U.S. regulars and militia, catching the British by surprise. The British No. 3 Battery and protective blockhouse are quickly overrun, the guns are spiked, and the magazines blown, before Porter—supported by an additional 400 of Scott's men—proceeds against No. 2 Battery. This position, too, is overwhelmed before the Royal Scots, 6th (1st Warwickshire), 82nd (Prince of Wales Volunteers), and 89th regiments contain this breakout and drive the Americans back inside Fort Erie. The besiegers sustain 115 killed, 176 wounded, 315 missing, and three guns destroyed, compared to 79 American dead and 432 injured or missing.

Disheartened, Drummond raises his siege four days later, retiring toward the Chippawa River at 8:00 p.m. on September 21. Brown does not pursue, instead entering winter quarters at Buffalo.

AUGUST 9, 1814. Four months after erecting a fort at the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa

Struggles of the Young Republics (1812–1860)

ivers, Jackson—now a brevet major general in the regular U.S. Army—dictates terms to the defeated Creeks, compelling them to cede two-thirds of their lands to the United States and shift their villages out of the settlers' path into southwestern Alabama.

That same day, Hardy's Royal Navy squadron bombards Stonington (Connecticut) and is repulsed.

AUGUST 16, 1814. A British expedition escorted by the 80-gun flagship HMS *Tonnant* and nine other ships of the line sweeps through the Virginia Capes and up Chesapeake Bay under Cochrane, bearing 4,000 regulars of the 1st Battalion of the 4th King's Own Infantry Regiment, the 21st Royal North British Regiment or "Royal Scots Fusiliers," the 44th East Essex Regiment, the 85th "Bucks Volunteers" Light Infantry Regiment, plus the 3rd Royal Marine Battalion and an artillery company—all freshly arrived from England and Bermuda under Maj. Gen. Robert Ross.



Adm. Sir George Cockburn; this 1817 portrait painted by John James Hall shows him posing triumphantly while Washington burns behind him. (Library of Congress)

AUGUST 19, 1814. Ross's troops are unexpectedly disembarked at Benedict (Maryland), advancing northward up the Patuxent River the next day, supported by a light naval division under Rear Adm. George Cockburn, Cochrane's second-in-command. They intend to trap Commo. Joshua Barney's flotilla of American gunboats 40 miles upstream, then advance upon Washington.

AUGUST 22, 1814. Threatened by the rapid approach of Ross's redcoats, who have already reached Upper Marlboro, Barney scuttles his gunboats and retreats overland toward Washington with his 400 men. The British follow the next day, driving directly west toward the unprepared capital.

AUGUST 24, 1814. *Bladensburg.* At dawn, the Washington authorities learn Ross is nearing Bladensburg (Maryland), prompting President Madison to exit northeastward with more than 3,000 hastily assembled militiamen and join a similar force already

gathered at this town. Eventually, Brigadier General Winder scrapes together almost 7,000 American troops—mostly raw recruits, no match for Ross's 4,000 disciplined veterans.

Shortly after noon on this very hot day, a British column under Col. William Thornton easily drives the defenders from the lone bridge across the East (Anacostia) Branch of the Potomac; he then panics the entire American army with his relentless advance. Only Barney's naval gunners stand and fight, eventually being obliged to retreat two hours later when their leader is wounded and captured. So many American volunteers run that the redcoats dub this battle the "Bladensburg Races." Defensive casualties total 26 killed, 51 wounded, plus 100 captured, compared with 64 dead and 185 injured among the British ranks. (Eighteen redcoats die from heat exhaustion.)

The road into Washington now lays open. A vanguard of 1,500 British troops under Ross rests for two or three hours, then marches six miles unopposed,

The Burning of Washington

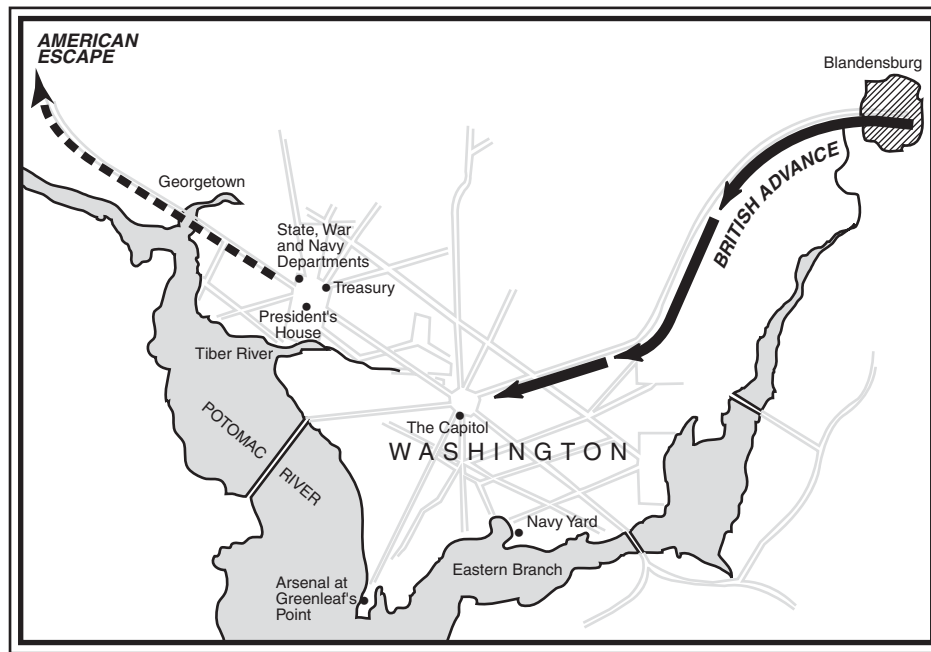
The British had not originally intended to assault the American capital and did not have enough troops to hold it. However, after Admiral Cockburn was joined on August 16, 1814, by General Ross's small army, he impetuously decided on this sideshow to humble American pride. While civilian residences would be spared, all public buildings were to be burned—allegedly in revenge for the torching of towns in Canada (see "April 25, 1813" entry et seq.).

This resolve only hardened once Ross actually entered the deserted capital with a party under a flag of truce on the evening of August 24, 1814, to discuss surrender terms with any surviving officials. As he neared Capitol Hill, inexperienced militia snipers opened fire out of the gloom from a house at the corner of Maryland and Constitution avenues and NE Second Street. His horse and one of his escorts being killed, Ross reacted angrily to this ambush by burning down the house; the force then pushed on vengefully deeper into Washington.

The nearby Senate and House of Representatives were quickly set ablaze with fuel from Congreve rockets, gutting the buildings along with the heavily timbered Library of Congress. Another British column struck out toward the Washington Navy Yard, key sections of which were already set alight on orders from U.S. naval captain Thomas Tingey—especially the new 44-gun frigate *Columbia* and the 18-gun sloop *Argus*. The British completed the destruction of its vast dockyards, barracks, storehouses, rope houses, and arsenal.

Ross and Cockburn meanwhile led 100 well-disciplined British troops from Capitol Hill a mile down darkened Pennsylvania Avenue toward the presidential mansion, reassuring civilians along the way as to their safety. Upon entering the residence around midnight, they found a banquet laid in its dining room, so shared it with their redcoats before Cockburn ordered the building set ablaze. As the main British army arrived outside the city, they were greeted by so many fires that a redcoat recorded how the brightness permitted "each man to view distinctly his comrade's face." The glow could be seen for 50 miles, as far away as Baltimore, punctuated by heavy blasts from exploding powder magazines.

Although a rainstorm near daybreak on August 25 put out many blazes, by dawn, nothing was left of the Treasury and most other government sites "except heaps of smoking ruins." The British army reunited around Capitol Hill, while Cockburn led an armed party to the *National Intelligencer* newspaper offices, determined to burn it down because of many unflattering articles published against him. Neighborhood women begged him not to do so, for fear the flames would spread to their homes. He therefore directed his men to tear down the structure instead and to remove all letter "C" type from the fonts—to prevent the *Intelligencer* from ever printing his name again.



British capture of Washington, D.C.

arriving at the city fringes that same evening. The president and Dolly Madison have already fled westward into Virginia via Georgetown, along with many of the capital's 8,000 residents. Ross therefore enters the deserted city with a party under a flag of truce to arrange terms, but as he nears Capitol Hill, snipers open fire out of the gloom. His horse is killed, along with a redcoat, and another soldier is injured, so they angrily attack and burn down this dwelling from which the snipers had been shooting and then vengefully sweep into the core. British parties burn the Capitol, presidential mansion, and numerous other government buildings overnight, while their main army arrives outside and encamps.

The next day, August 25, the two contingents reunite beside the smoldering remains of Capitol Hill, then exit that same night, returning to Benedict to reembark by August 30. (A month after the Americans reoccupy Washington, the shaken Congress—meeting in their temporary chambers in the U.S. Patent Office, which the British agreed to spare—narrowly defeats a bill proposing that the capital be moved to a more defensible locale. Scorch marks on the presidential mansion will also be whitewashed, allegedly leading it to be renamed as the “White House,” although evidence suggests that the name already existed.)

SEPTEMBER 1, 1814. *Maine Offensive.* This morning, British rear admiral Edward Griffith appears off

Castine (Maine) with 10 warships and 10 transports, depositing Lt. Gen. Sir John Coape Sherbrooke's 2,000 redcoats from the 29th (Worcestershire), 62nd (Wiltshire), and 98th Foot regiments, plus two companies of the 7th Battalion of the 60th (Royal Americans) and an artillery detachment. Its 140 American defenders detonate their magazine, abandon the fort, and retreat north up the Penobscot River, while Maj. Gen. Gerard Gosselin crosses to occupy Belfast opposite with 600 troops aboard HMS *Bacchante*.

Two mornings later, Barrie's pair of pursuing British sloops—one transport and boat flotilla—materialize at Bald Head Cove, three miles below Hampden, disembarking seven companies—700 regulars—and a 5.5-inch howitzer under Lt. Col. Henry John. These veterans easily brush aside 600 American militiamen under Maj. Gen. John Blake and overrun the town by 5:00 p.m., suffering only a single man killed, 8 wounded, and another missing (compared to the defenders' 13 killed or wounded and 81 prisoners). Capt. Charles Morris torches his anchored frigate USS *Adams* rather than have it fall into enemy hands, but 20 of its cannon in a battery ashore are seized, after which John and Barrie push on to accept the surrender of Bangor.

On September 9, Pilkington sets sail from Castine with several more British companies, circling east to land in Bucks Harbor 10 miles south of Machias by the next evening. At sunrise on September

10, the invaders occupy Fort O'Brien—five miles away in Sanborn Cove—without a struggle, and then enter Machias one hour later. The entire state of Maine capitulates by September 13.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1814. At sunset, naval lieutenant Worsley slips out of Michilimackinac (Michigan) with four boatloads of Canadian militiamen under Lt. W. Andrew Bulger of the Royal Newfoundland Fencibles to surprise the American blockading schooner *Tigress*, anchored six miles off Drummond Island. The next evening, the boarders row out and rush this vessel at 9:00 p.m., carrying it with a loss of two men killed and several wounded.

Worsley and Bulger leave the American colors flying until the *Tigress*'s consort, the *Scorpion*, arrives two evenings later, anchoring two miles away. Early the next morning, the British slip their cable and surprise this second warship as well, suffering only eight injured.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1814. Capt. Nicholas Lockyer of the sloop HMS *Sophia* contacts Jean Lafitte at “Grande Terre” or Barataria Bay, south of New Orleans, requesting his freebooters’ help in the forthcoming British campaign against Louisiana. Despite the fact that his brother Pierre is jailed in New Orleans and that U.S. authorities are contemplating destroying Barataria as a smugglers’ nest, Lafitte reveals this plan to the Americans two days later—while also assuring the British of his cooperation.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1814. While advancing up the Mississippi from St. Louis to reclaim Prairie du Chien (renamed Fort McKay, Wisconsin), 350 U.S. regulars and Illinois militiamen under Taylor are ambushed near Rock Island Rapids early this morning by Winnebago, Sioux, and Sauk warriors under Chief Black Hawk, who are supported by a 3-pounder under Royal Artillery Sgt. James Keating. The Americans retreat downriver, pausing at the Des Moines River mouth to erect a small fort, which they abandon shortly thereafter.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1814. This evening, after five days’ march southward from Quebec along the western shores of Lake Champlain, Canadian governor general Prevost invests Plattsburgh (New York) with 10,350 redcoats in three brigades: Maj. Gen. Frederick P. Robinson’s 27th (Inniskilling, 3rd Battalion), 39th (Dorsetshire), 76th, and 88th (Connaught Rangers) regiments; Maj. Gen. Thomas Brisbane’s

8th (2nd Battalion), 13th (First Somersetshire), and 49th, plus the Swiss de Meuron (Neuchâtel) Regiment, Canadian *voltigeurs*, and Canadian *chasseurs*; as well as Maj. Gen. Manley Powers’s 3rd (East Kent or “Buffs”), 5th (Northumberland), 27th (1st Battalion), and 58th (Rutlandshire) regiments.

The motley 3,300-man American garrison under 32-year-old brigadier general Alexander Macomb—less than half being effective troops because Izard departed westward on August 29 with the 4,000 best regulars—retreat across the Saranac River and dig in. Rather than storm Plattsburgh’s fortifications, Prevost deploys his siege train, then two days later orders Commo. George Downie to sail 12 miles southward from nearby Chazy with his small British squadron to destroy Commodore Macdonough’s U.S. squadron anchored offshore. This respite allows numerous New York and Vermont militia contingents to rally into Plattsburgh.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1814. After resting for a fortnight, Cochrane’s and Ross’s 50-ship British expedition sweeps up Chesapeake Bay to attack Baltimore.



Officer in the New York state militia. (Parks Canada)

The next afternoon, they reach Patapco River and prepare to disembark their troops.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1814. *Lake Champlain.* This Sunday at 8:30 a.m., Downie rounds Cumberland Head to enter Plattsburgh Bay with the 37-gun frigate *Confiance* (flag), the 16-gun brig *Linnet*, the sloops *Chubb* and *Finch*, plus 11 gunboats manned by 800 British and Canadian seamen. Macdonough's 850 American sailors wait aboard their newly built, 26-gun corvette *Saratoga* (flag) and 20-gun brig *Eagle*, plus the 7-gun *Ticonderoga* and *Preble* and 10 oared gunboats mounting 16 guns between them.

After struggling upwind for a half hour, Downie's flagship anchors 400 yards away and opens fire upon the *Saratoga*. The British commodore is killed within the first 15 minutes, and over the next couple of hours, the *Chubb* drifts helplessly into the American lines and strikes. The *Finch* runs aground on Crab Island, and only four British gunboats engage; meanwhile, the American gunners completely outfight their opponents—some even swinging their warships around in midbattle to present their undamaged broadsides.

Although losses on both sides are comparable—57 dead and 72 wounded for the British, 52 killed and 58 injured aboard the U.S. vessels—all four attacking ships surrender, while their gunboats escape back out onto Lake Champlain under oars. Prevost, who has made no attempt to storm Plattsburgh's fortifications while this naval battle rages, inexplicably orders a general retreat northward that same rain-filled night. Total casualties from his army's campaign are 35 dead, 47 wounded, 72 captured, and 234 missing; American losses on land are 37 dead and 62 injured. (The next spring, Prevost is relieved of command because of his faintheartedness.)

SEPTEMBER 12, 1814. *Fort McHenry.* At 3:00 a.m., Ross's 4,000 redcoats—joined by 700 marines and sailors under Cockburn—begin disembarking at North Point (Maryland), assembling ashore before striking northwest four hours later to circle 12 miles inland and invest Baltimore. Their task proves daunting, for not only does Maj. Gen. (and Senator) Samuel Smith have 16,400 men to defend the city and its approaches, but the British general Ross is soon killed by American skirmishers; therefore, over-

"The Star-Spangled Banner"

On September 3, 1814, the American colonel John S. Skinner left Baltimore under a flag of truce aboard the sloop HMS *Minden*, accompanied by the 35-year-old lawyer Francis Scott Key. Their purpose was to secure the release of Dr. William Beanes, an elderly physician from Upper Marlboro. A friend of Key's, Beanes had been arrested during the British retirement from Washington for his role in detaining some redcoats. Four days later, Skinner and Key went aboard Admiral Cochrane's flagship, HMS *Tonnant*. Over dinner with General Ross and Rear Admiral Cockburn, the Americans asked for Beanes's freedom. Although initially denied, the British agreed after Key and Skinner showed some letters from wounded British prisoners, praising Beanes's kindness.

Although the doctor soon joined them, the three Americans were required to stay aboard the *Minden* because they had seen the British dispositions and had heard plans discussed over dinner. At anchor eight miles downriver from Fort McHenry, Key therefore had a rainy but clear view as British bomb-vessels and the rocket-ship *Erebus* shelled the American garrison on September 13 in preparation for a land assault against Baltimore. Fearful of yet another British victory, Key was so overjoyed at the sight of the rockets' "red glare" bursting against Fort McHenry's 30-by-42-foot flag—still flying the next dawn—that he started writing a poem on the back of a letter in his pocket.

Released into Baltimore on September 16, Key finished his poem overnight at the Indian Queen Hotel. Titled "Defence of Fort McHenry," he gave it the next day to his brother-in-law, Judge Joseph H. Nicholson. Recognizing that its words fit the popular British drinking song "To Anacreon in Heaven," Nicholson printed five copies that same day, amid the patriotic euphoria celebrating the British retreat. The poem was soon reprinted in many newspapers, while the Thomas Carr Music Store in Baltimore published its words and music together, retitled as "The Star-Spangled Banner."

Although difficult to sing because of its range of one and a half octaves, it proved an enduring tune, often played during public events in the 19th century. In July 1889, the U.S. Navy officially adopted "The Star-Spangled Banner" for all its flag ceremonies, and the song became the national anthem on March 3, 1931. Key's original composition is today preserved by the Maryland Historical Society, while the 15-star, 15-stripe flag that inspired his poem is on display at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History.

all command devolves upon Col. Arthur Brooke of the 4th Regiment.

Brooke encounters a detached American contingent of 3,200 militiamen under Brig. Gen. John Stricker near Bread and Cheese Creek. He pushes them back after two hours of fighting, then encamps for the night. This clash costs the redcoats 46 dead and 273 wounded, as opposed to 24 Americans killed, 139 injured, and 50 captured.

Meanwhile, Cochrane sails 16 of his Royal Navy frigates and lighter warships up the Patapco. By midafternoon on September 12, he drops anchor a few miles south of Fort McHenry, offering cover fire for the upcoming assault against Baltimore by pounding the star-shaped fort's 1,000-man garrison under U.S. major George Armistead. The next morning at 5:00 a.m., the bomb-vessels *Volcano* and *Meteor*, plus the rocket-ship *Erebus*, creep within two miles of this American stronghold and commence a bombardment in anticipation of the land attack by Brooke's redcoats. The bomb-vessels *Terror*, *Devastation*, and *Aetna* soon join in; the outraged American artillery being unable to reply. However, no land assault occurs. At 3:00 p.m., Cochrane's ships close the range, only to retreat precipitately when they come under accurate counterfire. Their bombardment will continue from long range until nightfall.

This same evening of September 13, though, a discouraged Brooke orders his army to retreat the next morning. His troops will reembark from North Point by September 15, having suffered 346 total casualties. Shortly thereafter, Cochrane and Brooke part company, the admiral proceeding toward Halifax while the colonel leads his expeditionary army toward Jamaica.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1814. After disembarking from Percy's squadron three days earlier at Mobile Point (Alabama), Nicholls advances with 730 Royal Marines and Indian allies to invest the 130-man garrison of U.S. regulars holding Fort Bowyer under Maj. William Lawrence. The British squadron appears offshore to help bombard its ramparts, but the Americans repel this combined assault, killing 162 attackers and wounding 72, while suffering only 4 dead and 4 injured among their own ranks. Percy's flagship *Hermes* runs aground opposite the American batteries, being abandoned and destroyed. The British then retire 60 miles east into Spanish Pensacola.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1814. This morning, Lafitte's illegal base at Barataria is raided by 70 American sol-

diers under Commo. Daniel Todd Patterson of the 14-gun schooner USS *Carolina*, escorted from New Orleans by six gunboats under naval lieutenant Thomas ap Catesby ("Tac") Jones. They capture 80 freebooters, along with six schooners and eight lesser vessels, and destroy many buildings, without suffering any casualties.

OCTOBER 15, 1814. *Last Ontario Invasion.* After crossing the Niagara River into Upper Canada, Izard probes the British defenses at Chippawa (Ontario) with 5,500 U.S. regulars and 800 militiamen, finding the fortifications stronger than anticipated. The next day, he learns that Chauncey's squadron has retired into Sackets Harbor (New York), fearing an attack by the new 112-gun HMS *Saint Lawrence* out of Kingston. Without naval support for his rearguard, the American general hesitates to penetrate deeper.

On October 19, Brig. Gen. Daniel Bissell's U.S. regulars defeat a small British force at Cook's Mills (on Lyon's Creek), but Yeo's squadron arrives the next day off Fort George (Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario) with the *Saint Lawrence*—a warship that so dwarfs the American vessels on Lake Ontario that Izard cancels his projected campaign into Upper Canada.

NOVEMBER 4, 1814. American Brigadier General McArthur reaches Oxford (Ontario) with 800 troops, having been sent from Detroit on a foraging raid throughout Upper Canada. British lieutenant colonel Henry Bostwick is powerless to resist, merely shadowing the invaders' movements with 400 Canadian militiamen until McArthur returns west one week later.

NOVEMBER 5, 1814. After Izard and Brown retire across the Niagara River—the former into winter quarters at Buffalo, the latter to Sackets Harbor (New York)—American engineers blow up Fort Erie (Ontario).

NOVEMBER 6, 1814. *Pensacola.* Irrate at the British use of this Spanish port as an advance base—despite Madrid's neutrality in the ongoing Anglo-American hostilities—Jackson appears outside Pensacola's walls with 2,000 mounted Tennesseans under Coffee, 700 U.S. regulars, a detachment of Mississippi dragoons under Maj. Thomas Hind, plus other auxiliaries.

Maj. Henry D. Peire of the 44th U.S. Regiment is sent forward under a flag of truce to demand that Pensacola's two principal forts—San Miguel and

Barrancas, now manned by British garrisons—be surrendered by Spanish governor Mateo González Manrique. Instead, Peire's party is fired upon by red-coats, prompting Jackson to storm the town. Its only battery is carried at bayonet point, resistance melting away and almost no blood being shed. Percy's Royal Navy warships conduct a brief bombardment from out in the harbor before the British destroy Fort Barrancas (six miles west of the town) and withdraw.

Jackson thereupon installs an American garrison and returns toward Mobile, where he delegates two U.S. regiments and some militia to hold the coast between Pensacola and Mobile under Winchester, while he departs overland for New Orleans by November 21. The British meanwhile sail eastward to Apalachicola, where Nicholls erects a 10-gun stronghold—later dubbed Fort Negro—atop Prospect Bluff, manned by his Indian and black allies.

NOVEMBER 25, 1814. Cochrane's *Tonnant* weighs anchor from Negril (Jamaica), followed the next day by Rear Adm. Pulteney Malcolm's 74-gun *Royal Oak* (vice flag), *Norge*, *Bedford*, *Ramillies*, and *Asia*; the 64-gun *Dictator*; the frigates *Diomedé*, *Gorgon*, *Alceste*, *Hydra*, *Weaver*, *Traave*, and *Belle Poule*; plus numerous brigs and schooners. They are escorting more than two-dozen transports bearing 8,000 troops under Maj. Gen. John Keane: the 4th, 21st, 44th, 85th Light Infantry, 93rd (Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders), 95th Rifle Corps, 1st, and 5th West Indian regiments, plus two squadrons of the 14th (Duchess

of York) Light Dragoons. They are to rendezvous in the Gulf of Mexico with another contingent arriving from England and capture New Orleans.

DECEMBER 1, 1814. Jackson reaches New Orleans (population 10,000) and begins preparing against an anticipated British attack.

DECEMBER 8, 1814. Cochrane and Keane's 50-ship expedition departs Pensacola, rendezvousing with Percy's squadron two days later near Mobile. On December 12, they anchor north of the Chaudetour Islands to transfer Keane's troops westward across shallow Lake Borgne.

This lake mouth, however, is barred by five American gunboats, plus the tenders *Sea Horse* and *Alligator*, manned by 200 sailors under Lt. "Tac" Jones. The next day, Lockyer leads 1,500 British sailors and marines aboard 45 boats against this flotilla. Jones falls back, but his vessels ground between Malheureux Island and the mainland, being overwhelmed at dawn on December 14 after a two-hour fight in which he suffers 10 killed, 35 wounded, and the rest captured. British casualties are 17 dead and 77 injured. By December 15, Cochrane begins ferrying Keane's army onto Isle aux Poins, taking five days to complete this operation.

DECEMBER 17, 1814. Within New Orleans, Jackson offers a full pardon to Lafitte and his Baratarians, who join the American cause.



British boats engaging Lieutenant Thomas "Tac" Jones's American flotilla on Lake Borgne. (National Maritime Museum, London)

DECEMBER 22, 1814. This evening, Keane's vanguard—1,800 soldiers of the 85th, 95th, and 4th regiments—disembark east of New Orleans. The next night at 7:30, they are struck by 1,800 Americans under Jackson and Coffee, plus the schooner *Carolina* of Capt. John Henley. After two hours of confused fighting, this attack is broken off. The Americans suffer 24 killed, 115 wounded, and 74 missing; British losses are 46 dead, 167 injured, and 64 missing. Nevertheless, Keane's army continues to be reinforced, so presses on.

DECEMBER 24, 1814. The Treaty of Ghent is signed in Europe, needing only ratification in London and Washington to bring an end to hostilities.

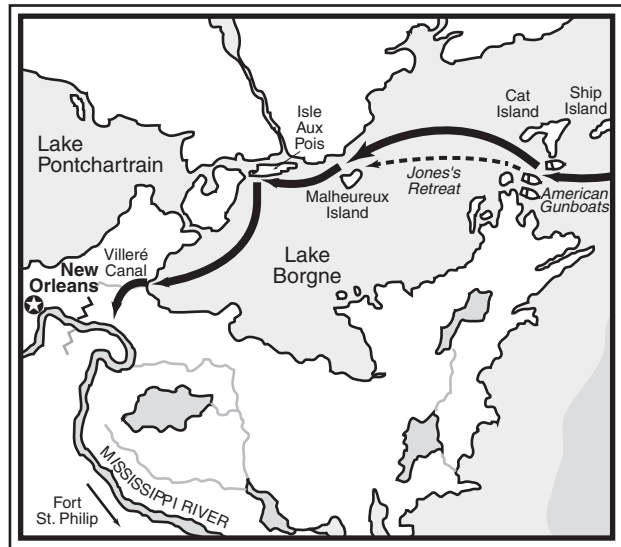
DECEMBER 25, 1814. This afternoon, 37-year-old general Sir Edward Michael Pakenham (Wellington's brother-in-law) reaches the British camp near New Orleans, having hurried out from England aboard the frigate *Statira* to supplant Keane. He is being followed from Jamaica by an additional 2,700 redcoats of Gen. John Lambert's 3rd Division: the 7th (Royal "fuzileers"), 40th (2nd Somersetshire), and 43rd (Monmouthshire) regiments.

DECEMBER 27, 1814. A five-gun British battery east of New Orleans destroys the *Carolina* with red-hot shot, then compels Lt. Charles Thompson's 16-gun *Louisiana*—a mile farther up the Mississippi—to be towed out of range.

DECEMBER 28, 1814. At 8:00 a.m., Pakenham probes Jackson's line east of New Orleans, ordering a recall after suffering 60 casualties, as opposed to 16 American dead.

JANUARY 1, 1815. Having stealthily installed 17 heavy naval guns in two batteries, the British besiegers open fire upon Jackson's line of earthen ramparts. American counterfire—especially from the two-gun Baratarian battery of Dominique You and Renato Beluché—proves so accurate that the British guns are silenced, and Pakenham's assault columns are restrained from advancing.

JANUARY 4, 1815. New Orleans is reinforced by 2,300 Kentucky militiamen under Brig. Gen. John Adair (although only 700 are armed). Two days later, Lambert reaches Villeré with 1,700 redcoats of the 7th and 43rd regiments, bringing Pakenham's strength up to 8,000 by January 7. The British commander,



British advance against New Orleans.

unable to conceive of a maneuver around Jackson's line, now prepares to storm straight at it.

JANUARY 8, 1815. New Orleans. Despite the failure of Thornton to shift 1,400 redcoats overnight to the western bank of the Mississippi—thus outflanking the American defenses—two columns of British troops march directly against Jackson's line at 4:00 this Sunday morning: the 4th, 21st, and 44th regiments on the left, and one company each of the 7th and 43rd, and the 93rd and the 5th West Indian regiments on the right.

Awaiting them, in a position running inland from the riverbank, are the 7th U.S. Infantry, Thomas Beale's Orleans Riflemen, Maj. Jean-Baptiste Plauché's Louisiana *carabinier* militia, Maj. Pierre Robin Lacoste and Major Daquin's two battalions of black troops, plus the 44th U.S. Infantry; this whole western half is under U.S. regular colonel George T. Ross. The remaining Americans are commanded by Coffee, their center manned by Maj. Gen. William Carroll's Tennessee Rifles, with Adair's Kentuckians farther east, plus a screen of 60 Choctaw warriors under Pierre Jugeât in the cypress swamps beyond. Jackson thus has 4,000 men on his firing line, protected by a 10-foot earthen rampart and eight batteries.

In the growing light, the redcoats march bravely into a hail of fire, only to be remorselessly mown down. When his first assault wave falters, Pakenham personally intervenes to rally his troops, receiving three mortal wounds. His 6,500-man army eventually retires under Lambert after absorbing 858 dead,

2,468 injured, and 500 captured, in contrast to 13 killed and 39 wounded among Jackson's ranks.

Thornton belatedly reaches the western bank of the Mississippi with 450 redcoats, Royal Marines, and sailors, easily scattering Brig. Gen. David B. Morgan's 1,200 American defenders: the 1st and 2nd Louisiana Militia, Col. Alexandre de Clouet's conscripts, plus a company of Kentucky volunteers under Col. John Davis, supported by three field-pieces. Although suffering only 3 killed and 30 wounded, Thornton's victory cannot possibly offset the devastation of the main British body, so he retires this evening. The next day, a local truce is arranged so that Lambert's survivors can gather their fallen.

JANUARY 9, 1815. This afternoon, Cochrane's squadron approaches Fort St. Philip (45 miles southeast of New Orleans), deploying his sloops *Herald*, *Nymph*, and *Thistle*; schooner *Pigmy*; plus bomb-vessels *Aetna* and *Meteor* close inshore to commence a bombardment by 3:00 p.m. The fort's 366-man American garrison under Maj. Walter H. Overton—some 7th U.S. regulars, a Louisiana volunteer battalion, a company of free blacks, plus 120 gunners under English-born artillery captain Charles Wollstonecraft—endure nine days of continuous fire, suffering two killed, before the British withdraw on the morning of January 18.

JANUARY 18, 1815. After a fortnight of paralyzed inactivity before Jackson's line outside New Orleans, Lambert stealthily withdraws his shattered British survivors this evening toward Lake Borgne, beginning to reembark onto Cochrane's transports off Cat Island the next morning. The Americans do little to hamper this retirement, and by January 26, the invaders depart east toward Dauphine Island (Alabama).

FEBRUARY 7, 1815. *Fort Bowyer.* Having been reinforced by two fresh regiments out of England, Lambert disembarks 1,200 redcoats and 450 gunners for 16 heavy naval guns, plus numerous sappers and Royal Marines, behind Fort Bowyer on Mobile Point. They quickly invest its 360-man garrison under Major Lawrence, compelling him to surrender (under easy terms) by sundown of February 11. Victory celebrations are cut short by the arrival of a Royal Navy frigate bearing news of the official cessation of hostilities.

Second Barbary War

Soon after America's first Barbary conflict ended in 1805, seizures by the North African rovers resumed. Unable to dispatch a naval expedition because of worsening relations with Britain and France, Washington instead began paying ransoms once again. When the War of 1812 erupted, Royal Navy action prevented any U.S. vessels from even reaching the Mediterranean. Therefore, tributes were stopped, so the Bey of Algiers angrily expelled the American consul general and declared war against the United States.

As soon as hostilities with Britain ceased, Washington moved against the Barbary States. On March 3, 1815, Congress authorized the dispatch of two U.S. naval squadrons to the Mediterranean. First to depart from New York City was Commo. Stephen Decatur on May 20. His flagship was the brand-new, 50-gun, 1,500-ton USS *Guerriere*, leading the frigates *Macedonian* of 38 guns and *Constellation* of 36, the 16-gun sloops *Ontario* and *Epervier*, plus five lesser consorts. Commo. William Bainbridge followed six weeks later with another eight warships.

Decatur, however, conducted most of the campaign. After touching at Gibraltar on June 15, 1815, his squadron blasted and captured the 44-gun Algerian flagship *Meshuda* two days later. On June 19, they also intercepted the 22-gun brig *Estedio*. Decatur therefore arrived off Algiers with both prizes on June 28, forcing the Bey to sign a treaty two days later. All American and some European captives were released, and the Bey additionally paid \$10,000 for the return of his ships. Decatur then proceeded to Tunis and concluded a similar settlement there on July 13, as well as another one at Tripoli on August 9.

Despite then being joined by Bainbridge's squadron at Gibraltar, the Americans could not prevent a resumption of Barbary captures. The British rear admiral Edward Pellew, Baron Exmouth, unleashed a much more punishing bombardment of Algiers on August 27, 1816. Many of its corsair vessels were crippled, and 3,000 captives were freed. Yet the Algerian menace was not finally eliminated until France occupied the port in 1830.

On February 14, 1815, Madison receives his copy of the Treaty of Ghent, which is ratified by the U.S. Congress three days later. Despite the last-minute victory at New Orleans, the War of 1812 ends badly for the Americans, their capital having been burned, no new territories won (except for some Creek lands), and exports reduced from more than \$108 million in 1807 to a mere \$7 million by 1814.

U.S. EXPANSION THROUGH EASTERN TRIBELANDS (1816–1842)

As American settlers push inland from the Atlantic Seaboard, Great Lakes region, and Mississippi Delta, they encroach upon the territories of their seminomadic Indian neighbors, resulting in clashes because of each side's differing philosophies regarding land ownership. The pioneers are also quick to call upon state and federal governments for support whenever they perceive a threat.

One of the earliest conflicts develops with the Creek and Seminole residents of northern Florida, who are squeezed between homesteaders migrating south out of Georgia and east out of Alabama. Although Florida remains nominally under Spanish control, Madrid is too distracted by the ongoing wars of independence in Latin America to defend these isolated, sparsely populated outposts. Armed Americans therefore begin crossing Florida's border with impunity, especially in pursuit of the runaway slaves who seek sanctuary amid Spanish missions.

JULY 1816. *Fort Negro.* Incensed at having a U.S. supply ship, which earlier attempted to ascend the Apalachicola River toward Fort Scott, fired upon by the black and Seminole garrison at Fort Negro, Brig. Gen. Edmund Pendleton Gaines dispatches an American land and naval force under 29-year-old, 250-pound Lt. Col. Duncan L. Clinch to deal with this obstacle. The latter penetrates 60 miles into Spanish territory and invests this stronghold. On July 24, a lucky round from one of his blockading gunboats scores a direct hit on the fort's magazine, killing 270 of its 300 defenders and wounding the rest. After the Americans raze Fort Negro and regain their own territory, Spain protests this violation of its sovereignty, but to no avail.

NOVEMBER 20, 1817. *First Seminole War.* After months of increasing frictions, Chief Neamathla of the Mikasuki Seminoles at Fowltown, plus Chief Bowlegs of the neighboring Alachua, warn Gaines not to send any more formations from Fort Scott across the Flint River (southwestern Georgia). Deeming this expanse to be U.S. rather than Indian or Spanish territory, the latter responds angrily by dispatching Maj. David E. Twiggs with 250 troops to arrest Neamathla. The next day, the soldiers engage in an indecisive firefight near Fowltown, thus inaugurating hostilities.

The conflict soon escalates after the Seminoles ambush 40 regulars under Lt. Richard W. Scott of the 7th U.S. Infantry Regiment, who are advancing up the Apalachicola River to reinforce Fort Scott. This force is almost totally annihilated, suffering 34 soldiers killed, plus 7 wives. From Washington, President James Monroe authorizes an expansion in the conflict's scope by authorizing Gaines on December

16 to pursue hostiles deep into Spanish territory. On January 4, 1818, the general advances upon Fowltown and, finding it deserted, burns it to the ground.

The war then escalates exponentially when the highly aggressive westerner Andrew Jackson reaches Fort Scott in early March 1818 to assume overall command. Soon, he strikes southward with 500 regulars, 1,000 Tennessee militiamen, and 2,000 Creek allies. Outnumbered and outgunned, the Seminoles scatter, their only opposition being made by 200–300 black warriors, who fight delaying actions west of the Suwannee River. Determined to eradicate these nuisance raids once and for all, Jackson presses on and seizes the Spanish outpost of San Marcos de Apalache by early April, furthermore hanging two British subjects on April 29 as *agents provocateurs*. The American general next proceeds to occupy Spanish Pensacola, while directing Gaines to capture St. Augustine as well.

Jackson returns toward Tennessee by May 30, finding that, although his highhanded actions are cheered by the public, they meet with disapproval in official circles. In August, President Monroe offers to restore Florida to Spain (though Spain soon offers to sell its increasingly untenable province back to the United States for several million dollars). On October 31, almost as an afterthought, the First Seminole War is declared ended.

AUGUST 1823. *Arikara War.* A semisedentary Pawnee tribe (a northern offshoot of the Caddosans), the Arikara live in earth-covered lodges with their Mandan and Hidatsa Sioux neighbors in what is today South Dakota, planting corn and hunting buffalo for their subsistence. In the summer of 1823, their warriors resist the ascent up the Missouri River

of a swelling number of American traders, which eventually results in a pitched battle.

When news of this encounter reaches the 40-year-old colonel Henry Leavenworth 600 miles downstream at Fort Atkinson (Kansas), he swiftly leads a small force of U.S. regulars, trappers, traders, and Indian allies upstream to the mouth of Grand River and defeats the Arikara.

MAY 28, 1830. President Jackson signs the Indian Removal Act into law, a congressional bill allowing him to negotiate with southeastern tribes to exchange their ancestral homes for new lands west of the Mississippi River, which is to become known as the “Indian Territory.” Although forcible evictions are not permitted, this act greatly increases pressure on tribal leaders, accelerating wholesale expulsions of the Choctaws, Cherokees, Seminoles, and others.

SPRING 1832. *Black Hawk War.* Having been driven onto the western shores of the Mississippi River the previous year by white encroachments, Sauk and Fox planters return to Rock Island (Illinois) to sow new crops. Panicky American militiamen shoot down an Indian carrying a flag of truce, prompting the 65-year-old chief Ma’katawimesheka’ka (“Black Spar-

row Hawk”) to authorize a series of cross-border raids.

Eventually, his overmatched tribesmen are defeated at Wisconsin Heights on July 20–21 by a volunteer army under Col. Henry Dodge and James D. Henry. Black Hawk flees westward with his own small band, which is subsequently massacred on the banks of the Bad Axe River; the chieftain is captured and confined in Fort Monroe (Virginia).

OCTOBER 21, 1834. Retired major general Wiley Thompson of the Georgia militia, now an Indian agent at reconstituted Fort King on the southern banks of the Alachua River in north-central Florida (modern Ocala), informs the Seminole chieftains of President Jackson’s decision to transplant their 5,000 tribesmen onto reservations west of the Mississippi. During the forthcoming year, native opposition will coalesce around belligerent leaders such as the 30-year-old warrior Osceola.

DECEMBER 28, 1835. *Second Seminole War.* On this cold, drizzly morning, 108 U.S. regulars under 43-year-old brevet major Francis Langhorne Dade are ambushed a few miles north of the Little Withlacoochee River while marching from Fort Brooke



The Seminole Wars.

(Tampa Bay) as reinforcements for Fort King, 30 miles deeper into central Florida. Their attackers are 160 Seminole warriors and black allies under chiefs Micanopy of the Alachua, his nephew Wildcat, Abraham, Jumper, and Alligator, who despite being briefly checked by Dade's 6-pounder cannon, eventually massacre the entire command (only two badly wounded survivors escape with their lives). That same afternoon, another 40 warriors under Osceola attack the outskirts of Fort King proper, killing seven whites—including its Indian agent Thompson—then retiring southward to join Micanopy's band.

This outbreak marks the culmination of several months of increasing volatility throughout this region, as natives protest against Washington's plan to expel them into Arkansas. Three days later, brevet brigadier general Clinch leads a second column into hostile Seminole territory, consisting of 250 regulars under one-armed brevet lieutenant colonel Alexander C.W. Fanning, and 500 Florida volunteers under militia brigadier general Richard Keith Call. While fording the Withlacoochee River, they are ambushed by 230 Seminole and 30 black warriors under Osceola, who—despite being injured—obliges the invaders to withdraw by late afternoon, after suffering 4 dead and 59 wounded.

The federal government in Washington responds to these two unexpected setbacks by dispatching Gen. Winfield Scott to Picolata with orders to marshal a large body of regulars and militiamen to stifle all resistance. In the marshy wilds of central Florida, meanwhile, Osceola's followers expand their revolt by attacking numerous plantations and freeing slaves, while simultaneously preparing to wage a protracted guerrilla struggle.

FEBRUARY 13, 1836. Having arrived four days previously at Tampa Bay from New Orleans with a relief force, Major General Gaines strikes inland with 1,000 men and a 6-pounder to reinforce Clinch in central Florida. After departing Fort King on February 26, however, Gaines is pinned down by Osceola's warriors the next day while attempting to ford the Withlacoochee River. Although suffering only 4 soldiers killed and 38 wounded, his half-starved army nevertheless cannot be extricated by Clinch until March 6.

MARCH 25, 1836. Scott orders three columns of more than 1,000 troops apiece to advance into Seminole territory: Col. William Lindsay's force from Tampa Bay, brevet brigadier general Abraham Eus-



Osceola, as painted in captivity at Charleston in late 1837 or early 1838 by George Catlin. (Charleston Museum)

tis's from Volusia, plus Clinch's from Fort Drane. After repeatedly drawing fire from native snipers, these contingents meet at Fort Brooke by April 4–8, having slain only 60 of their elusive foes during this advance. Osceola's followers further begin attacking isolated American outposts behind the advance and harassing Scott's supply lines.

APRIL 27, 1836. While marching to the relief of Fort Alabama, Col. William Chisholm's 600 militia volunteers are ambushed, suffering 5 killed and 24 wounded.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1836. Call—now Florida's governor—crosses the Suwannee River with some U.S. regulars, local militiamen, and 1,500 Tennessee volunteers, driving toward Fort Drane. Despite being reinforced by 200 more regulars and 750 Creek auxiliaries under Col. John F. Lane, little is accomplished during Call's subsequent two-month campaign, beyond surprising a few unwary Seminole bands.

Finally, Wahoo Swamp is approached by November 21, where Call fails to press home his attack, instead retiring toward Volusia after suffering 55 casualties—not realizing that 600 native and black

Osceola

This chieftain was born in 1804 at Tallassee (in modern Macon County, Alabama). Despite later claiming to be a full-blooded native, Osceola's father was in fact the English trader William Powell and his mother was Polly Coppinger, the half-Muskogee daughter of Ann McQueen. Therefore, Osceola's maternal grandfather was James McQueen, one of the very first white men to trade among the Creeks, as far back as 1714. In Osceola's youth, some had even persisted in calling him Billy Powell.

During the hostilities of the winter of 1813, he was taken by his mother and other Upper Creeks or "Red Sticks" to seek refuge at Fort Negro. From there, they continued into central Florida early in 1814. As a young adult, he received the name *Asi Yahola*, derived from the ceremonial black tea drink *assi* and the word *yaholi*, the name of the Creek "Green Corn" god intoned whenever it was served. His name would become garbled into "Osceola" among whites, supposedly meaning "black-drink singer."

When a handful of Seminole chiefs signed a treaty with the U.S. War Department at Payne's Landing on May 9, 1832, supposedly agreeing to consider vacating central Florida for Arkansas within three years, they recanted a year later. However, the U.S. Senate ratified this disputed treaty in April 1834 and expected all 5,000 Seminoles to emigrate the next year. When the new U.S. Indian agent Wiley Thompson informed tribal leaders of this decision at Fort King in October 1834, Osceola—although not yet a chieftain, because his father had not been a Seminole—soon emerged as one of the treaty's most vociferous opponents. Thompson uneasily requested reinforcements, then read a letter from President Jackson in March 1835 to the assembled Seminole chiefs, threatening removal by force.

Most tribal leaders still rebuffed the treaty a month later, leading to more angry exchanges. As relations deteriorated, Thompson banned sales of arms and ammunition. In the summer of 1835, when one of Osceola's two wives was reclaimed as the daughter of a runaway slave, Thompson even locked him up overnight in Fort King for complaining too vigorously. Embittered and hostile, Osceola waylaid and killed Chief Charley Emathla that same November as he was leading his own Seminole band toward Fort Brooke to comply with the treaty. And one month later, Osceola personally exacted revenge upon Thompson by killing and scalping him outside his fort, just as the Second Seminole War exploded.

warriors have been trapped nearby, protecting their families. By early December, Call is relieved of military command in favor of U.S. quartermaster-general Thomas Sidney Jesup.

JANUARY 22, 1837. Jesup departs Fort Armstrong with approximately 2,000 U.S. regulars, marines, Alabama and Georgia militiamen, plus Creek auxiliaries, choosing to pursue elusive Seminole bands with his flying detachments rather than his cumbersome main force. This change of tactics produces a series of small victories near Lake Apopka, Hatchee-lustee Creek, and Big Cypress Swamp, obliging chiefs Micanopy, Abraham, and Jumper to request terms by February 3.

Eventually, a treaty is signed on March 6, whereby 1,000 Seminoles gather at Tampa Bay in mid-May to be transported west of the Mississippi by sea. However, Jesup's arrangements founder amid public criticism of his clemency and the lack of any amnesty for the natives' black allies, who are to be enslaved. Therefore, when Osceola and Sam Jones appear outside this unhappy Indian encampment with 200 warriors on the night of June 2, their comrades join them in resuming hostilities.

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1837. Once Florida's summer heat has abated, Jesup resumes his campaign by deploying 3,700 troops in four columns: one moving along the St. Johns River, another patrolling Mosquito Inlet, a third advancing down the Kissimmee River from Tampa, the fourth going up the Caloosahatchee. These sweeps result in a number of important captures, culminating on October 27 when Osceola and 94 followers are treacherously seized, despite having been asked to a parley and displaying a white flag, near Fort Payton by 250 troops under Brig. Gen. Joseph M. Hernandez. American public opinion deplores this act of perfidy, and Osceola is lionized upon being transferred into Fort Moultrie (outside Charleston, South Carolina), where he subsequently dies of malaria on January 30, 1838.

DECEMBER 2, 1837. Jesup launches a winter offensive by sending seven small armies roaming into the interior of Florida, denying any respite to its recalcitrant Seminole bands.

DECEMBER 25, 1837. *Lake Okeechobee.* About midmorning, approximately 1,000 men of the 1st,

4th, and 6th U.S. Infantry regiments, 1st Missouri Volunteers, plus Delaware and Shawnee scouts—all under Col. Zachary Taylor—capture a man who promises to guide them toward a Seminole encampment atop a rise bordering Lake Okeechobee. Expecting to encounter only minimal resistance, Taylor launches a frontal assault by 12:30 p.m. across a half-mile of sawgrass swamp.

His front ranks are riddled by accurate counterfire from three bodies of waiting warriors: 250 on the right under Sam Jones, 120 in the center under Alligator, and 80 on the left under King Philip's son Coacoochee (called "Wildcat" by the Americans). After the 180 Missouri volunteers of Col. Richard Gentry break and run, the 6th U.S. Infantry of Col. Ramsey Thompson also retreats; therefore, by the time Taylor's reserves begin a flanking maneuver at 3:00 p.m., the Seminoles are able to escape eastward. American losses total 26 dead (including Gentry and Thompson) and 112 wounded, as opposed to 11 fallen warriors and 14 injured.

JANUARY 24, 1838. At noon, a company of U.S. dragoons under Capt. William M. Fulton—vanguard for Jesup's main army—is fired upon by 200–300 Seminole and black warriors who are occupying the high ground near Locksahatchee. Despite making a rapid advance, the Americans are unable to prevent their opponents' flight; they suffer 7 killed

and 32 wounded (including Jesup, who is slightly injured).

FEBRUARY 7, 1838. Over the next few days, Jesup meets and persuades Chief Tuskegee to bring his emaciated followers to Fort Jupiter on the understanding that these Seminoles will not be obliged to abandon Florida. Some 500 Indians and blacks soon are encamped within a mile of this outpost, but when Washington rejects Jesup's terms on March 17, the general sends the 2nd U.S. Dragoons to surround and imprison the band, violating his promise.

MAY 15, 1838. Jesup relinquishes command of the 1,800 U.S. regulars and 500 militiamen remaining in Florida to brevet brigadier general Taylor and returns to Washington. By now, Seminole activity consists of feeble hit-and-run raids against mostly civilian targets.

Over the next four years, American forces fight a protracted brush war against Seminole bands hiding throughout the Everglades, gradually hunting them into extinction, while deporting hundreds of captives. Disgusted U.S. regulars refer to this inglorious struggle as a "dirty little war of aggression," many resigning from the service. On August 14, 1842, their 48-year-old lame commander—Col. William Jenkins Worth—announces an end to the Second Seminole War, which has cost 1,466 American soldiers their lives (328 in battle).

MEXICAN TURBULENCE (1822–1834)

For many emerging Latin American nations, independence from Spain does not bring an end to strife; rather, there ensues bitter wrangling as to how best to replace the vanished imperial apparatus. Many innovations are proposed, ranging from radical republicanism to constitutional monarchies, all backed by a ready resort to arms—now seemingly justified, after the recent struggle for liberty. As a result, a nation such as Mexico endures frequent military coups and countercoups within the first dozen years of its existence.

MAY 18, 1822. After learning two weeks earlier that Spain has refused to recognize Mexico's independence as defined by the Plan of Iguala (*see* "February 24, 1821" in "Latin American Insurgencies"), troopers from the 1st Cavalry Regiment abandon their San Hipólito barracks in Mexico City at 8:00 p.m. and—in a contrived gesture spearheaded by a sergeant named Pío Marcha—urge the insur-

gent hero Agustín Iturbide to become emperor. The next morning, Congress is bullied into ratifying this arrangement, and Agustín I is proclaimed.

JUNE 1822. A small army under the 37-year-old, Italian-born brigadier general Vicente Filisola arrives in Guatemala with orders from Iturbide to secure Central America for Mexico.

AUGUST 26, 1822. Numerous military officers are arrested throughout Mexico on suspicion of plotting to depose Agustín I in favor of a republic.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1822. Emperor Agustín I dispatches Brig. Gen. Juan José Zenón Fernández from San Luis Potosí to put down a republican mutiny in Tamaulipas that is led by Brig. Gen. Felipe de la Garza.

OCTOBER 26, 1822. In Veracruz, Antonio López de Santa Anna fails to wrest its island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa from the last loyalist Spanish holdout, General Dávila. Because of this setback, and other secret complaints regarding his conversations with the pro-republican U.S. ambassador Joel R. Poinsett, the emperor on November 16 orders Santa Anna to report to Mexico City.

OCTOBER 31, 1822. In Mexico City, Agustín I dissolves Congress with the help of Gen. Luis de Cortazar's troops.

DECEMBER 2, 1822. Threatened with demotion as Iturbide's governor at Veracruz, Santa Anna mutinies with 400 soldiers of the 8th Infantry Regiment four days later, he promulgates a republic and braces for Iturbide's counteroffensive, which is charged to generals José Antonio de Echávarri, Cortazar, and José María Lobato.

Nicolás Bravo and Vicente Guerrero also rise up against the Mexican emperor, prompting the further dispatch of Gen. José Gabriel Armijo's army.

JANUARY 1823. Unaware of the Mexican emperor's growing predicament, Filisola's army subdues patriotic unrest in El Salvador (Central America).

JANUARY 23, 1823. Armijo's subordinate, the 32-year-old brigadier general Epitacio Sánchez, comes into contact with Bravo's and Guerrero's rebel contingents at Almolonga in the state of Veracruz, defeating them over the next two days in a series of clashes that costs Sánchez his life.

FEBRUARY 1, 1823. After briefly besieging the port city of Veracruz, generals Echávarri and Armijo agree to join the rebellious Santa Anna and Bravo against Iturbide, formalizing this agreement with the "Plan of Casamata." Their mutiny quickly spreads to most other Mexican army units.

Santa Anna

Antonio de Padua María Severino López de Santa Anna Pérez de Lebrón was born on February 21, 1794, at Jalapa (Veracruz). His father was a minor local official, who saw that his young son became apprenticed to a merchant in Veracruz. The high-spirited Santa Anna preferred a military calling, so—against his parents' wishes—he enrolled on July 6, 1810, as a *Subteniente* in the Fixed Infantry Regiment of Veracruz under newly promoted Col. Joaquín de Arredondo y Muñiz.

The war for independence exploded that same autumn, and Santa Anna had his first taste of combat when Arredondo was sent in mid-March 1811 with 500 troops to put down insurrections in Tamaulipas and Texas. Two and a half years of wide-ranging campaigns ensued. The young subaltern was wounded in the left forearm by an Indian arrow in San Luis Potosí, then was promoted to second lieutenant as of February 1812. The Texans were finally crushed at Atascoso outside San Antonio on August 12, 1813. It is believed that Arredondo's ruthless execution of beaten foes and torching of towns helped shape Santa Anna's own harsh attitudes.

Singled out for bravery in battle, he was returned to Veracruz that same autumn as a military instructor. As the viceroy ordered new companies raised for that port city's regiment, Santa Anna was promoted to first lieutenant of its 2nd Grenadier Battalion. Then the next year, he became aide to the royalist governor and garrison commander, Gen. José Dávila, and patrolled local highways. In March 1816, Santa Anna was promoted to captain and served in Arredondo's pursuit of Francisco Mina during the summer of 1817.

Santa Anna's next few years were spent quietly, relocating displaced loyalists around Veracruz. He also acquired a few properties, as well as considerable debts through gambling. In his provincial backwater, he remained loyal to the Crown until the very closing phases of the War of Independence. Belatedly switching allegiances in the spring of 1821, he became one of many insurgent lieutenant colonels vying for attention. After a few small local victories, he was promoted to the command of the 11th Division but lost half of his men in a failed assault against Dávila's royal garrison in Veracruz.

When independence was at last won on September 27, 1821, Santa Anna seemed like countless other ambitious Mexican officers. Although he was promoted to brigadier general and made governor of Veracruz, confronting Dávila's last Spanish holdouts in the offshore island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, nothing could have predicted that the 27-year-old Santa Anna would come to occupy the presidency 11 times over the next three decades.

FEBRUARY 12, 1823. Virtually all imperial troops in Mexico City mutiny against Iturbide, obliging the emperor to shift his headquarters to Ixtapalucan, while imprisoned congressmen are released.

MARCH 19, 1823. With the rebellious generals Echávarri, José Morán y Villar, Marqués de Vivanco, Bravo, and Miguel Barragán marching upon Mexico City, Iturbide abdicates as emperor. To avoid further bloodshed, Gen. Manuel Gómez Pedraza arranges a safe-conduct for the fallen ruler, who is escorted to Antigua in the state of Veracruz under Bravo's protection, then deported on May 11 aboard the frigate *Rawlins*.

MARCH 29, 1823. Upon learning of Iturbide's fall, Filisola convenes a constitutional congress in Guatemala City to decide Central America's fate, then departs with his Mexican army. On July 1, this body opts for full independence, only Chiapas choosing to remain as part of Mexico.

MARCH 31, 1823. The Mexican Congress decides that a triumvirate composed of Bravo, Guadalupe Victoria (originally born Manuel Félix Fernández), and Pedro Celestino Negrete will temporarily rule this country until a republican constitution can be drafted. Debate soon splinters into two contending factions: those favoring a strong central authority (known as *escoceses* or "Scots"), opposed by those wishing for a looser federal system (*yorkinos* or "Yorkists").

JUNE 1823. Bravo marches into Jalisco at the head of 2,000 men to calm that state's disturbances.

JUNE 5, 1823. In San Luis Potosí, Santa Anna issues a demand for a federal system of government, being recalled into Mexico City and briefly incarcerated for his temerity.

JANUARY 31, 1824. Mexico's new constitution is promulgated, establishing a republican form of government.

JUNE 1824. Bravo marches into Jalisco with 4,000 men because of its continued political unrest.

JULY 1824. After a year's sojourn in Italy and England, the former emperor Iturbide returns to Mexico, only to be taken prisoner and executed in Tamaulipas.

OCTOBER 10, 1824. The 36-year-old insurgent hero Guadalupe Victoria is sworn into office as Mexico's first elected president.

DECEMBER 23, 1827. Col. Manuel Montaña leads an uprising at Otumba in the state of Mexico, which is soon joined at Tulancingo by Vice President Bravo, who assumes overall command of the rebel forces.

JANUARY 7, 1828. Guerrero defeats Bravo's following, the latter being exiled to Ecuador (although pardoned the following year).

SEPTEMBER 1, 1828. After a tightly contested presidential campaign, the electoral college proclaims the moderate General Gómez Pedraza as winner, and Guerrero—the second-place finisher—as Mexico's vice president. Eleven days later, Santa Anna revolts at the fortress of Perote in the state of Veracruz, calling for the annulment of these results and Guerrero's elevation to president. This uprising is quickly put down, and Santa Anna retreats into Oaxaca.

Around that same time, President Gómez Pedraza also uses the Mexican army to eject the liberal governor of the state of Mexico, 40-year-old Dr. Lorenzo de Zavala.

NOVEMBER 30, 1828. The Acordada garrison in Mexico City mutinies in favor of Guerrero, and fighting erupts in the city's streets two days later. President Gómez Pedraza eventually flees for exile in France on December 3, leaving power in the hands of Guerrero.

MARCH 20, 1829. Guerrero orders all Spaniards expelled from Mexico.

APRIL 1, 1829. Guerrero officially assumes office as president, with the 49-year-old general Anastasio Bustamante as his vice president and Santa Anna as governor of Veracruz.

JULY 7, 1829. *Spanish Invasion.* A 15-ship expedition departs Havana under veteran brigadier general Isidro Barradas (see "January 23, 1820" entry in "Latin American Insurgencies") to attempt a Spanish reconquest of Mexico—supposedly with the aid of local sympathizers, now disillusioned by republican rule.

By July 27, this force sights Cape Rojo in the state of Veracruz, and its 3,500 troops disembark at Santander Beach. The first actual clash occurs four

days later, while Barradas's invaders are attempting to traverse Corchos Pass, after which they skirt the burning, abandoned fortress at La Barra before occupying Tampico without resistance on August 6. Two days previously, Santa Anna has landed farther south at Tuxpan with a 3,750-troop counterexpedition from Veracruz, proceeding northwestward on foot. Tampico's small garrison meanwhile withdraws northward into the village of Altamira, where it is joined on August 8 by another 1,800 Mexican soldiers under General de la Garza.

Learning of this latter concentration, Barradas leaves his subordinate, Colonel Salomón, to hold Tampico with a small garrison, while advancing a week later against de la Garza with his main body. The Mexicans brace to receive the Spaniards at Altamira, being reinforced from Matamoros on August 15 by 40-year-old general Manuel Rafael Simón de Mier y Terán. Nevertheless, after only a brief exchange of long-range fire two days afterward, the defenders abandon Altamira to Barradas.

Having meanwhile circled around the Pánuco River, Santa Anna joins Mier y Terán and de la Garza by August 20, then slips a contingent across by boat that same night to attack Salomón the next dawn within Tampico. He is unable to carry the town by storm, though, so he retires toward Pueblo Viejo once Barradas returns to rescue his subordinate. Still, the Spanish incursion has been checked, and after a further buildup of Mexican strength, action resumes.

On September 3, Col. Carlos Beneski captures a Spanish schooner offshore; four days later, Mier y Terán blocks Doña Cecilia Pass (the last remaining road inland), then at 1:45 p.m. on September 10, he assaults the Spanish contingent at La Barra with 900 men, carrying that strongpoint the next day. Barradas therefore decides to come to terms with Santa Anna that same September 11, being allowed to re-embark along with his 1,800 demoralized survivors. (In retaliation for this invasion, the Mexican government soon commissions Gen. José Ignacio Basadre to travel to Haiti and recruit black guerrillas to infiltrate Cuba, raising a slave revolt against Spanish rule.)

NOVEMBER 6, 1829. Yucatán rebels against Guerrero's government.

DECEMBER 4, 1829. *Bustamante's Uprising.* Still in command of the large army raised to repel Barradas's Spanish invasion, Vice President Bustamante

Struggles of the Young Republics (1812–1860)

mutinies at Jalapa in the state of Veracruz against President Guerrero. The latter quickly finds himself without supporters—Bravo defeating his troops at Chilpancingo, then occupying Acapulco—so the president flees the capital on December 18, establishing a tenacious guerrilla campaign in southern Mexico. His rival Bustamante assumes office as president by January 1, 1830, while sending General Armijo to fight Guerrero.

JANUARY 15, 1831. After a year of successful guerrilla forays, Guerrero is lured aboard the Genoese brigantine *Colombo* at Acapulco, its captain, Francesco Picaluga, having been offered a 50,000-peso bounty by President Bustamante to kidnap his intransigent predecessor. Instead of the anticipated lunch, Guerrero is sailed to Huatulco in the state of Oaxaca and handed over to Capt. Miguel González, who executes him by firing squad on the morning of February 14 at Cuilapan.

JANUARY 2, 1832. *Santa Anna's Insurrection.* Santa Anna rises in revolt with the Veracruz garrison against Bustamante, calling for the restoration of exiled president Gómez Pedraza (see "November 30, 1828" entry). Despite a halting start, this rebellion gradually spreads throughout central Mexico.

MARCH 19, 1832. Gov. Francisco Vital Fernández of Tamaulipas revolts against the Mexico City authorities, but flees upon the approach of Mier y Terán's loyal troops.

JULY 8, 1832. Mier y Terán, humiliated by his inability to put down another revolt in Tamaulipas—this time by the Tampico garrison under General Moctezuma—commits suicide by falling upon his sword at Padilla.

AUGUST 1832. In the state of Guerrero, Gen. Juan Nepomuceno Álvarez rises against Bustamante, supporting the exiled Gómez Pedraza.

AUGUST 14, 1832. Bustamante is obliged to march out of Mexico City at the head of his army to battle the spreading antigovernment revolt in central Mexico.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1832. Bustamante defeats a rebel concentration at Gallinero Pass near Dolores Hidalgo in the state of Guanajuato, but he must then retrace his steps toward Puebla to intercept Santa

Anna's army, which is advancing inland from Veracruz.

OCTOBER 5, 1832. The former president Gómez Pedraza reaches Veracruz from exile in France, becoming the figurehead for Santa Anna's movement.

DECEMBER 21, 1832. Santa Anna's army clashes with Bustamante's near Puebla, then two days later an armistice is signed at Zavaleta Hacienda, whereby the latter resigns as president in favor of Gómez Pedraza.

JANUARY 3, 1833. Gómez Pedraza and Santa Anna enter Mexico City in triumph, the former temporarily reoccupying his presidency, although he is little more than a puppet of the victorious general. When elections are held a couple of months later, Santa Anna becomes president, and the 51-

year-old liberal politician Dr. Valentín Gómez Farías becomes his vice president, officially taking office on April 1.

JUNE 2, 1833. Santa Anna marches out of Mexico City at the head of his army to put down a minor insurrection by General Gabriel.

MARCH 5, 1834. Gen. Juan Álvarez defeats Bravo's conservative followers at Chilapa.

NOVEMBER 9, 1834. Gen. Juan Álvarez rises in revolt against Santa Anna's rule at Tecpan, eventually besieging Acapulco and clashing with Bravo.

During this 12-year span, not a single Mexican president completes his term in office, military force having become a well-entrenched feature of political life.

CISPLATINE WAR (1825–1828)

South America's independence does not bring an end to the traditional Hispano-Portuguese rivalry regarding the disputed territory known as the *Banda Oriental* or "Eastern Shore" of the River Plate (modern Uruguay), seized eight years previously by the troops of Brazilian emperor Dom Pedro I. On April 19, 1825, 33 of the Banda's exiled patriots under 40-year-old Juan Antonio Lavalleja set sail aboard two boats from San Isidro (Argentina), landing at Rincón de la Agraciada to raise a revolt against the occupiers of their homeland.

Many disaffected Uruguayan gauchos quickly rise up in Lavalleja's support—especially the veteran patriot commander Fructuoso Rivera, popularly known as "Don Frutos"—therefore, the town of Soriano is overrun by April 24, Canelones is taken by May 2, and the main Brazilian garrison within Montevideo is invested six days later. The 18-gun Brazilian brigantine *Caboclo* (formerly the *Maipu*) of Lt. Francisco Pires de Carvalho carries reinforcements into Montevideo's beleaguered garrison by June, while the emperor vainly files protests with the government at Buenos Aires, which is soon to be headed by its first constitutional president—Bernardino Rivadavia—recently returned from serving as a plenipotentiary minister in London, negotiating closer ties with various European governments.

Brazil's protests are ignored, so Lavalleja's movement is emboldened and besieges Colonia del Sacramento as of August 18, while the extemporized Uruguayan government votes to secede from the Brazilian empire and unite with Argentina one week later.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1825. At Águila Creek southeast of Mercedes, Rivera is defeated when he attacks a column of 700–800 Brazilian troops sweeping into the Uruguayan interior under the 42-year-old colonel Bento Manuel Ribeiro.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1825. At dawn, having slipped across Vera Ford behind Ribeiro's main force with 250 riders, Rivera surprises the Brazilian depot of colonels Jeronimo Gomes Jardim and José Luis Mena Barreto, established south of the confluence



Lavalleja and the 33rd Orientales swearing an oath to free Uruguay at Rincón de la Agraciada. (Museo Municipal de Bellas Artes, Montevideo)

of the Negro and Uruguay rivers at a ranch called Rincón de las Gallinas or Rincón de Haedo (the latter the name of its civilian proprietor). Nearby, Brazilian units turn back to contest this seizure, but Rivera lures them piecemeal into the local *bañados* or “bogs,” inflicting some 100 fatalities—including Mena Barreto and his entire staff—before making off with 8,000 mounts and considerable matériel.

This reverse prompts the Brazilian theater commander headquartered at Montevideo—Lt. Gen. Carlos Frederico Lecor, Barão de Laguna and Knight Grand Cross of the Order of Torre e Espada—to dispatch another 1,000-man column inland under Ribeiro, so as to unite with a similar-sized force moving southward from the Negro River under Gen. Bento Gonçalves da Silva. Lavalleja countersallies from his central Uruguayan base camp of Durazno to attempt to impede their juncture but is not successful.

OCTOBER 8, 1825. The Argentine general Carlos de Alvear and the diplomat Dr. Miguel Díaz Vélez visit Simón Bolívar in Potosí (Bolivia), proposing an alliance against Brazil, but the latter demurs.

OCTOBER 12, 1825. *Sarandí.* Despite having failed to prevent the juncture of Gonçalves’s and Ribeiro’s 2,200 Brazilian troops, Lavalleja has amassed

2,000 Uruguayan irregulars at dawn to confront them on the shores of Sarandí Creek. His left cavalry wing under Rivera closes at 9:00 a.m. against the Brazilian right, which is comprised of 400 cavalrymen and 450 infantrymen under Gonçalves, dispersing them after a hard-fought clash.

Meanwhile, the 700 Uruguayan riders and single fieldpiece on the right under Pablo Zufriategui check the advance of the 300 infantrymen constituting the Brazilian left under Ribeiro, before successfully counterattacking. The assault by the Uruguayan center under Manuel Oribe is initially driven back by the 800 Brazilian infantrymen opposite under Col. Joaquim Antonio Alencastre, but Lavalleja responds by committing his reserves at this point, eventually collapsing Brazilian resolve by midday. They draw off after suffering 200 dead and 630 other casualties, compared to only 35 killed and 90 wounded among the Uruguayan ranks.

As a result of this defeat, occupied Uruguay is reduced to a few isolated Brazilian garrisons holding out along the River Plate coastline, as well as along the northeastern borderlands.

OCTOBER 24, 1825. In the aftermath of the victory at Sarandí, the Argentine Congress recognizes Lavalleja’s request to incorporate Uruguay into their “United Provinces of the River Plate” under the

name of the “Cisplatine Province,” duly advising Rio de Janeiro of this fact.

NOVEMBER 1825. Argentina’s internal politics become complicated when the impetuous, 30-year-old general Gregorio Aráoz de Lamadrid, who was sent to recruit troops in his native Tucumán in anticipation of forthcoming hostilities against Brazil, instead deposes local governor Javier López and as-

Gauchos

Gaucha is the traditional name for a cowboy in Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, parts of Bolivia, and even southern Brazil. The term’s origin is obscure. In ancient Moorish Spain, a *chaucha* had been a switch or quirt used in herding animals. Rural peasants in Andalucía were referred to as *gachos*. In the New World, the Quechua dialect in the Andes contained the word *huacho* to signify “nomad” or “vagabond.” The mid-18th-century traveler Alonso Carrió de Lavandera—better known as Concolorcorvo—who often traversed the lonely Pampas, recorded the name of its mounted herdsmen as *gauderios*. The first appearance of the version *gaucha* dates to only 1770 and became more widely used during the struggle for independence.

Being skillful horsemen, accustomed to living off the land and fighting against tough nomadic tribesmen, the gauchos made an excellent body of irregular cavalry. Many of these colorful Argentine riders joined Manuel Belgrano’s ranks as early as 1810, helping to blunt royalist offensives descending out of the Andes to cross the Pampas. Their Uruguayan brethren rallied behind José Gervasio Artigas the next year. Many of the Argentines later served as troopers under José de San Martín as well.

However, once independence was won, it became obvious that the interests of these rural nomads were considerably different than those of urban inhabitants in Buenos Aires or Montevideo. Therefore, decades of friction and warfare ensued, pitting hordes of wild horsemen against the better-armed and disciplined armies emerging from these port cities. Despite their brilliant triumphs under such early 19th-century leaders as Juan Manuel de Rosas, the gauchos eventually faded as a paramilitary force. Modern weaponry undermined their military value, and even cattle ranching changed and evolved. Their romantic reputation still lives on, though. Every November 11 is observed in Buenos Aires with a parade of mounted gauchos through the streets to its Mataderos District, in remembrance of the annual round-ups when thousands of such colorful riders brought herds into market.



Uruguayan gaucho, 19th-century painting by Juan Manuel Blanes. (Museo Municipal de Bellas Artes, Montevideo)

sumes office so as to impose a stronger centralist or “Unitarian” rule over this rural province, as well as over neighboring Salta and Catamarca. Such heavy-handed attempts to spread the liberal and self-serving policies of Buenos Aires into the more conservative regions of the countryside will provoke hostility and reactions against the Rivadavia government.

NOVEMBER 15, 1825. The 22-gun Brazilian corvette *Maria da Glória* (ex-American *Horatio*) under the French-born mercenary Théodore Alexandre de Beaurepaire recaptures the merchant brig *São Miguel Constante* and the *Palma*, both intercepted previously by the Argentine privateer *Lavalleja*.

DECEMBER 10, 1825. Brazil officially declares war against Argentina, which responds in kind as of

January 1, 1826. Neither country is prepared for extended hostilities, both governments being hampered by inadequate resources and a lack of popular support for such overseas campaigns, as well as being powerless to intercept any significant amounts of foreign-borne commerce. The isolated Brazilian outposts in hostile Uruguay can only be sustained with difficulty by the Brazilian navy, whose larger warships are unsuited for the shallow River Plate estuary, while the Argentine navy and military expeditions have to be extemporized at Buenos Aires.

DECEMBER 21, 1825. A small Brazilian squadron under Vice Adm. Rodrigo José Ferreira de Lôbo arrives to blockade the River Plate. His efforts to bring any real pressure to bear upon Argentina will prove largely ineffectual, as he has secret instructions not to antagonize neutral shippers.

DECEMBER 31, 1825. Uruguayan troops under Col. Leonardo Olivera seize Fort Santa Teresa on the northeastern frontier, effectively reducing the Brazilian occupation of their homeland to only Montevideo and Colonia del Sacramento.

JANUARY 13, 1826. Commo. Diogo Jorge de Brito departs Rio de Janeiro with the *Caboclo* (flag), the English-built, recently purchased schooner *Alcântara* under Lt. Pierre-Paul Boutrouelle, and the brand-new, Bahia-built schooner *Itaparica* (5 guns) under Lt. Joaquim Leal Ferreira to reinforce the Brazilian naval squadron operating within the River Plate estuary under Lôbo.

FEBRUARY 1826. The 16-gun Brazilian brig *Pirajá* (ex-Portuguese *Carvalho*) under Capt. Bartholomew Hayden captures the Argentine privateer schooner *Libertad del Sur* (8 guns), which becomes incorporated into the Brazilian fleet as the *Liberdade do Sul*.

FEBRUARY 9, 1826. Off Collares Point, Argentine admiral Guillermo Brown's 28-gun frigate *25 de Mayo* (flag); the brigantines *General Belgrano*, *General Balcarce*, *Congreso Nacional*, and *República Argentina*; the 7-gun, 150-ton sloop *Sarandí*; and the civilian steam paddleboat *Pepa*, pressed into service as a hospital ship, clash with Lôbo's Brazilian squadron. After enduring 26 casualties during a two-hour skirmish, the Argentine ships retire into the Los Pozos naval base, opposite Recoleta near Buenos Aires. Brown complains of the conduct of several of his captains, resulting in various changes in command.

FEBRUARY 26, 1826. Brown's squadron bombards the 1,500-man Brazilian garrison holding Colonia del Sacramento (Uruguay), being repelled by its batteries and retiring to San Gabriel Island, where the *Belgrano* sinks. Capt. Bartolomé Ceretti of the Argentine brigantine *Balcarce* is listed among the dead.

MARCH 1, 1826. Brown tries a second incursion into Colonia del Sacramento's harbor by sending six gunlaunches at night into its anchorage in two columns under captains Tomás Espora and Leonardo Rosales, commanded individually by lieutenants Jules Fonrouge, Charles Robinson, James Kearnie, Juan Francisco Seguí, José Monti, and Antonio Richitelli. They board and fire the anchored 18-gun brigantine *Real Pedro* of Capt. Lt. Frederico Mariath in the darkness. Despite this success, however, the Argentines suffer 200 dead, wounded, or captured when three of their craft are destroyed.

MARCH 13, 1826. After his two failed assaults against Colonia del Sacramento, Brown eludes his Brazilian opponents by sailing through the Hornos Keys and returning into his base.

APRIL 11, 1826. A mile off El Cerro (Uruguay), Brown's flagship, the *25 de Mayo*, battles the 36-gun, 400-man Brazilian frigate *Nichteroy* (the ex-Portuguese *Sucesso*) of 37-year-old captain James Norton until nightfall, the former suffering 13 killed.

APRIL 27, 1826. Brown's *25 de Mayo* and *Independencia* attempt to cut the 52-gun Brazilian frigate *Imperatriz* (the ex-*Imperatriz Leopoldina*) of Capt. Luís Barroso Pereira out of Montevideo's harbor at night but fail after an hour and a half of confused fighting. The Portuguese commander and others nonetheless fall in defense of their ship.

MAY 3, 1826. Brown fights a second inconclusive duel against the Brazilian *Nichteroy* and the smaller *Maceió* off Ortiz Bank in the River Plate estuary; he is hampered by its shallow waters.

MAY 25, 1826. Admiral Lôbo having been dismissed by Rio de Janeiro for his overly cautious strategy, his successor—the 63-year-old admiral Rodrigo Pinto Guedes—moves the Brazilian squadron closer to Buenos Aires, fighting a prolonged action against Brown off the Balizas Exteriores, which ends with the Brazilians' withdrawal toward Santiago Points.

JUNE 10, 1826. The Brazilian squadron reappears off Buenos Aires and the next afternoon at 2:00 p.m. attacks the Argentine naval base of Los Pozos, although shallow water prevents their seven largest vessels from coming within range. Brown launches a counterattack, observed by civilian throngs ashore, which drives off the dispersed Brazilian formation.

JULY 29, 1826. Off Lara Point near Quilmes, east-southeast of Buenos Aires, Brown encounters Norton's superior Brazilian squadron: the *Nichteroy* under Flag Captain Mariath; the corvettes *Maria da Glória* under de Beaurepaire, *Maceió* under J. I. Maze, and *Itaparica* under Leal Ferreira; the *Caboclo* under John Pascoe Grenfell; the 16-gun brigantine *29 de Agosto* (the ex-*Cerqueira*) under Raphael José de Carvalho; the gunboat *Leal Paulistana* under Lt. Antônio Carlos Ferreira; plus a dozen lesser vessels.

Brown's flagship, the *25 de Mayo*, under Flag Captain Espora, and Captain Rosales's schooner *Río de la Plata* become hard-pressed the next day, being rescued after three hours by their consorts *Sarandí*, *Oriental Argentino*, *Balcarce*, *Piraja*, *República Argentina*, *Congreso*, and *Liberal*. The Argentine flagship is so damaged that Brown shifts his flag to the brigantine *República Argentina* during this action; the *25 de Mayo* subsequently sinks while being towed toward Los Pozos.

SEPTEMBER 1826. The Brazilian gunboat *Leal Paulistana* of Lt. Antônio Carlos Ferreira is taken by

the French-born Argentine privateer César Fournier and incorporated into the Argentine Navy as the *Maldonado*.

OCTOBER 9, 1826. Argentine federalists under Capt. Pantaleón Argañaraz from La Rioja defeat the unitarian governor Gutiérrez of Catamarca a dozen miles southwest of his provincial capital, at Coneta. He is replaced by Colonel Figueroa, but Gutiérrez soon returns with reinforcements recruited at Tucumán to reassume office.

OCTOBER 25, 1826. Col. Federico Rauch with 800 men advances south from Toldos Viejos (30 miles southwest of Dolores, Argentina) to ravage Indian settlements in the La Ventana Range and extend Argentine influence. One month later, he leads a second such punitive sweep with 1,200 troopers of the 5th, 6th, and 7th Line Cavalry regiments, returning in January of 1827.

OCTOBER 26, 1826. Brown departs the River Plate with the *Sarandí* and the *Chacabuco* (purchased from Chile) to prey upon Brazilian shipping off Rio de Janeiro. He returns by Christmas Day, having made a few captures.

OCTOBER 27, 1826. *El Tala*. The 38-year-old conservative federalist governor Juan Facundo Quiroga of the western Argentine province of La Rioja,



Brazilian troops embarking at Praia to sail as reinforcements for the garrison holding Montevideo, early 1826; by Jean-Baptiste Debret. (Museu Imperial, Petropolis)

disgruntled with Buenos Aires's liberal and centralist tendencies, invades the rival province of Catamarca with 1,000 gaucho riders, clashing against a similar-sized unitarian army under Lamadrid at El Tala. The latter is badly wounded, and Quiroga briefly occupies his capital of Tucumán before retreating at the approach of another unitarian army under Colonel Bedoya from Salta.

DECEMBER 28, 1826. A combined Uruguayo-Argentine army departs Arroyo Grande for the Negro River valley in three units: I Corps under Lavalleja, consisting of the 9th Argentine Cavalry Regiment, plus a host of *Colorado* Uruguayan irregular riders and militiamen; II Corps under Alvear, consisting of 2,000 troopers of the 1st, 4th, 8th, and 16th Argentine Cavalry regiments, a squadron of cuirassiers, and militiamen from Colonia del Sacramento; and III Corps under Soler, comprising the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Argentine Infantry regiments, the 2nd and 3rd Argentine Cavalry regiments, a light-artillery regiment, and militia companies from Mercedes, guarding the artillery and supply trains. Its aim is to invade Bagé and the southern Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul.

DECEMBER 31, 1826. Unitarian Argentine colonel Bedoya occupies rival Santiago del Estero for five days before retiring into Tucumán.

JANUARY 26, 1827. The Brazilian town of Bagé is occupied without resistance by Lavalleja and Alvear. The local Brazilian theater commander—44-year-old marshal Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes de Oliveira e Orta, Marquês de Barbacena—falls back before the more numerous Uruguayo-Argentine cavalry formations, taking shelter in the Camacua Range until reinforcements can reach him from Río Grande.

FEBRUARY 7, 1827. While marching to the relief of Gov. Juan Antonio Álvarez de Arenales of Salta, the unitarian colonel Bedoya's entire command is massacred 30 miles south-southwest of that city, at Chicoana, by a local federalist guerrilla force under 47-year-old colonel José Francisco Gorriti, better known as "Pachi."

FEBRUARY 8, 1827. This afternoon, south of Juncal Island at the mouth of the Paraná Guazú River, Brown's flagship *Sarandí*, five other Argentine war-

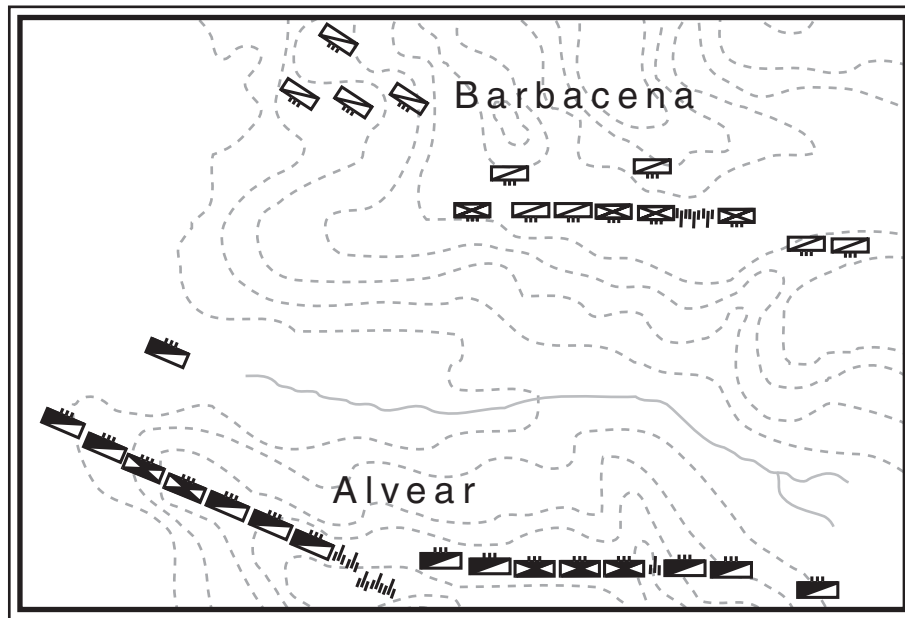
ships, nine gunboats, and a hospital ship intercept the Third Brazilian Naval Division of Capt. Jacinto Roque de Sena Pereira, which is descending the Uruguay River from Paysandú and consists of a brigantine, 10 schooners (including the 11-gun flagship *Oriental*; the 8-gun *Bertioga* of Capt. Lt. George Broom; the 4-gun *Dona Paula* of Lt. Thomas Read; and the single-gun *Liberade do Sul* of Lt. Augusto Venceslau da Silva Lisboa and *Itapoã* of Lt. German Máximo de Sousa Aranha, as well as the *Januária* and a new *Leal Paulistana*), plus six gunboats.

After two hours of inconclusive fighting, a *pampero* or "storm" blows up, but Brown consummates this engagement the next day by capturing a dozen enemy vessels and burning another three off Guleguaychú. Only the *Dona Paula* and one other Brazilian vessel escape. Captains Francisco José Seguí of the Argentine brigantine *Balcarce* and Francis Drummond of the schooner *Maldonado* distinguish themselves during this pursuit. Sena Pereira figures among the prisoners, and Broom's *Bertioga* is incorporated into the Argentine fleet with the name of *9 de Febrero*. Brown and his officers are also rewarded with medals on February 21 by a grateful Argentine nation.

FEBRUARY 12, 1827. Alvear and Lavalleja's army enters São Gabriel (Brazil), but the next day on the western banks of the Vacacaí River, the 4th Argentine Cavalry Regiment under 29-year-old colonel Juan Galo Lavalle González skirmishes against 1,100 troopers of the 22nd and 23rd Brazilian Cavalry regiments under Gen. Bento Manuel Ribeiro. The latter suffer only 30–40 casualties, as opposed to 7 killed and 6 wounded among the Argentines and Uruguayans; however, intelligence gathered as to the invaders' line of advance allows General Barbacena to begin marshalling his main body across their intended path.

On February 14, Alvear detaches Brig. Gen. Lucio Norberto Mansilla with 350 troopers to drive back Riveiro, who overtakes his opponent the next day while traversing the Ibicuy River at Ombú Ford. Again, the Brazilians suffer only some 40 casualties, as opposed to 10 Argentine dead and 12 wounded; yet by February 17, Barbacena's army is taking up position near Rosario Ford on the Santa Maria River to contest Alvear's passage. The invaders arrive by afternoon of February 19 and prepare for battle the next day north of Ituzaingó Creek.

FEBRUARY 20, 1827. *Ituzaingó.* At 2:00 a.m. on this moonlit night, Barbacena orders his 2,300



Battle of Ituzaingó.

Brazilian infantrymen, 3,700 cavalrymen, and 300 gunners with 12 fieldpieces to advance against the invaders' vanguard under Olazábal. When Alvear perceives this movement at dawn, he in turn commands Olazábal's 5th Battalion to hang on to its crucial forward height at all costs, while hastening his own army into action: 1,800 infantrymen, 5,400 troopers (including 2,000 Uruguayan gauchos), and 500 artillerymen manning 16 cannon. Brig. Gen. Julián Laguna's cavalry are sent to hold the Argentine left. In the process, it collides with Brigadier General Brown's onrushing Brazilian infantry, who after receiving three full cavalry charges, forms into squares.

Brown's division is gradually pressed back, at which point Lavalleja's irregular cavalry disperses Abreu's Brazilian troopers on the southern flank, who take refuge behind their own 2nd Infantry Division. A second charge by Olavarria's 16th and Zufriategui's 18th Uruguayan Cavalry regiments force back the Brazilian left, while Lavalle's 4th Argentine Cavalry Regiment and the *Colorados* do the same farther north. When Brown's Brazilian infantry once more begins to advance, it is gradually halted by successive charges by Federico de Brandzen's 1st Regiment, José María Paz's 2nd Cavalry, and the Calado.

After six hours of confused fighting, Barbacena orders his army to retreat north toward Cacequí, having suffered 200 killed and 150 captured. Argentino-Uruguayan losses total 147 dead and 256 injured,

and although they remain in possession of Rosario Ford, the bloodied invaders prefer to retrace their steps into São Gabriel by February 26.

FEBRUARY 24, 1827. Brown's Argentine squadron, returning toward Buenos Aires from Martín García Island, is sighted by a Brazilian squadron anchored off Quilmes. After an inconclusive engagement, a Brazilian schooner explodes, killing all but 3 of its 120-man crew, thus bringing this action to an abrupt end. Argentine casualties total 17 men.

FEBRUARY 28, 1827. The Brazilian warships *Duquesa de Goiás*, *Itaparica*, *Escudeiro*, and *Constanza*—commanded by the English mercenary, Capt. James Shepherd—fight their way in past Argentina's Negro River battery. Five days later (the *Duquesa* having run aground and been destroyed by waves), 350 men are disembarked to march inland and destroy Carmen de Patagones, 15 miles from the sea; but instead, the raiders are defeated at Caballada Hill on March 7 by Argentine forces, including a detachment of marines under the English mercenary James George Byron. Shepherd is slain, and his surviving men and ships surrender.

MARCH 1, 1827. Alvear and Lavalleja's joint expeditionary force quits São Gabriel (Brazil) to return into Uruguay at Minas de Corrales, 50 miles south of Santana do Livramento.



Uruguayan Colorados resting on their farm. (Museo Municipal de Bellas Artes, Montevideo)

APRIL 6, 1827. Brown slips out of Buenos Aires's naval base of Los Pozos with the 16-gun, 100-man, 150-ton brigantines *República Argentina* (flag) under Capt. William H. Granville and the 22-gun, 120-man, 250-ton *Independencia* under Francis Drummond; the 18-gun, 110-man, 185-ton bark *Congreso* under William Mason; and the 7-gun, 90-man, 150-ton sloop *Sarandí* under John H. Coe, hoping to evade the Brazilian blockaders and unite with the three prizes seized on the Negro River (see "February 28, 1827" entry). He plans to make a privateering cruise against Rio de Janeiro.

Instead, his four vessels are sighted the next dawn by the Brazilian corvette *Maceió* and run aground on Monte Santiago Bank while attempting to escape out to sea, the *Congreso* being obliged to turn back for repairs. Norton's 36-gun flagship *Dona Paula* (the ex-English East Indiaman *Surat Castle*) and other Brazilian warships overtake the squadron and exchange long-range volleys by 4:00 p.m., in bad weather. On April 8, the entire Brazilian fleet of

19 ships closes in and overwhelms the Argentine trio: the *República Argentina* suffering 3 killed and 14 wounded (including Brown) before being abandoned and set ablaze, while the *Independencia* loses 49 killed (among them, its captain, Drummond) and 69 injured or taken prisoner before surrendering to the Brazilians, who torch the hulk. Only the *Sarandí*, having sustained 17 casualties, escapes with Brown and other survivors.

APRIL 13, 1827. Alvear's 4,000 Argentine troops once more march north from Minas de Corrales—this time unaccompanied by their Uruguayan allies—to again invade the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul in a bid to wring better negotiating terms at the ongoing peace talks. After five days' progression through steady rains, Bagé is reoccupied without opposition.

APRIL 23, 1827. *Camacuã*. Twenty miles north of Bagé, on the banks of the Camacuã Chico River,

1,600 Brazilian troopers are almost surprised by a nocturnal descent by 2,500 Argentine cavalymen under Lavalle. Instead, the former are able to make good their escape, suffering only 50 casualties.

MAY 7, 1827. Alvear's Argentine army quits Bagé, proceeding south to encamp two days later on the western banks of the Yaguarón River (spelled Jaguarão in Portuguese). On May 16, the general detaches Brigadier General Lavalle with the 4th and 6th Cavalry regiments to raid deeper into Brazil. The latter reaches Erval by May 21 and, four days later, turns to attack 400 Brazilian guerrillas under Chief Yuca Teodoro, who have been hounding his tracks.

Despite this token incursion, Alvear decides to take the rest of his demoralized army into barracks at Cerro Largo (modern Melo, Uruguay) on June 9, being relieved four days afterward and effectively ending all active campaigning for this year, as Argentina's exhausted government teeters on the verge of collapse.

JULY 6, 1827. At Rincón (also called Manantial, six miles outside of Tucumán), the reinstated unitarian governor Lamadrid is crushed by his Argentine rival Quiroga, having to flee northward and spend a year of exile in Bolivia.

DECEMBER 7, 1827. Norton sights the 20-gun Argentine brigantine *Congreso* of Cmdr. César Fournier with the captive Brazilian merchantman *Harmonia dos Anjos*, his Brazilian squadron chasing these two vessels until they run aground near Lara Point. The next day, the Brazilian admiral's gunboat *Grenfell* under Flag Capt. Isidoro Nery, the schooners *Dom Paulo* of Thomas Read and *Bella Maria* of G. Parker, plus the gunboats *Esperada*, *1 de Dezembro*, and *Victória da Colonia* close in and burn this pair, while their Argentine crews escape ashore.

FEBRUARY 21, 1828. Having assumed command over the combined Uruguayo-Argentine army at Melo, Lavalleja leads a cavalry raid against Padre Filiberto Ranch—15 miles north of Jaguarão—to secure mounts. Although successful, he is pursued back into Uruguay by Brazilian units.

MARCH 23, 1828. The Brazilian *Caboclo*, now under the command of Capt. James Ingles, captures the Argentine privateer brig *Niger*.

APRIL 15, 1828. *Las Cañas*. Brazil's Marshal Brown crosses the Yaguarón River with three infantry battalions and three cavalry regiments, surprising and utterly routing the Uruguayo-Argentine troops bivouacked north of Las Cañas Creek under Brigadier General Laguna.

MAY 24, 1828. The Brazilian *Caboclo* and its prize, the *Niger*, capture the Argentine privateer *Feliz*.

JUNE 9, 1828. With Brazil's armies concentrated in its southwest, Rio de Janeiro is garrisoned by two battalions of German mercenaries: the 27th Chasseur Battalion, known as the *Diabos Brancos* or "White Devils," at Praia Vermelha, and the 28th Grenadier Battalion under Brig. Gen. Joaquim Thomaz Valente, Conde do Rio Pardo, in the city proper. The latter are incensed when their second-in-command, Maj. Francisco Pedro Drago, orders a soldier lashed for a minor offense. They burn down his house, then roam unchecked through the streets on June 10–11, until the brigadier general brings the Naval Artillery Brigade ashore from Ilha das Cobras and cobbles together a force of militiamen, slaves, and visiting French and British seamen. Together, they crush the mutiny on June 12, killing 12 mercenaries and wounding 50. Both battalions are later dissolved.

JUNE 16, 1828. The Argentine brigantine *General Brandzen*, manned by an Anglo-American privateer crew under George C. Kay, is chased aground near Lara Point and burned by Norton's Brazilian squadron. Kay and his men escape ashore, Norton losing an arm during this engagement.

AUGUST 24, 1828. The Argentine privateer *General Dorrego* is captured by the *Caboclo* and other Brazilian warships.

Exhausted by their efforts, the Argentine and Brazilian governments sign a peace treaty at Rio de Janeiro on August 27, 1828, which is ratified the next month by a national convention at the Argentine city of Santa Fe.

UNITARIAN-FEDERALIST WAR (1828–1831)

Internal strife persists within Argentina as its interior provinces struggle against the primacy of Buenos Aires and other coastal territories in the aftermath of the national defeat suffered at the hands of Brazil.

NOVEMBER 26, 1828. The first defeated Argentine contingents return into Buenos Aires from Uruguay, having lost their war against Brazil. Embittered and frustrated, General Lavalle leads a dawn revolt five days later, which seizes the *Cabildo* or “City Hall” and deposes Gov. Manuel Dorrego, after which Lavalle is acclaimed in Dorrego’s place in San Roque Church.

DECEMBER 6, 1828. Learning that Dorrego has united with the influential 35-year-old landowner Juan Manuel de Rosas and is marching with 2,000 men toward Santa Fe to gather more help, Lavalle appoints Admiral Brown as interim governor of Buenos Aires and sallies in pursuit of his opponent.

DECEMBER 9, 1828. *Navarro.* Lavalle’s 1,500 troops overtake and defeat Dorrego and Rosas’s poorly armed militiamen at Navarro. Rosas continues to retreat toward Santa Fe to unite with the federalist colonel Ángel Pacheco, while Dorrego is captured near Areco and brought back into Navarro to be shot four days later. (This execution will incite numerous counterrevolutions against Lavalle’s unitarian rule.)

FEBRUARY 17, 1829. The federalist rebel leader José Luis Molina is defeated and executed at Palmintas Lagoon near Junín by the unitarian colonel Isidoro Suárez, detached from Lavalle’s main force, which is operating south of Buenos Aires.

APRIL 3, 1829. The unitarian generals Lavalle and Paz meet at Desmochados, west of the city of Rosario, and agree that the former is to operate out of Buenos Aires and the latter out of Córdoba. Paz therefore heads to Córdoba with his Second Division survivors from the war against the Brazilians.

APRIL 12, 1829. Unitarian general Paz enters Córdoba, where he gains more recruits and raises his army’s strength to 1,000 men; he then marches westward to confront federalist general Juan Bautista Bustos.

APRIL 22, 1829. *San Roque.* At this hacienda on the Primero River banks, 30 miles west of Córdoba, Paz’s 1,000 unitarians engage Bustos’s 1,600 federalists. The former delegates Colonel Deheza to distract Bustos by a frontal assault with the 5th Battalion and Lamadrid’s cavalry, while circling swiftly around the federalists’ northern flank with the 2nd Battalion and 2nd Cavalry Regiment. Bustos’s army disintegrates at the speed of this attack, fleeing toward

Juan Manuel de Rosas

Juan Manuel José Domingo Ortiz de Rozas y López de Ossorio was born on March 30, 1793, in Buenos Aires. At the age of 13, he served as a boy soldier against the British invasions. However, he left the capital soon afterward to dedicate himself to the development of his family’s rural *estancias* or ranches around the lake of San Miguel del Monte. Despite his youth, the teenaged Rosas showed a great natural affinity for life on the Pampas. A gifted horseman, he quickly organized gauchos into a fearsome cavalry force known as the *Colorados*, fighting against local Indians.

Two weeks short of his 20th birthday, Rosas married Encarnación Ezcurra and restored all his family’s properties to their administrative control. Having acquired his own lands and businesses, he became very wealthy as a major cattle owner and meat exporter. He refrained from any political involvement while accumulating this fortune, until his friend and military superior, Gen. Martín Rodríguez, was challenged as governor of Buenos Aires in early October 1820. Rosas rode to his rescue with his *Colorados del Monte*, helping crush this insurrection in two days of heavy street fighting. Rosas also provided many thousands of the cattle that helped cement peace with Santa Fe that same November.

Eight years later, Rosas was ready to fully exert his powers. Now 35 years of age, rich, and with a huge following in the countryside, he became a leading figure among Argentina’s conservative landowning elite. A staunch federalist, he proved a fierce opponent against the liberal, foreign influences espoused by the unitarians of Buenos Aires over the ensuing decades.

La Rioja while leaving behind 30–40 dead, 200 captives, eight guns, plus their entire ammunition train.

APRIL 26, 1829. *Puente de Márquez.* Lavalle's 1,900 unitarian troops and four guns fight an indecisive action at Márquez Bridge over the Reconquista River against more than 2,000 federalists under Rosas and Estanislao López. Although undefeated, a beleaguered Lavalle retires to Altolaguirre, a dozen miles outside Buenos Aires, where he enters into protracted negotiations with Rosas.

MAY 8, 1829. La Rioja's federalist governor Quiroga—now nicknamed the *Tigre de los Llanos* or “Tiger of the Plains”—invades Córdoba Province at Serrezuela, slowly driving upon its capital from where the unitarian general Paz sallies to give battle. One month later, Quiroga eludes Paz and occupies Córdoba, then braces for Paz's inevitable assault.

JUNE 22, 1829. *La Tablada.* As Paz's 1,650 unitarian cavalrymen, 720 infantrymen, and 12 fieldpieces with 80 gunners approach Córdoba, they find Quiroga's 4,000–5,000 federalists massed east of the city at La Tablada. The unitarians advance in three columns, and a seesaw battle erupts. Charge and countercharge are launched until Quiroga finally attempts to smash in the unitarian left with 1,500 riders, only to be checked by Paz's 2nd Cavalry Regiment and Lamadrid's troopers, then routed by a counterattack by the unitarian 5th Battalion, which is supported by two guns.

Both armies retreat at nightfall, Paz's troops recuperating at nearby González Ranch, before resuming their advance against Córdoba the next day. Upon entering the city's streets, the unitarian “Tucumán Militia” and a squadron of “Argentine Volunteer” Cavalry are blasted by two cannon, setting off another round of fighting before the federalists are at last driven out in defeat. Over both days, Quiroga's army suffers 1,000 killed and 500 captured, his losses being considerably higher than Paz's unitarians. The latter subsequently mete out such harsh treatment to federalist sympathizers among the populace that they become dubbed *Salvajes unitarios* or “unitarian savages.”

JUNE 24, 1829. Lavalle and Rosas attempt to resolve their differences by signing the “Cañuelas Convention,” which calls for a cessation of hostilities and elections at Buenos Aires. Lavalle soon cancels these, though, when Rosas complains about voter

intimidation. A new truce is consequently signed at Barrancas on August 24, appointing the Rosist general Juan José Viamonte as interim governor of Buenos Aires.

DECEMBER 1, 1829. Viamonte convenes the legislature at Buenos Aires, which five days later selects Rosas as governor.

EARLY JANUARY 1830. Quiroga departs Mendoza to again invade Córdoba Province, this time via San Luis and Salto. Upon reaching Oncativo (or Laguna Larga, 24 miles southwest of its capital) one month later, he pauses to be joined by Gen. Benito Villafañe advancing from the northern provinces of La Rioja and Catamarca with another 1,500 federalists. But before they can unite, Paz sallies from Anisacate on February 18 to attack Quiroga's smaller army.

FEBRUARY 24, 1830. *Oncativo.* Paz approaches Quiroga with 3,000 unitarian cavalrymen, 1,000 infantrymen, and 70 gunners, rejecting a last-minute mediation offer from Rosas. The federalists dig in their eight artillery pieces on the fringe of a small copse and brace for Paz's assault.

The next day, the unitarians charge in three columns, Paz concentrating most of his efforts against Quiroga's left flank. Lamadrid's 1st Division attacks first, only to be driven back. Nevertheless, continued pressure obliges the federalist cavalry to shift to their left wing, where they are smashed by a charge from Col. Juan Esteban Pedernera's 2nd Unitarian Cavalry Regiment and “Republican Lancers.” The rout is completed by Col. Luis Videla's 2nd and 5th battalions, which leaves the federalist infantry in the copse without cavalry protection. Quiroga's army disintegrates, the general himself fleeing toward Buenos Aires, while his cavalrymen are hunted down; most of his infantry surrenders.

JULY 5, 1830. Inspired by Paz's victory at Oncativo, the inland provinces of La Rioja, San Juan, Mendoza, San Luis, Santiago del Estero, Tucumán, Catamarca, Salta, Jujuy, and Córdoba form the *Liga Unitaria* or “Unitarian League,” also known as the *Liga del Interior* or “Interior League.”

JANUARY 4, 1831. In response to the formation of the Unitarian League, the federalists of Buenos Aires, Corrientes, Santa Fe, and Entre Ríos sign the *Pacto Federal*, thereby creating the so-called *Liga del Litoral* or “Coastal League.”

FEBRUARY 4, 1831. Federalist general Estanislao López marches upon the unitarian city of Córdoba.

FEBRUARY 5, 1831. Federalist colonel Pacheco surprises and defeats Colonel Pedernera's 2nd Unitarian Cavalry and other militia units at Fraile Muerto (modern Bell Ville).

MARCH 1, 1831. *Calchines.* Paz advances from Pilar with 5,000 unitarian troops and, 50 miles east-southeast of Córdoba at Calchines, checks the invasion by López's 2,000 federalists, compelling them to withdraw.

MARCH 5, 1831. After a stealthy approach with a small federalist force, General Quiroga carries the city of Río Cuarto by a surprise attack at dawn, accepting the surrender of its 400-man garrison under Col. Juan Gualberto Echevarría. The unitarian cavalry under 35-year-old colonel Juan Pascual Pringles has meanwhile escaped northward, although they are run down 13 days later on the banks of Río Quinto by federalist colonel José Ruiz Huidobro and annihilated at Chañaral de las Ánimas. Pringles dies on March 19 for insisting upon surrendering his sword directly to Quiroga rather than a subaltern.

MARCH 28, 1831. *Rodeo de Chacón.* After occupying San Luis, Quiroga's 1,000 federalists confront Col. José Videla Castillo's slightly larger unitarian army and two fieldpieces at Rodeo de Chacón in

Mendoza Province. However, the unitarians are so demoralized that their San Juan Cuirassiers—all mounted on mules—join the federalist side at the very beginning of this action. Still, the unitarian infantry resists stubbornly for three hours, before finally being dispersed by repeated cavalry charges. Videla Castillo escapes, but Quiroga orders that all surviving unitarian officers be executed on the battlefield.

MAY 10, 1831. Paz is captured by federalist forces and succeeded as unitarian leader by Lamadrid at Córdoba.

NOVEMBER 4, 1831. *Ciudadela de Tucumán.* Quiroga's 1,200 federalist cavalymen and 450 infantrymen confront Lamadrid's 1,200 unitarian troopers and 750 foot soldiers at Tucumán, smashing both wings with cavalry charges. After a fierce struggle, the federalists seize their opponents' 10 guns and annihilate the infantry. At least 33 unitarian officers are executed following this bloody victory.

Quiroga's federalist triumph effectively ends the war, although passions linger. Little more than three years later, he is assassinated at Barranca Yaco by the brothers José Vicente and Guillermo Reinafé and Capt. Santos Pérez. As late as January 1836, a unitarian revolt is led by Gen. Javier López, who is defeated and executed on the banks of the Famaillá River by the federalist governor of Tucumán, General Heredia.

MINOR DISPUTES (1830–1838)

Although few major international confrontations ensue immediately after the War of 1812 and the Latin American struggle for independence, a number of lesser regional campaigns nonetheless erupt during this eight-year interlude.

APRIL 1830. *Lircay.* After achieving its independence from Spain, Chile has become riven between conservative, centralizing, landowning elements—nicknamed *pelucones* or “bigwigs”—who have reasserted their traditional hold over government, and liberal *pipiols* or “greenhorns” calling for more sweeping change.

This conflict climaxes when a small liberal *pipiolo* army under the 42-year-old ex-president Ramón Freire Serrano is defeated on the banks of the Lircay

River by *pelucón* forces under 43-year-old conservative general José Joaquín Prieto Vial, as the former is attempting to oppose the traditionalists' seizure of power. After this battle, Freire is deported to Peru, and Prieto is installed as nominal president, although power actually rests in the hands of the 37-year-old policy maker Diego Portales.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1830. General Espinar, military commander for the Isthmus of Panama, declares

independence from the Republic of Gran Colombia. His regime collapses two and a half months later.

APRIL 4, 1831. In the unhappy Brazilian city of Salvador, hundreds of soldiers and armed civilians occupy Fort Barbalho, calling for the ouster of the provincial commander in chief, Portuguese-born João Crisóstomo Callado. Over the next three days, as their numbers swell to 8,000 angry people, the authorities give in. However, more bloody riots ensue on April 13, spreading across the bay into the Recôncavo district before dissipating.

JULY 9, 1831. Col. Juan E. Alzuru also attempts to proclaim Panamanian independence, being suppressed 40 days later.

AUGUST 22, 1831. Before dawn this Monday morning, the 31-year-old black preacher Nat Turner launches a slave revolt in Southampton County in southeastern Virginia by slaughtering several white families in their beds. His 60 followers are defeated and scattered the next day by state militiamen, most being killed, while Turner escapes into hiding. Hysteria grips the American South, hundreds of innocent blacks being killed or imprisoned until this leader is finally captured on October 30 and hanged 11 days later in Jerusalem (modern Courtland, Virginia).

SEPTEMBER 14, 1831. In Recife (Brazil), the uncertainty and ill-will fostered during the regency in the name of the future emperor Pedro II causes the garrison's 14th Battalion to revolt overnight. Many Portuguese-owned warehouses and businesses are looted before this revolt is crushed on September 16. Some 300 pillagers are slain, while the 800 mutineers are taken in chains to Fernando de Noronha Island and then on to Rio de Janeiro to appear before the minister of war, Brig. Gen. Manoel Fonseca Lima e Silva.

DECEMBER 28, 1831. A landing party from USS *Lexington* of Lt. Cmdr. Silas Duncan, acting upon complaints from three American sealing vessels of having been robbed that July by Argentine residents ensconced on the Falkland Islands under its French-born governor Louis Vernet, arrives to recuperate the Americans' sealskins. Duncan also destroys the small Argentine stockade and its guns, arrests six foreign-born leaders, and forcibly removes almost

40 civilians from the settlement at Puerto Soledad, declaring these islands to be *res nullius* or "free of all government." Vernet resigns and never returns to the Falklands.

JANUARY 10, 1832. *Bulnes's Sweep.* Argentine colonel Manuel Bulnes marches into southern Mendoza Province with 2,000 troops to destroy the lairs of a band of Chilean brothers named the Pincheiras. He makes four individual forays, executing José Antonio Pincheira, plus destroying numerous Indian camps along the banks of the Atuel and Salado rivers.

APRIL 26, 1832. In Bahia (Brazil), a band of prisoners led by Benardo Miguel de Guanais takes over the city of Salvador's Forte do Mar sea castle, before being pounded into submission three days later.

OCTOBER 10, 1832. Capt. José María Pinedo, commander of the Argentine schooner *Sarandí*, arrives at the Falklands with a party of convicts, the authorities at Buenos Aires having decided to repopulate these remote islands as a penal colony. Shortly thereafter, however, while Pinedo's *Sarandí* is on patrol against trespassing American sealers, the disgruntled garrison murders their governor, Maj. Esteban José Francisco Mestivier. Upon Pinedo's return, he attempts to hunt down and bring these criminals to justice.

LATE DECEMBER 1832. *Falklands Encounter.* Cmdr. John James Onslow's 18-gun sloop HMS *Clio* arrives at Port Egmont (Falklands), having been sent by Rear Adm. Sir Thomas Baker to reclaim and administer these islands under British rule. The surprised Argentine garrison at the former Port Louis—long since renamed Puerto Soledad—on the main eastern island under Pinedo, capitulates without a shot and is removed on January 1, 1833, aboard the schooner *Sarandí*.

JANUARY 3, 1833. A landing party from Onslow's 18-gun *Clio* removes all remaining Argentines from the Falklands.

MID-FEBRUARY 1833. General Ruiz Huidobro departs El Morro near the city of San Luis with roughly 1,000 troopers, the first of three columns intended to extend Argentine influence deeper into its southwestern desert tribelands. On March 3, Gen. José Félix Aldao also quits San Carlos (south of

The Falklands

This lonely archipelago in the South Atlantic is made up of two large islands, plus some 200 smaller ones. The main islands are rugged and hilly, with irregular coastlines and many lakes, ponds, marshes, and bogs. The landscape is cold and wind-swept, with large quantities of penguins and other birds. Modern British inhabitants call themselves “kelpers” because of the large amounts of kelp. Sheep raising and wool manufacture are the economic activities. The archipelago covers some 4,700 square miles and lies less than 480 miles northeast of Cape Horn.

It was this strategic positioning that caused so many seamen in the past to take an interest. The English salvor John Strong sailed through the archipelago and landed in January 1690, naming it the “Falkland Islands” in honor of Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland. French sailors out of Saint Malo also visited, dubbing the grouping as the Malouines in 1699. This name became transcribed into Spanish as “Maluinas,” then—because “u” and “v” were interchangeable in 18th-century script—it was changed to the Malvinas.

Finally, the French adventurer Antoine de Bougainville brought two ships to the uninhabited archipelago early in 1764 to create a settlement named Port Louis on its large eastern island. The English circumnavigator John Byron visited the western island a year later, leaving a small party behind at Port Egmont, unaware of the French presence. Meanwhile, Spain lodged a protest with Paris against Bougainville’s original colony, which the French agreed to withdraw. An expedition, therefore, was led out from Buenos Aires by Bougainville, and Port Louis was renamed “Puerto Soledad” by the Spanish on April 1, 1767. They were then surprised to learn that 100 English settlers had, in the meantime, reached Port Egmont, who they also insisted must leave.

This uneasy coexistence snapped in June 1770 when five Spanish warships disgorged 1,400 troops from Buenos Aires, expelling the British. But London threatened war in retaliation, so Madrid backed down, and a British expedition returned in April 1771 to supplant the Spaniards. Although Madrid conceded its occupation of the islands, it still insisted upon full ownership, which Britain ignored until it unilaterally decided to abandon the Falklands three years later because of the cost of maintaining such a remote outpost. The Spanish consequently resumed a token presence on the islands until 1811, when its settlers under the royal governor Gerardo Bordas were withdrawn because of the South American wars for independence.

The neutral whalers, sealers, and other vessels that had since become the most regular visitors welcomed this departure. They regarded the Falklands as free waters, even after an Argentine privateer frigate under Capt. David Jewett appeared in November 1820, informing the more than 50 ships at anchor that sovereignty was being reasserted. However, the first Argentine governor was not able to appear at Puerto Soledad until three years later, and so few people were willing to emigrate from Buenos Aires that the French entrepreneur Louis Vernet was allowed to bring in 90 colonists in 1826. When Argentina appointed him as their governor three years later, few governments recognized his title, and the stage was set for a confrontation.

Mendoza) with another 800 men, while Brigadier General Rosas leaves Monte near Buenos Aires on March 22 with 2,000 regulars.

Ruiz Huidobro only reaches as far as Trapal Lagoon before logistical problems and desertions oblige him to turn back. Aldao gains his assigned objective, the confluence of the Limay and Neuquén rivers, but otherwise achieves little. Rosas alone accomplishes any significant inroads, by sweeping between the Colorado and Negro rivers before returning home in 1834.

AUGUST 26, 1833. Matthew Brisbane, former pilot of the Argentine schooner *Sarandí* and now acting British “delegate” for the Falklands, is slain along with several companions by a group of rebels. These Argentine upstarts control the islands until the arrival of HMS *Spartiate* in January 1834.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1833. The French consul at Cartagena (Colombia) is detained by its local governor, prompting two French warships to blockade the port and threaten a bombardment, leading to the consul’s release and payment of an indemnization.

OCTOBER 31, 1833. A force of 43 U.S. marines and sailors disembark at Buenos Aires to protect American interests, remaining ashore until November 15.

JULY 26, 1834. In eastern Mexico, a small procentralist army from Campeche under Francisco de Paula Toro (one of Antonio López de Santa Anna’s brothers-in-law) defeats a force of Yucatecan secessionists at Calkiní after a bloody exchange. Nine days later, Toro’s victorious troops enter the capital of Mérida, restoring Yucatán to federal rule.

OCTOBER 1834. In the northern Brazilian province of Pará, its authoritarian new governor, Bernardo Lobo de Souza, culminates months of increasingly harsh repression by dispatching troops to arrest the popular bishop João Batista Gonçalves Campos, in the process burning the *fazenda* or “ranch” of his protector, the newspaper publisher Félix Antônio Clemente Malcher. The subsequent death of this prelate convinces most down-trodden *cabanos* (black and native lower classes) that they must overthrow this governor to free themselves from enforced labor, military impressment, and other iniquities.

NOVEMBER 1834. The province of Jujuy rises up and—covertly supported by Bolivia—declares itself independent from the rest of Argentina. Shortly thereafter, Gen. Alejandro Heredia, the governor of the province of Tucumán, also invades neighboring Salta and, in conjunction with troops from Jujuy and a Bolivian contingent under Lt. Col. Fernando Campero, defeats its Argentine governor Latorre, who is captured and then murdered while being held in prison.

JANUARY 6, 1835. *Cabanagem Insurrection.* As detribalized *tapuios* or Amazonian Indians and other *cabanos* (members of the lower social orders) gather from across the Brazilian province of Pará for the annual São Tomé festival in its capital of Belém, a rebellion spontaneously erupts against the rule of the hated governor de Souza. Led by Antônio Vinagre—a *fazendeiro* or “rancher” whose brother Manuel has recently been shot by soldiers during their expedition in search of Bishop Campos—the rebels quickly overrun this provincial capital, being joined by most of Belém’s garrison. The governor is thereupon executed, his prisoner Malcher is released and acclaimed into office in his stead, and a message is sent to Rio de Janeiro on January 16 demanding that no more appointees be sent to govern this province.

Himself a member of Pará’s dominant oligarchy, Malcher attempts to soften his followers’ demands, prevent acts of vengeance, and get them to return to work. Consequently, he, too, is overthrown on January 19, 1835, and replaced by the more populist Francisco Vinagre. The latter eventually comes into conflict with the *cabanos* as well, so that by June 1, power is peacefully restored to a newly designated official governor, Marshal Manuel Jorge Rodrigues (a naturalized Portuguese), who arrives with a mili-

tary force. *Cabano* militiamen willingly forsake their occupation of Belém, but do not lay down their arms.

When Rodrigues subsequently sends troops to arrest the *cabano* ringleaders, further confrontations ensue, resulting in another uprising. Eduardo Angelim Nogueira, a tenant farmer on one of Malcher’s properties, leads the *cabanos* back to besiege Belém by August 14, 1835. They are now supported by rebellious black field hands, their joint objectives including the abolition of slavery and all coercive labor. Governor Rodrigues’s garrison is obliged to retreat offshore nine days later to Tatuoca Island, and the rebels enter the city uncontested on August 23. Many excesses are committed, most Portuguese whites fleeing. A “*cabano* republic” is proclaimed three days later.

Eventually, though, dissension splits the *cabano* ranks, after which disease and the arrival of fresh government troops on April 9, 1836, compel them to relinquish Belém four days later. By May, the insurrection is virtually ended, Angelim being captured on October 20 in his hidden camp on the Pequeno River near Lake Porto Real. Over the next four years, *cabanos* are ruthlessly hunted down and exterminated, ever deeper into Pará’s jungles; it is later estimated that one-fifth of Amazonia’s total population perishes during these terrible times.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1835. *Farrroupilha Revolution.* In Brazil’s southernmost province of Rio Grande do Sul, beset by falling prices and increased taxation, an uprising is initiated by the 47-year-old militia colonel Bento Gonçalves da Silva, whose 200 rural riders—known as *farrapos* or “ragamuffins” because of the fringed leather garb that these cowboys typically wear—ride in at dawn from his cousin’s Pedras Brancas estate to secure the provincial capital of Porto Alegre (population 14,000). The unpopular conservative governor Antônio Rodrigues Fernandes Braga flees, although Bento Gonçalves reiterates his loyalty to the empire only five days later. Efforts by the deposed governor to raise a local counterattack fail, so he is obliged to sail for Rio de Janeiro in defeat by October.

Imperial authority is restored in the city of Río Grande on January 15, 1836, when Dr. Marciano Araujo Ribeiro is appointed new provincial governor and the veteran liberal colonel Bento Manuel Ribeiro—once dismissed as commander of the 4th Line Cavalry Regiment because of suspected contacts



Imperial Brazilian squadron defeating the republican flotilla at Laguna. (Marina do Brasil)

with Lavalleja in Uruguay—switches allegiance and assumes military command. His imperial forces slowly press overland against the divided rebels, until Porto Alegre is retaken on June 15 by a sudden thrust led by Maj. Manuel Marques de Souza (later ennobled as Conde de Porto Alegre). However, rebel resistance persists as 33-year-old colonel Antônio de Souza Netto's "Liberal Brigade" defeats an imperial column under Col. João da Silva Tavares (later Visconde de Cerro Alegre) at Seival on September 10, and the next day proclaims the "Rio Grandese Republic." The town of Piratini in the Tapes Range is chosen as the new republican capital.

When Bento Gonçalves attempts to mount a republican counterattack against Porto Alegre, his 1,500-man column is confronted 25 miles away at Triunfo on Fanfa Island on October 3, 1836, and defeated the next day by Bento Manuel. Bento Gonçalves suffers 120 dead and 200 wounded, and he is sent as a prisoner to Rio de Janeiro. Despite his incarceration, he will be elected president and commander in chief of Rio Grandese by his loyal *farra-apos*, who retreat into Piratini to regroup under the

31-year-old general João Manoel Lima e Silva and Colonel Souza Netto. Relentless imperial pressure by Bento Manuel nonetheless disperses these republicans as well into Uruguay by December 10.

Their cause is revived when the new provincial governor, Brig. Gen. Antero Ferreira Brito, sorties from Porto Alegre the next spring to arrest his subordinate Bento Manuel. The imperial governor is instead captured by the colonel at Alegrete's Itapevi Ford on March 28, 1837, and Bento Manuel's reversion to the republican side in turn reanimates the rebellion. A republican administration is quickly re-established at Piratini, Caçapava is captured on April 8, and Porto Alegre becomes besieged by May 13. Lacking a heavy siege train or warships, though, the republicans cannot storm its imperial garrison or starve the city into submission. In October, imperial lieutenant colonel Francisco Pedro de Abreu moreover pushes across from the beleaguered capital to seize Fort da Picada, launching repeated raids up Lagoa dos Patos or the Jacuí River to bedevil the republicans and capture supplies.

Porto Alegre's imperial defenders attempt a major breakout in February 1838, when their new com-

manding general Elzeário de Miranda Brito leads a waterborne expedition up the Jacuí River to circle around and take the besiegers from the rear. Although the republicans under Bento Gonçalves (who escaped imprisonment on September 10, 1837) and Col. José Mariano de Mattos must lift their siege and redeploy, they are able to reverse the imperial gains by defeating them at Rio Pardo on May 30. Porto Alegre is consequently invested once more. A second imperial sortie by General Miranda Brito is checked at the Caí River on February 1, 1839, by Bento Manuel, so the republican capital can be shifted into Caçapava two weeks later.

Imperial commanders are unable to end this stalemate because of their chronic troop shortages, conflicting fields of authority, and inadequate logistical support. Republicans are only sustained by a trickle of arms and money from the Uruguayan leader Rivera (who dreams of uniting his country with Rio Grande do Sul and the Argentine provinces of Entre Ríos and Corrientes to create a sizable new republic). Therefore, republicans try a new strategy in July 1839, whereby they transport a pair of 2-gun, 35-man vessels overland that have recently been completed at their Mendonça Ford yards on the Camaquã River. Under command of an American mercenary named John Griggs and the 32-year-old liberal Italian exile Giuseppe Garibaldi, these vessels are intended to help secure a seaport for the republic. After traversing the Lagoa dos Patos and ascending the Capaviri River, the boats are hauled across the northeastern border by cart teams, emerging six days later on the Tramandaí River in neighboring Santa Catarina Province.

Their accompanying military escort also helps the province's residents establish the so-called Juliana Republic, and Laguna is occupied. However, an imperial squadron defeats the republican flotilla on November 15, 1839, and this second republic promptly vanishes. While retiring back into Rio Grande Province, a republican column under Col. Joaquim Teixeira Nunes smashes the imperial Paulista Division out of Lages in a battle at Santa Vitória on December 14. Then the next spring, yet another new imperial garrison commander at Porto Alegre—Gen. Manoel Jorge Rodrigues—attempts to break its siege by ordering his subordinate, Brig. Gen. Izaías Bonifácio Calderon, to march from the São Gonçalo Canal near Pelotas to threaten the republican city of Caçapava. This thrust is checked, however, in an indecisive clash at Taquari on May 3, 1840, and fails to lure away any besiegers.

Bento Gonçalves and Garibaldi lead 1,200 republicans in a bloody assault on July 10, 1840, against the 600-man imperial garrison under Col. Antônio Soares de Paiva holding São José do Norte, but the movement is already disintegrating into factionalism. The coming of age of Emperor Pedro II and the installation of a liberal government at Rio de Janeiro cause many people to forsake the Farroupilha cause. Early the next year, Gen. Pedro Labatut brings an imperial division out of Santa Catarina, which finally obliges the weakened republicans to lift their three-and-a-half-year siege of Porto Alegre. Yet when the imperial general João Paulo dos Santos Barreto then tries to follow up this advantage by pushing inland with 5,000 troops from São Lourenço Ford on the Jacuí River near Cachoeira do Sul on March 4, 1841, to pursue the *farrapos* deep into their territory, his army is destroyed by disease, want, and desertions before it emerges at Carmo on the Ibicuí River banks by July 21.

Both sides are now utterly exhausted by their efforts. However, imperial strength is gradually rebuilt to 11,500 men, and the 39-year-old general Luiz Alves de Lima e Silva, Barão (later Duque) de Caxias, assumes overall command on November 9, 1842, fresh from suppressing liberal insurrections in Maranhão, São Paulo, and Minas Gerais. He purchases 7,000 mounts; amasses a huge flotilla of riverboats, supplies, and matériel; commissions ex-rebel officers such as Brig. Gen. Bento Manoel and Lt. Col. Francisco “Chico” Pedro de Abreu; then slowly presses back the 3,500 republican riders operating under Colonel Teixeira Nunes.

Over the next two years, steady imperial gains will slowly constrict republican territory and retake the cities of Caçapava, Bagé, and Alegrete. A string of imperial forts are also built and civilians are well treated, while generous terms are offered to rebel soldiers—including freedom for slaves. Eventually, Bento Gonçalves and his few republican diehards agree to surrender at Ponche Verde on the Santa Maria River banks on March 1, 1845. They are free to return home, and Caxias is acclaimed throughout Brazil.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1835. *War of the League.* In Costa Rica, the cities of Cartago, Heredia, and Alajuela—resentful of San José's growing dominance as the new national capital—band together to elect their own president and dispatch some 3,000 troops under José Ángel Soto to besiege San José. After battles on October 14 and 28, however, the army of the

latter city under Col. Rafael García Escalante emerges triumphant over the league.

NOVEMBER 10, 1837. *Lower Canada Rebellion.*

After six months of growing turmoil and political repression, a column of mounted Anglo-Tory militiamen arrives south of Montreal in the Saint Jean in l'Acadie region (Quebec) to arrest leaders of its rural French Canadian *patriote* movement. Dr. Cyrille H. O. Côté and Lucien Gagnon contemplate resisting with 200–300 followers, but they demur when a company of British regulars also arrives the next day. On the morning of November 17, however, 150 *patriote* militiamen under Bonaventure Viger intercept 20 troopers of the Montreal cavalry as they pass through Longueuil with a pair of prisoners. These riders are fired upon, receiving numerous wounds before losing their captives; this success galvanizes many other *patriotes* into taking up arms throughout the district.

Gen. Sir John Colborne, British commander in chief for Lower Canada, responds by dispatching two columns to crush this insurgency, the first—300 troops and a 12-pound howitzer—reaching Saint Denis early on November 23 after marching overnight through a heavy snowstorm. The force is met by 800 *patriotes* under Dr. Wolfred Nelson (only 200 bearing arms), who resist and are reinforced throughout this day, eventually obliging the British to withdraw by 3:00 p.m. after suffering 6 dead, 10 wounded, 6 missing, plus the loss of their fieldpiece. *Patriote* casualties total 12 killed and 7 injured.

On November 25, a second British column of 406 regulars, 20 militia riders, and two cannon from Chambly under Lt. Col. George Augustus Wetherall reaches the main southern *patriote* stronghold at Saint Charles. Of more than 1,000 *patriotes* gathered under Thomas Storrow Brown, only 200 stand and fight from behind a low wall, being overrun within the hour amid great slaughter. Between 50 and 150 are slain and the rest scattered, after which the victors—having lost only 3 of their own number—retire toward Pointe Olivier and Montreal with 28 prisoners.

Colborne then masses 1,280 British regulars, 220 Canadian volunteers, and five fieldpieces to strike northward against Saint Eustache, where another 800–900 *patriotes* are concentrated under Amury Girod. The Anglo-Canadian vanguard arrives opposite this town by 11:00 a.m. of December 14, prompting 300 overconfident defenders to sally across its frozen river, who then break and flee when the main

Struggles of the Young Republics (1812–1860)

British army suddenly materializes behind them. Only 200–250 *patriotes* remain to defend Saint Eustache, 70 being killed in its subsequent bombardment and assault. Colborne furthermore destroys the neighboring town of Saint Benoît the next day, effectively bringing an end to armed *patriote* resistance.

NOVEMBER 17, 1837. *Sabinada.*

In Salvador—Brazil's second largest city and capital of the province of Bahia—the 3rd Artillery Battalion, which is garrisoning Fort São Pedro, mutinies and joins the separatist movement of medical doctor and radical newspaper editor Francisco Sabino Álvares da Rocha Vieira (more commonly known as “Sabino,” thereby giving this rebellion its name). Within hours, they are joined by the 3rd Infantry Battalion, only the city's marines and part of its national guard militia units remaining loyal to the imperial government at Rio de Janeiro.

While a newly independent republic is being proclaimed at Salvador, many loyalists flee into the nearby sugar-producing region, called the Recôncavo, and begin organizing a counterrevolutionary force called the “Restorationist Army.” By the end of this same month, 1,900 Restorationists (mostly national guardsmen) are besieging the rebels inside the city, while imperial warships soon join them offshore. By December, hunger is being experienced inside Salvador, and the besiegers' numbers gradually swell to 5,000.

On March 12, 1838, the Restorationists mount an all-out assault to retake the debilitated city, inflicting hundreds of casualties in two days of heavy fighting. Final surrender comes on March 16, with Sabino being captured a week later and exiled to remote Goiás after a lengthy trial. Thousands of mulatto and black rebels are also condemned to hard labor upon Fernando de Noronha Island.

DECEMBER 4, 1837. *Upper Canada Rebellion.*

After months of political protest against patronage appointments and other restrictive practices, 150 men gather this Monday at John Montgomery's tavern on Yonge Street, north of Toronto (population 12,000), to spearhead an insurrection under the direction of the Scottish-born reformist newspaper editor and former mayor William Lyon Mackenzie. Alarmed at this mutinous assemblage, militia lieutenant colonel James FitzGibbon calls out loyalist volunteers that same night and sends scouts to investigate—two men being killed and numerous others captured in nocturnal skirmishes with rebel pickets.

The next day, Mackenzie advances down Yonge Street, his followers soon swelling to 1,000, wearing white armbands for identification. After burning the houses of several prominent citizens, the rebels are scattered toward evening by a volley from 27 loyalist pickets under Sheriff William Botsford Jarvis, retreating north. After both sides are reinforced by contingents from the countryside on December 6, FitzGibbon marches up Yonge Street on December 7 with 1,000 men in three columns, supported by two 6-pounders. Brushing aside 200 insurgent pickets at Paul Pry Inn (between Mount Pleasant Cemetery and modern Davisville Avenue), the loyalists then rout the few hundred disheartened insurgents remaining at Montgomery's tavern, killing two before torching this building. Mackenzie escapes to Buffalo (New York), his revolt ending in scores of arrests and the eventual execution of two of his lieutenants.

On December 13, loyalist colonel Allan MacNab's 800 militiamen further scatter another 400 rebels at Scotland (Ontario) that were raised by the Connecticut-born medical doctor and reformer Charles Duncombe, who also flees across the border into the United States.

DECEMBER 14, 1837. Mackenzie occupies Navy Island in the Niagara River (east of Chippawa, Ontario), backed by the American adventurer Rensselaer van Rensselaer and two-dozen supporters. Over the next couple of weeks, more than 425 republican volunteers reinforce this outpost, using their single cannon to fire upon 2,500 Canadian militiamen assembled opposite them under MacNab.

Noting that the 26-ton American steamer *Caroline* is being used to ferry supplies from Niagara Falls (New York), ex-Royal Navy captain Andrew Drew leads a 50-man boat party across to destroy this vessel. Failing to discover it anchored off the Canadian island, Drew instead boards the *Caroline* before dawn on December 30 at Fort Schlosser, killing one of its crew members and wounding others before setting it ablaze and towing it out into the river to sink. American public opinion is incensed by this attack in U.S. territorial waters, but Gen. Winfield Scott arrives to stifle local hostilities, while MacNab and Drew are replaced on the British side by more professional officers.

Mackenzie and van Rensselaer eventually abandon Navy Island on January 13, 1838, which is re-occupied by the Upper Canada militia two days later.

JANUARY 8, 1838. The Irish-born, self-proclaimed brigadier general Edward Theller departs Gibraltar—20 miles below Detroit, Michigan—with 200 Canadian rebels and American sympathizers to occupy Bois Blanc Island opposite Amherstburg (Ontario). The 41-year-old lawyer and militia lieutenant colonel John Prince of the 3rd Essex Regiment responds by massing volunteers on the Canadian shoreline, including a company of ex-American slaves from Windsor under Rev. Josiah Henson—later to become the inspiration for Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

On January 9, after gaining this island, Theller bears down upon the mainland with his schooner *Anne* and sloop *George Strong*, bombarding loyalist concentrations. At 7:00 p.m., however, his 21-man flagship *Anne* runs aground and is captured by the British, who discover one dead and eight wounded aboard—including Theller. Left leaderless, his followers subsequently retire to Sugar Island, on the American side of Lake Erie.

FEBRUARY 21, 1838. Mackenzie and van Rensselaer, having hoped to lead a republican army across the frozen Saint Lawrence River from Grindstone Island (New York) to Hickory Island (Ontario) and then assail the 1,900-man garrison at Kingston, instead abandon this enterprise when only 300 volunteers appear.

FEBRUARY 23, 1838. Despite efforts by the U.S. authorities to curb cross-border ventures, Duncombe slips out of Detroit with a small contingent of Canadian rebels and American republicans aboard the steamer *Erie* to occupy Fighting Island (below Sandwich, Ontario). The next day, he is joined by another company out of Cleveland under self-proclaimed major general Donald McLeod—an ex-sergeant in the British Army—bringing total strength up to 150 men and a 6-pounder.

Having been forewarned of this encroachment by Gen. Hugh Brady of the U.S. Army, British major Henry Dive Townshend of the 24th (Warwickshire) Regiment sallies from Fort Malden (Amherstburg) with two companies of redcoats, 400 militiamen, and a fieldpiece, traversing the ice to scatter these invaders by February 25, in the process wounding five and capturing another.

FEBRUARY 26, 1838. Self-proclaimed colonels H. C. Seward and E. D. Bradley lead 400 American republicans across the ice from Sandusky (Ohio),

capturing Pelee Island (Ontario). At 6:00 p.m. of March 2, Lt. Col. John Maitland of the 32nd (Cornwall) Regiment quits Fort Malden with five companies of regulars—300 men—a pair of fieldpieces, and two companies of mounted militia to drive the invaders back. Despite heavy snowdrifts and dense woods, the redcoats succeed in scattering the republicans and capture 11, suffering 5 killed and 30 wounded among their own ranks.

MAY 27, 1838. In Costa Rica, the former president of the Central American Federal Congress, 38-year-old anticlerical liberal leader Braulio Carrillo Colina, leads Capt. José Manuel Quirós's troops from the San José barracks in a military coup that topples President Manuel Aguilar. He then pulls his nation out of the strife-torn Central American Federation by November 15, which collapses shortly thereafter.

(Four years later, the deposed federation leader, Francisco Morazán Quesada, takes his revenge by disembarking at Caldera, Costa Rica, with 500

troops on April 7, 1842, in turn driving Carrillo from office. His own forces are routed at San José, however, and he is executed by September 15. Carrillo is subsequently assassinated in exile in El Salvador on May 15, 1845.)

NOVEMBER 4, 1838. Overnight, Robert Nelson and Dr. Côté launch a second *patriote* uprising in French Canada, marshalling 1,500 men at Napierville (Quebec), while several hundred others assemble at various points along the Richelieu River and in the Châteauguay area. Despite carrying Beauharnois by storm, this insurgency soon falters because of factional bickering, lack of weaponry, effective loyalist opposition at Lacolle and Odelltown, plus an ill-judged *patriote* attempt to occupy the Mohawk village of Sault Saint Louis or Kahnawake, resulting in the capture of 64 of their men. By the time Colborne's redcoats march south out of Montreal a few days later, rebel sentiment is already ebbing, and this insurrection ceases without further fighting.



Soldiers of the 71st Highland Light Infantry Regiment conveying three patriote suspects to the Montreal jail. (National Archives of Canada)

NOVEMBER 11, 1838. This Sunday, the commandeered paddle steamer *United States* departs Sackets Harbor (New York), towing the schooners *Charlotte of Oswego* and *Charlotte of Toronto* with 400 American republicans aboard to attempt to raise a popular insurrection in British Canada. Led by self-proclaimed general John Ward Birge, the invaders are dubbed “Hunters” because of the secretive “hunters’ lodges” formed along the border the previous summer to organize such a venture.

At 2:00 a.m. on November 12, both schooners are released and approach Prescott (Ontario), only to sheer off when its sentries open fire. Some 200 Americans thereupon disembark a mile downriver at Windmill Point by sunup, occupying a stone mill at New Jerusalem, while electing the 31-year-old, Finnish-born, ex-French Foreign Legionnaire Nils von Schoultz as their leader. However, the 25-man armed British steamer *Experiment* of Lt. William Fowell prevents any further Hunter reinforcements from reaching this outpost out of Ogdensburg on the opposite bank, and the invaders become besieged by a host of British regulars and Canadian militiamen.

After repelling a direct assault on November 13, the outnumbered and isolated Americans are finally battered into submission by the evening of November 16, with 161 survivors surrendering after suffering more than 30 killed due to heavy artillery and

musket fire. Eleven are eventually executed, and many others are transported to the Australian penal colony of Van Diemen’s Land.

DECEMBER 3, 1838. This evening, self-proclaimed general Lucius V. Bierce’s 250 republican followers commandeer the American steamer *Champlain* at Detroit, disembarking three miles above Windsor (Ontario) at 2:00 the next morning to attack 28 Canadian militiamen of the 2nd Essex Regiment under Sgt. Frederick Walsh, who are asleep in their barracks. Two defenders are killed and the building torched, along with the docked steamer *Thames*, while the town is occupied.

At sunrise, five companies of Canadian militia-men arrive from nearby Sandwich under Colonel Prince and Capt. John Frederick Sparke, engaging the invaders until Capt. Edward Broderick can appear from Amherstburg at 11:00 a.m. with 100 regulars of the 34th (Cumberland) Regiment, 40–50 Indian allies, and a fieldpiece. They rout the republicans, killing 21 and capturing 44, while the rest escape aboard boats toward Hog Island (modern Belle Isle). Furious at finding his friend Dr. John Hume slain, Prince orders five captives summarily executed during the heat of battle; six more are later hanged at London (Ontario), and 16 are transported to Australia.

TEXAN INDEPENDENCE (1835–1836)

Since April 1823, Texas—a remote, arid, uninhabited province historically shunned by most Mexicans—has been open to American emigration out of Louisiana on condition that new settlers accept Mexican citizenship and the Catholic faith. Within a few years, its 4,000 Mexican residents are outnumbered by 28,000 Americans, prompting the authorities in Mexico City to curtail this policy with a new law on April 6, 1830, which tries to close the border and reimpose central rule.

After incidents at Velasco and Anáhuac during June and July 1832, the Mexican colonel José de las Piedras—commander of the 12th Permanent Battalion at Nacogdoches—calls for the mostly American citizenry to be disarmed. The settlers, who often go by the name of “Texians,” refuse and instead choose 39-year-old Stephen F. Austin as their leader and request help from Louisiana. On the morning of August 2, 300 armed men under Capt. James W. Bullock descend from Pine Hill into Nacogdoches, defeating Piedras’s garrison in a daylong fight. The Mexican colonel leaves under cover of darkness for San Antonio with his battalion, but is chased down the next morning at the Angelina River by a party of riders led by 36-year-old Jim Bowie. The colonel is deposed by Capt. Francisco Medina, and his 300 demoralized troops surrender for repatriation. They have suffered 47 killed and a like number wounded, compared to only 4 Texians dead and 4 injured.

Some American settlers will subsequently try to persuade the Mexican Congress to elevate their region to the status of a state, while another, more radical faction led by the 39-year-old ex-governor

of Tennessee, Samuel P. Houston, pushes for incorporation into the United States. Tensions escalate until the summer of 1835, when Antonio López de Santa Anna crushes other rebellions against his authority in central Mexico. He then sends a 1,400-man army northward under his 33-year-old brother-in-law Martín Perfecto de Cós to subdue the Texian dissidents.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1835. Col. Domingo de Ugartechea, garrison commander at San Antonio (population 2,000), detaches an 80-man cavalry patrol under Capt. Francisco Castañeda to dispossess a group of 500 Texians of their single small cannon at the town of Gonzales.

OCTOBER 2, 1835. South of Gonzales, 150 Texian militiamen under Col. John W. Moore surprise Castañeda's bivouacked Mexican troops at dawn, killing one and scattering the rest. Austin (released only that previous month from a long imprisonment in Mexico City), Houston, and other leaders proceed shortly thereafter into San Felipe to hold a Texian convention. Austin will be elected commander of a volunteer army and will issue a call to arms.

OCTOBER 9, 1835. After a brief skirmish, 50 Texians under Capt. James Collingsworth compel Goliad's 40-man Mexican garrison under Capt. Francisco Sandoval to surrender.

OCTOBER 26, 1835. After 10 days' hesitation at his Cibolo Creek encampment, Austin leads 400 men into San Francisco de la Espada Mission near San Antonio. The next day, Jim Bowie and a 31-year-old West Point dropout from Georgia named James Walker Fannin lead 92 riders in a patrol to Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción de Acuña Mission, two miles south of San Antonio.

In heavy fog on the morning of October 28, they defeat a 230-man Mexican detachment in a confused three-hour exchange, killing 16 and wounding a similar number, while suffering only 1 American dead. Four days later, the bulk of the Texian army arrives under Austin and establishes its headquarters on the Alamo Canal south of the city, imposing a loose siege on Cós's unhappy garrison—comprised of only the regular Morelos Battalion and five companies of conscripts.

NOVEMBER 3, 1835. The Texian convention at San Felipe resolves to oppose Santa Anna as loyal Mexican citizens, upholding Mexico's 1824 federal constitution, furthermore calling upon other Mexi-

can states to oppose his dictatorship as well. Austin is to be sent to the United States to raise support and recruit more volunteers, while on November 25 the ex-Indian fighter "colonel" Edward Burleson assumes overall command of the Texian army before San Antonio.

The next day, Bowie leads 60 mounted volunteers to intercept a Mexican pack train a few miles south of the city, escorted by 100 cavalymen. A running fight ensues right up to San Antonio's gates, during which the Mexicans suffer some 50 casualties, as opposed to 2 Americans. Because the captured pack train is loaded with bales of grass for the garrison livestock, this clash becomes known as the "Grass Fight."

DECEMBER 4, 1835. *Cós's Surrender.* After considerable delay, Burleson orders an assault against the Mexican garrison within San Antonio, only to cancel the attack at the last minute and instead propose a retirement into East Texas. Mutiny erupts, during which the honorary colonel Benjamin Rush Milam—a longtime Texas resident, originally from Kentucky—assumes leadership over a band of volunteers, proposing to storm San Antonio the next day.

At 3:00 a.m. on December 5, Milam's 210 attackers begin pressing into San Antonio's outer fringes, while Cós's beleaguered troops are distracted by a simultaneous bombardment of the Alamo. Three days of intense house-to-house fighting ensue, Milam being killed on December 8, just as the last Mexican defenders retreat into the Alamo.

The next dawn, their general sues for terms from the honorary colonel Frank Johnson, Milam's successor. Cós's capitulation is finalized on December 11, more than 1,100 defeated Mexican troops marching southward over the next few days, leaving behind 300–400 dead or deserters (as opposed to 20 Texians killed). Winter now having set in, many of the victorious Americans decamp in the erroneous belief that the war for Texian independence is largely ended.

JANUARY 7, 1836. Santa Anna reaches Saltillo in the state of Coahuila in northern Mexico to begin organizing a large army to invade Texas and reimpose his rule following Cós's defeat.

Within three weeks, Santa Anna heads northward with one cavalry and two infantry brigades, plus a siege train, to join Brig. Gen. Joaquín Ramírez y Sesma's army already operating near the Río Grande. The Mexican order of battle for the forthcoming campaign has Maj. Gen. Vicente Filisola serving as Santa Anna's second-in-command, with Brig. Gen. Juan Arago as chief of staff, plus brigadier generals Manuel Fernández Castrillán, Cós, and Juan Valentín Amador, as well as colonels Juan Nepomuceno Almonte, Juan Bringas, and José Bates, all serving as aides-de-camp. Quartermaster duties will be handled by Col. (brevet brigadier general) Adrián Woll, while the artillery is under Lt. Col. Tomás Requena, and Capt. (brevet lieutenant colonel) Ignacio Labastida is chief of engineers.

Ramírez y Sesma's army or Vanguard Brigade is comprised of 272 soldiers of the Matamoros and 274 men of the Jiménez Permanent Infantry battalions, 452 of the San Luis Potosí Active Infantry Battalion, 290 troopers of the Dolores Permanent Cavalry Regiment, plus 62 gunners for eight artillery pieces. Col. (brevet brigadier general) Antonio Gona will lead the 1st Brigade, constituted by 390 soldiers of the Aldama Permanent Infantry Battalion; 320 of the 1st Toluca, 370 of the Querétaro, and 390 of the Guanajuato Active Infantry battalions; 60 members of the Rio Grande Presidial Company; 185 *Zapadores* or "Sappers"; plus 63 artillerymen for six guns. Col. (brevet brigadier general) Eugenio Tolosa's 2nd Brigade is made up of 300 soldiers of the Morelos and 400 of the Guerrero Permanent

Jim Bowie

James Bowie was born into a pioneer family in Kentucky, most probably on April 10, 1796. When he was four years old, his family moved to Madrid (Missouri), then to Catahoula Parish in Louisiana by October 1801. Eight years later, his father purchased 640 acres on the Vermilion River and established a plantation near Opelousas. Big and strong, young Jim excelled at the rough-and-tumble frontier life. Around 1814, he cleared his own plot at Bayou Bouef in Rapides Parish, cutting timber for a living. Legend also says that he roped alligators, tamed wild horses, and trapped bears. Along with his older brother Rezin Bowie Jr., he volunteered for Col. Colman Martin's militia company to fight against the British at the Battle of New Orleans, arriving too late to see any action.

With the war over in 1815, the Bowie brothers visited Jean Lafitte's smuggling base at Galveston (Texas), illicitly bringing slaves back into Vermilion Bay for resale. They stopped this traffic after accumulating \$65,000, investing this sum into properties during the autumn of 1819. They even imported the first Louisianan steam mill for grinding sugarcane at their 1,800-acre Arcadia Plantation near Thibodaux. Rezin now settled into married life and became the family patriarch, their father having died. He was eventually voted to the state legislature, but the younger Bowie still sought adventures.

Roaming to lawless Natchez (Mississippi) to speculate in new business, the hot-tempered Bowie confronted Maj. Norris Wright, sheriff of Rapides Parish, in an 1826 shoot-out in Alexandria (Louisiana). Bowie's pistol "snapped" or misfired, and he was wounded in the chest. His brother Rezin later visited and gave Jim a massive knife that he had designed, allegedly saying: "She won't snap." Bowie used this formidable weapon during a vicious fight on September 19, 1827. What started as a "duel" between two other men on the Vidalia Sandbar, 70 miles north of Alexandria, quickly degenerated into a bloody brawl during which Bowie was repeatedly shot and stabbed, yet he killed Wright and severely wounded another man. News of this spectacular "Sandbar Fight" made him famous, as men everywhere asked blacksmiths for a Bowie knife.

It appeared as if Bowie might settle down when he became engaged to Cecelia Welles, but she died in Alexandria on September 7, 1829, two weeks before their wedding. He therefore departed Thibodaux for Texas on New Year's Day 1830. With letters of introduction to Stephen F. Austin and Juan Martín de Veramendi, the Mexican governor of Texas and Coahuila, Bowie reached the capital of Saltillo and cheaply bought up claims to 70,000 acres of Texan wilderness. He also was baptized as a Catholic and became a Mexican citizen as of October 5, 1830, further promising the governor to bring a textile mill to Saltillo.

To finance his new start in Texas, Bowie returned to Louisiana and persuaded his brother Rezin to sell Arcadia Plantation and its 82 slaves on February 12, 1831, splitting the \$90,000 payment. Jim Bowie used part of his share to buy the promised mill, then met the governor at San Antonio, marrying his daughter Ursula María on April 25. After Jim's honeymoon in New Orleans and Natchez, the Bowie brothers led a 10-man party from San Antonio on November 2 to search for the lost mines at Santa Cruz de San Sabá Mission, but they were attacked by Indians. Bowie made a second exploration westward in January 1832 as militia "colonel" at the head of two-dozen men. He played a prominent role in the Texan independence movement, although saddened by the deaths of his wife and child at Monclova (Coahuila) during a cholera outbreak in September 1833.

Infantry battalions; 350 of the 1st México, 420 of the Guadalajara, and 189 of the Tres Villas Active Infantry battalions; as well as 60 gunners for six artillery pieces. Brig. Gen. Juan José Andrade's Cavalry Brigade comprises 250 troopers of the Tampico Permanent Cavalry Regiment and 180 of the Guajuato Active Cavalry Regiment.

Brig. Gen. Juan José Urrea also commands an Independent Division made up of 300 soldiers of the Yucatán Active Infantry Battalion, 180 troopers of the Cuautla Permanent Cavalry Regiment, plus 40 members of an auxiliary cavalry troop from San Luis Potosí and another 30 from the Bajío, as well as 8 gunners manning a single artillery piece. In total, Santa Anna has 6,050 soldiers at his disposal for his invasion of Texas: 4,500 infantrymen, 1,120 cavalrymen, 190 artillerymen, and 185 sappers under 50 staff officers.

JANUARY 19, 1836. Bowie brings 30 men from Goliad into San Antonio, joining its unhappy 78-man garrison under Col. James C. Neill.

FEBRUARY 3, 1836. The 26-year-old William Barret Travis, newly appointed lieutenant colonel in the Texian cavalry, reaches San Antonio with 30 troopers to assume command of its Alamo garrison. The 49-year-old former U.S. Congressman Davy Crockett also arrives on February 8 with his 14 "Tennessee Mounted Volunteers," bringing total strength to slightly more than 150 defenders. Colonel Neill will depart on February 11.

FEBRUARY 11, 1836. News is received at San Antonio of Santa Anna's advance upon the Río Grande with a large army, which despite being delayed two days later by a two-foot snowfall, nevertheless will continue to approach swiftly.

FEBRUARY 12, 1836. San Antonio's defenders hold a vote, most volunteers electing Bowie to replace Travis as garrison commander. A drunken celebration ensues. The next day, both commanders work out a compromise.

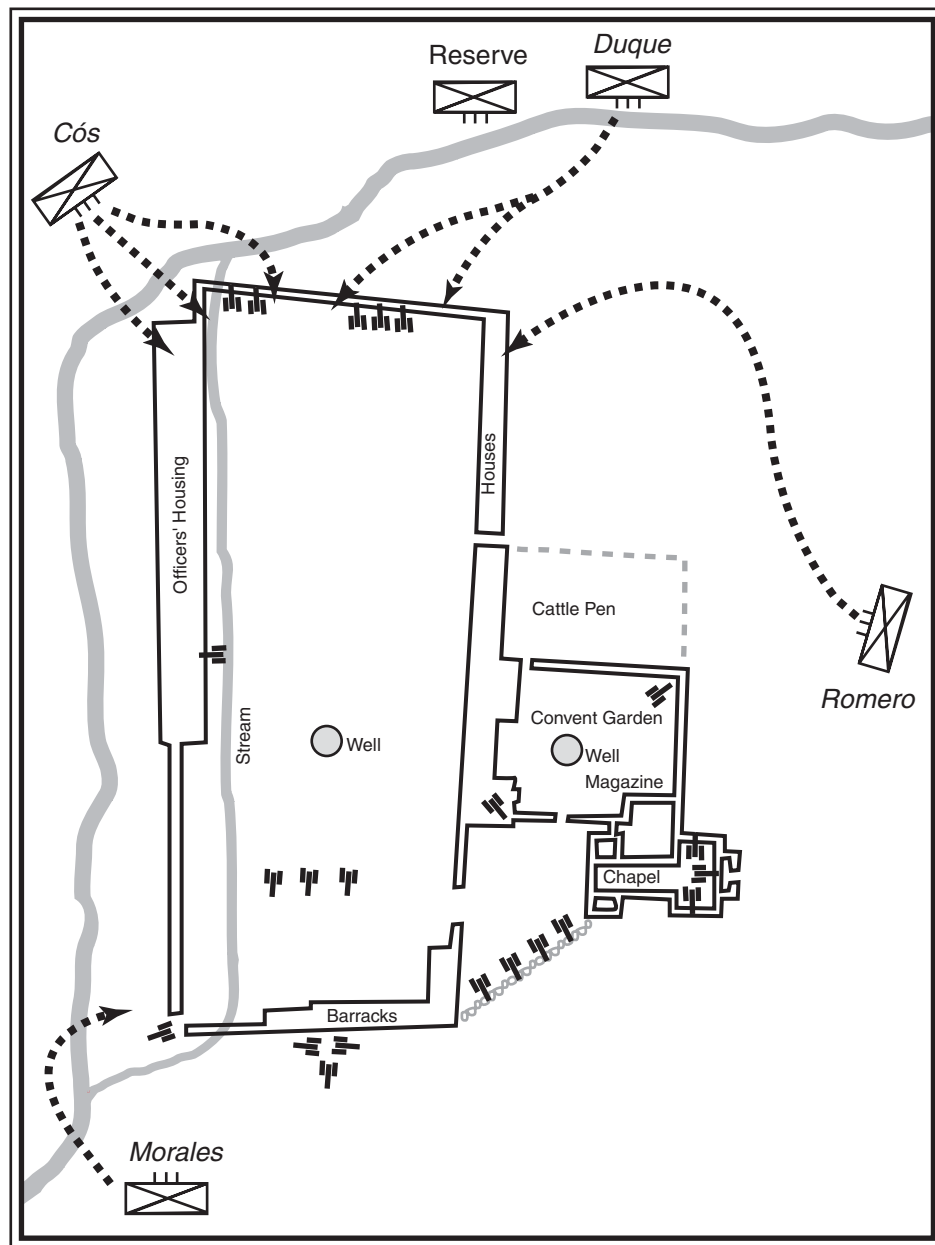
FEBRUARY 23, 1836. *Alamo.* Somewhat sooner than anticipated, the first 1,500 mounted elements of Santa Anna's 2,500- to 3,000-man army are sighted at dawn, only a mile and a half outside San Antonio. Its 150 surprised Texian defenders and 25 noncombatants send a message requesting help

from Fannin at Goliad before gathering inside the fortified Alamo, east of San Antonio's river. They are invested inside that same afternoon by the Mexican cavalry vanguard, and Bowie collapses the next day, suffering from an advanced case of tuberculosis. A Mexican battery consisting of two 8-pounders and a seven-inch howitzer opens fire on February 24, a loose siege being imposed, while further batteries are installed to weaken the Alamo's defenses—Santa Anna's overall effort seemingly intended at cowing its heavily outnumbered garrison into capitulation.

Skirmishes occur on February 25 and 27; then just after midnight of February 29–March 1, 32 more volunteers slip into the Alamo from Gonzales, led by Lt. George Kimball (or Kimbell, originally a New York hatter). Now realizing that the Alamo's defenders are willing to fight to the death, Santa Anna sends 1,700 men in four columns at 5:00 a.m. of March 6 to storm the Alamo's walls, Cós leads the Aldama Battalion and three companies of the San Luis Potosí Battalion against its northwestern corner; the northeastern corner is attacked by Col. Francisco Duque and Brig. Gen. Fernández Castrillán's Toluca Battalion, plus the balance of the San Luis Potosí troops; from the east come Col. José María Romero's Matamoros and the Jiménez Fusilier companies; while the light companies of the Matamoros, Jiménez, and San Luis Potosí units advance from the south under Col. Juan Morales. In reserve, Santa Anna has five grenadier companies and sappers, approximately 385 men, plus 350 cavalrymen.

After charging through the Texian artillery fire, which kills Duque and numerous others, the Mexicans gain the outer walls and eventually scale the Alamo's north side, forcing the defenders back inside their sleeping quarters—known as the "Long Barracks"—where the last few are slaughtered by 6:30 a.m. Mexican casualties total 70 men killed and 300 seriously wounded, while 182 of the 183 Texian defenders are put to death. Although a defeat, their courageous resolve inspires the cause of Texan independence and attracts many more volunteers from the United States.

FEBRUARY 27, 1836. Under cover of a rainstorm, the 40-year-old Mexican brigadier general Urrea slips into San Patricio (Texas) at the head of a 100-trooper vanguard, killing 16 and capturing 24 of its Texian defenders, while the remainder escape northward under Col. Frank Johnson.



Storming of the Alamo.

MARCH 2, 1836. The reconvened Texian convention at “Washington Brazos” declares Texas to be independent.

MARCH 3, 1836. One of Urrea’s cavalry patrols exterminates Col. James Grant’s followers at Agua Dulce, 20 miles west of San Patricio, killing 22 of his 25 men.

MARCH 11, 1836. Learning that the Alamo has fallen and that General Ramírez y Sesma is approaching with 700 Mexican troops, Houston aban-

dons Gonzales with his 375 followers and a large number of refugees, retreating eastward in what becomes known as the “Runaway Scrape.”

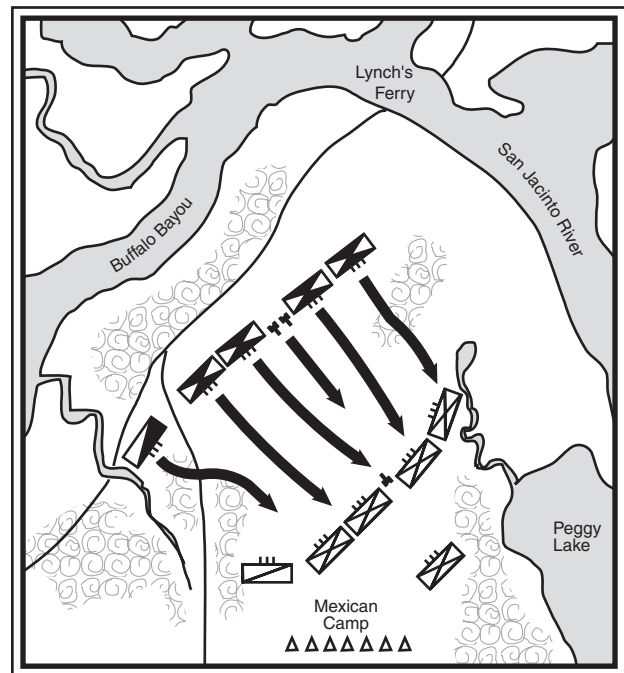
MARCH 18, 1836. Fannin also falls back from Goliad, yet so ineptly that his 300 men and 25 cavalrymen are overtaken the next day two miles west of the Coleto River by a detachment from Brigadier General Urrea’s 600-man division. They kill 10 Texans, wound 70 (including Fannin), and compel the rest of this thirsty, tired band to surrender by March 20.

MARCH 27, 1836. Santa Anna—determined to terrify Texas into submission—orders 375 American prisoners marched out of Goliad early this Palm Sunday morning on the pretext of being paroled to New Orleans. Instead, they are shot a little distance away by Urrea's troops, only 30 surviving the massacre.

APRIL 18, 1836. Learning that Santa Anna's army has fragmented in pursuit of different fleeing Texian contingents, Houston arrives east of Harrisburg after a two-and-a-half-day forced march, close to where the unsuspecting Mexican commander in chief lies. Houston's own 780 untested troops are in an ugly mood after their prolonged retreat, yet nonetheless cross to the Harrisburg side of Buffalo Bayou the next day. By April 20, they take up a defensive position on the wooded banks of the San Jacinto River to await the Mexican army's approach.

APRIL 21, 1836. *San Jacinto.* After discovering Houston's army, skirmishing briefly, then emplacing his own troops opposite it, Santa Anna is reinforced this morning by General Cós, bringing total Mexican strength to more than 1,300 men and a single 6-pounder. When no action ensues by noon, the invaders repair to their encampments, assuming no fighting will occur until the next day (dawn being the traditional time for battle during this era).

But Houston instead gives the order for his troops to trail arms and silently charge the Mexican lines at 4:30 p.m., in four columns: the 260-man 2nd Texas Volunteer Regiment of Col. Sidney Sherman, 220 men of the 1st Texas Volunteer Regiment under Col. Edward Burleson, 240 of the Texas Regular Battalion under Lt. Col. Henry Millard, plus 50 cavalrymen under Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar. They are within 200 yards of the improvised Mexican breastworks before being detected, two Texas 6-pounders—donated by citizens of Cincinnati and known as the “Twin Sisters,” manned by 31 gunners—arriving at this crucial juncture to unlimber and open fire.



Battle of San Jacinto.

Within 18 minutes, at a cost of only 8 killed and 17 wounded, Houston annihilates Santa Anna's unprepared army. Shouting “Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad!” the Americans butcher 600–650 Mexican soldiers and capture another 730 (including a disguised Santa Anna, who flees the field but is captured the next day).

Santa Anna is compelled to sign an armistice to regain his freedom from the vengeful Texians, while his other field commanders retire into Mexico upon learning of his capitulation. Eventually, the Mexican government will repudiate this arrangement, insisting it is not valid because its terms have been extorted, yet they are powerless to reimpose their will over the Republic of Texas—which is soon recognized by the United States, Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Belgium. Nine years later, in 1845, Texas becomes part of the United States.

WAR OF THE PERU-BOLIVIA CONFEDERATION (1836–1839)

In the years following the collapse of Spain's American empire, old jurisdictional rivalries become a source of disputes among the emergent new republics, such as when the 43-year-old Bolivian leader Andrés de Santa Cruz imposes a confederation upon Peru in 1836. This potentially powerful realignment displeases Chile, farther to the south, which in turn seeks its own secret accommodation with Rosas's Argentina.

Matters quickly come to a head when Santa Cruz's financially strapped government furthermore nullifies a treaty giving Chile preferential tariff treatment, while Peru—anxious to develop its own trade through Callao—also imposes a special tax upon goods imported via gold-rich Valparaíso. Angered by these hostile steps and by the renegade liberal general Ramón Freire's use of a Peruvian port in his latest abortive attempt to topple the Chilean government during the summer of 1836, Chile's 43-year-old de facto leader, Diego José Pedro Víctor Portales Palazuelos, orders his fleet to attack Callao, where it impounds three Peruvian vessels.

Infuriated, Santa Cruz retaliates by briefly detaining Chile's ambassador, although almost immediately releasing him with an apology. Portales, however, uses this excuse to demand that Peru pay reparations, reduce its navy, and dissolve its confederation with Bolivia. When Santa Cruz refuses, Chile declares war on November 11, 1836, despite considerable public reluctance.

FEBRUARY 13, 1837. Argentina, nursing its own separate grievances against Bolivia because of Santa Cruz's intervention in Andean insurrections (see "November 1834" entry in "Minor Disputes"), severs diplomatic relations with his government.

MAY 1, 1837. The Peru-Bolivia Confederation is officially proclaimed, Santa Cruz being recognized as its leader by both France and Britain.

MAY 19, 1837. Argentina's dictator Rosas declares war against Peru and Bolivia.

JUNE 6, 1837. The Chilean garrison at Quillota mutinies and seizes General Portales, who is on an inspection tour. Taken toward Valparaíso by the rebels, he is murdered when other garrisons refuse to join the insurrection.

AUGUST 28, 1837. Two small Bolivian cavalry units invade Argentina, capturing its isolated outposts of Cochino and Irúya.

SEPTEMBER 1837. The Argentine *Cazadores de la Libertad* or "Liberty Chasseurs" Battalion mutinies at Salta, being quickly put down by loyal troops under Col. Gregorio Paz.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1837. Bolivian troops occupy Humahuaca (Argentina), only to be defeated at La Herradura and driven back northward the next day by three cavalry squadrons and a company—400 men in total—under Gen. Felipe Heredia.

On September 13, Heredia's contingent also clashes two and a half miles north of Humahuaca at Santa Bárbara with another similar-sized Bolivian force under Lieutenant Colonel Campero, driving

the invaders back into their territory, while killing 15 and capturing 10.

NOVEMBER 17, 1837. *Paucarpata.* Shortly after disembarking in Peru, Admiral Blanco Encalada's Chilean expeditionary force is defeated and forced to surrender by Santa Cruz. The Bolivian leader imposes generous terms not only for this army's capitulation, but also to end the entire war: Chile has merely to return the three Peruvian vessels it has seized and tacitly recognize the Peru-Bolivia Confederation, while in return the latter will pay part of its debt to Chile and allow Blanco Encalada's army to be repatriated. The captive commander—a former president of Chile—agrees, signing the Treaty of Paucarpata; but once his troops are home, Portales repudiates this arrangement, resumes the war, and court-martials Blanco Encalada.

DECEMBER 11, 1837. Two small Argentine and Bolivian companies clash at Vicuña, near Tres Cruces.

JANUARY 2, 1838. Argentine captain Gutiérrez defeats a tiny Bolivian contingent at Rincón de las Casillas, then occupies the village of Negra Muerta two miles farther north. Learning that a large enemy force is approaching to dispute his seizure, he withdraws under cover of darkness, watching from a safe distance as his opponents fire upon each other while storming Negra Muerta.

FEBRUARY 2, 1838. The Argentine *Coraceros de la Muerte* or "Death Cuirassiers" Regiment mutinies at Humahuaca, being put down by loyal forces.

MARCH 29, 1838. Argentine colonel Carrillo leads an uprising at Santiago del Estero, his forces

subsequently being defeated at La Poma by Gen. Felipe Heredia.

APRIL 27, 1838. *Failed Argentine Offensives.* Col. Gregorio Paz departs Humahuaca with 1,000 Argentine troopers, penetrating into Bolivia and skirmishing with the garrisons at Acambuco Lagoon on May 29, at Zapatera on June 3, at San Diego on June 8, and at Pajonal on June 9. Upon closing within nine miles of Tarija, however, a superior Bolivian force is encountered, and Paz is compelled to retire. He is overtaken on June 24 and his rearguard annihilated before he can regain the safety of Argentine territory.

Meanwhile, Col. Manuel Virto marches on June 5 out of San Andrés, 35 miles east-northeast of Humahuaca, to attack Iruya with more than 1,500 men, but he, too, is defeated and obliged to retrace his route.

OCTOBER 21, 1838. A Rosist revolt occurs at Santa Fe (Argentina), led by Juan Pablo López, who deposes Governor Cullen.

NOVEMBER 12, 1838. Gen. Alejandro Heredia, governor of Tucumán Province, is assassinated at Lules by Col. Gabino Robles. Juan B. Bergeire briefly succeeds him before resigning.

NOVEMBER 20, 1838. The garrison at Jujuy (Argentina) mutinies and deposes Gen. Pablo Alemán as its governor, installing Rosist colonel José Mariano Iturbe in his place.

NOVEMBER 22, 1838. Gen. Felipe Heredia, governor of Salta, flees into neighboring Tucumán before the threatening approach of Col. José Manuel Pereda, being succeeded by Manuel Solá.

JANUARY 20, 1839. *Yungay.* After first being defeated at the Battle of Buin, Santa Cruz is routed at Yungay in the highlands north of Lima (Peru) by 6,000 Chilean troops under the 39-year-old general Manuel Bulnes Prieto, plus rebel Peruvian contingents under Agustín Gamarra, Antonio Gutiérrez de la Fuente, and Ramón Castilla. His rule in both Peru and Bolivia ended, Santa Cruz flees toward Ecuador aboard a British frigate, eventually dying in exile in France.

Following Santa Cruz's flight, the Peru-Bolivian Confederation is dissolved, and on February 14, 1839, Bolivia's provisional president—Gen. José Miguel de Velasco—calls for a general cessation of hostilities.

Chile's victorious General Bulnes subsequently parlayes his popularity from this war into being elected president of his homeland in 1841, serving two terms. Liberal discontent with the conservative stranglehold on power eventually leads Col. Pedro Urriola to attempt a coup in Santiago on April 20, 1851, which is put down. When Bulnes's hand-picked conservative successor, Manuel Montt, is elected into office on September 18, Bulnes's cousin, Gen. José María de la Cruz, leads the southern provinces into armed insurrection from his base at Concepción. However, the ex-president assembles an army and defeats these rebels as well at the bloody Battle of Loncomilla on December 8.

WAR OF THE CAKES OR PASTRY WAR (1838–1839)

In the chaotic years following Mexico's independence from Spain, foreign traders and investors complain to their home governments about frequent losses suffered due to its many insurrections, military coups, and civil unrest. In 1837, France sends a special plenipotentiary named Pierre Le-moine, Baron Deffaudis, to Mexico City to demand compensation for the sacking of French businesses during such disturbances and the imposition of forced loans made by rebel leaders. The Mexican government rejects this claim, arguing that it lies beyond the scope of any nation to protect foreign visitors from the vicissitudes that even its own citizens must endure.

Unsatisfied, Deffaudis quits these talks on January 1, 1838, and 15 days later takes ship from Veracruz.

MARCH 21, 1838. Deffaudis returns to Veracruz with a French squadron, anchoring off Sacrificios

Island and sending an ultimatum ashore from its flagship *Herminie*, demanding 600,000 pesos in com-

pensation for a long list of wrongs. (When this note is delivered in Mexico City, popular opinion believes it to include a claim for pastries taken from the French “Remontel” Restaurant in Tacubaya by Santa Anna’s troops in 1832, hence the subsequent hostilities become derisively known among Mexicans as the *Guerra de los Pasteles* or “War of the Cakes.”)

APRIL 16, 1838. *Blockade.* The allotted time period for satisfaction having elapsed on April 15, the French squadron imposes a limited naval blockade on Veracruz, restricting entry for many items to deprive the Mexican government of revenues. The 53-year-old rear admiral Charles Baudin is sent from France to assume command over this operation, while other nations also dispatch men-of-war to look after their interests.

OCTOBER 21, 1838. After a six-month blockade, Baudin sends another communication ashore at Veracruz, leading to a face-to-face meeting at the inland town of Jalapa on November 17 with the Mexican foreign minister Luis G. Cuevas, who is willing to concede most points. The French admiral, however, demands an additional 200,000 pesos to compensate the French government for its expeditionary costs, which Cuevas refuses, so Baudin departs back toward Veracruz at 5:00 a.m. on November 21.

NOVEMBER 27, 1838. *Bombardment.* At 9:00 a.m., the Mexican officers Valle and Díaz Mirón board Baudin’s flagship *Néréide* with a last-minute offer from Minister Cuevas to renew negotiations, only to have the French admiral dismiss this proposal five and a half hours later. Five minutes afterward—while Valle and Díaz Mirón are still being rowed ashore—the frigates *Néréide*, *Iphigénie*, *Gloire*, the corvette *Créole*, and the bomb-ships *Cyclope* and *Vulcain* open fire upon Veracruz’s 153-gun, 1,186-man harbor castle of San Juan de Ulúa, using the newly developed Paixhans explosive shells.

This exchange persists until 6:00 p.m., when the bombardment slackens and finally ceases two hours later, after garrison commander Antonio Gaona requests a truce to attend to his wounded. During this afternoon, the French squadron has suffered 4 killed and 39 injured; San Juan de Ulúa, 224 casualties and 20 dismounted guns. Overnight, the French inform Gaona that his fortress will be leveled if he does not surrender; after consulting with Gen. Manuel Rincón in Veracruz at 3:30 a.m., the garrison com-

High-Explosive Shells

Scientific and technological innovations from the Industrial Age revolutionized the ancient art of gunnery. In November 1819, an inactive engineer in the French Army—36-year-old Henri Joseph Paixhans—proposed creating a better naval gun. Previously, either cannon blasted solid shot in a flat trajectory or mortars lobbed rounds high up into the air. Cannon depended upon power and muzzle velocity to be destructive. Such crude qualities were dangerous, though, when applied to hollow mortar rounds filled with powder. For these reasons, mortars had much shorter barrels and smaller firing charges, limiting their range and destructive weight.

Thanks to improved metallurgical and chemical techniques, Paixhans was able to develop a delaying mechanism, which for the first time allowed high-explosive shells to be blasted in a flat trajectory. Doubters were won over after seeing the effects of his first experimental rounds, fired into the hulk of the wooden two-decker *Pacificateur* at Brest in January and September through October 1824. The next year, Paixhans was recalled to active duty in the French Army as a lieutenant colonel, going on to other successes.

Meanwhile, 100 models of his “shell-gun” were ordered by the French Navy in April 1827 to test that their high-explosive rounds would not accidentally detonate in the gun barrels. Successful sea trials were conducted in October 1833 with three guns aboard the newly launched dispatch steamer *Météore*. The first Paixhans guns were therefore installed on French warships as of 1835. Three years later, their baptism of fire came against San Juan de Ulúa. The attackers rained 5,500 high-explosive shells upon this hapless stone fortress within five hours, causing such damage that the defenders surrendered rather than face destruction.

Thanks to this fearsome demonstration, the French Navy began casting improved shell-guns as of 1841. Some were offered for sale to Great Britain and other foreign navies. Two, 10-inch and eight, 8-inch models were purchased and installed that same year aboard the brand-new, 3,250-ton sidewheel steamer USS *Mississippi*. Russia also acquired the advanced weaponry. Soon, wooden warships became more heavily armored as well to better resist the powerful impacts of high-explosive rounds.

mander capitulates at 8:00 the next morning, surrendering as well a corvette, two sloops, and three brigs moored beneath its walls. By midday on November 28, the French are in possession of San Juan de Ulúa, and Rincón—with the intervention of Santa Anna, who has arrived from his nearby Manga



Conclusion of the French bombardment of San Juan de Ulúa, engraving by James H. Kernott. (Author's Collection)

de Clavo Hacienda—agrees to a cessation of hostilities. Baudin's vessels are allowed to refresh their provisions ashore, French citizens are promised compensation, and the blockade is lifted for eight months to permit a diplomatic resolution to each nation's grievances.

NOVEMBER 30, 1838. When news of Rincón and Gaona's capitulation reaches Mexico City, an infuriated government orders both officers arrested and their agreement voided, followed by a vote declaring a state of war against France.

DECEMBER 3, 1838. This night, Santa Anna is informed near Veracruz of the Mexican government's declaration of war and that he is to command the 700–800 soldiers remaining in the port—out of a nominal garrison of 1,353 men—to resist the French invaders. The next morning, he informs Baudin of the rejection of the truce, and both leaders agree to refrain from hostilities until 8:00 a.m. on December 5.

DECEMBER 5, 1838. *Disembarkation.* During the night, the 36-year-old general Mariano Arista enters Veracruz, having ridden ahead of his 871-man relief column—which he has left encamped seven to eight miles away at Santa Fe—to consult with

Santa Anna. The latter orders this contingent to advance upon Veracruz's outlying town of Los Pocitos at dawn, and both commanders turn in at 2:00 a.m.

A few hours later, they are awakened by gunfire, as Baudin sweeps down upon Veracruz's waterfront in a three-pronged assault. Boatloads of marines and sailors occupy the Santiago and Concepción bastions at the city's southeastern and northwestern corners, spiking the few guns, while other French forces advance from the wharf upon its main square. Santa Anna narrowly escapes from his headquarters at Coliseo and Damas streets, but Arista is taken, surrendering his sword to the Prince of Joinville. Baudin then besieges Veracruz's garrison within its fortress-like barracks in La Merced Square, vainly firing upon its doors with small artillery pieces to gain entry. After an hour, the French decide to retreat, hoisting a white flag to call for a truce, which the Mexicans refuse to honor.

By 10:00 a.m., Baudin has fought his way back to the wharf with his wounded to begin the reembarkation. Santa Anna arrives at 11:00 a.m. with 200 men that he has hastily formed up into a company, only to receive a blast from a French fieldpiece covering the beach, which kills nine of his men and blows off his left leg below the knee, as well as a finger off his right hand. Baudin, having suffered

8 killed and 60 wounded during his foray ashore, retires to his warships and continues bombarding Veracruz for another two hours. The Mexicans retreat out of their devastated city this afternoon, taking up positions in the dunes beyond.

DECEMBER 16, 1838. With passions at last beginning to cool on both sides, Baudin dismisses part of his blockading squadron from before Veracruz.

DECEMBER 22, 1838. Richard Pakenham, the 41-year-old British ambassador to Mexico, arrives at Veracruz to mediate the Franco-Mexican dispute. He is joined four days later by Vice Adm. Sir Charles Paget with his 74-gun flagship *Cornwallis* under Capt. Sir Richard Grant and the *Edinburgh* under William Honyman Henderson; the frigates *Madagascar* (46 guns) under Provo William Perry Wallis, 36-gun *Pique* under Edward Boxer, 28-gun *Andro-*

make under Robert Lambert Baynes, and 26-gun *Vestal* under Thomas Wren Carter; the 18-gun sloops *Rover* under Cmdr. Thomas Matthew Charles Symonds, *Modeste* under Harry Eyres, and *Racehorse* under Henry William Craufurd; as well as the 16-gun sloops *Snake* under Alexander Milne and *Ringdove* under Acting Cmdr. Keith Stewart.

After consulting for a few days with Baudin, the British agree to withdraw part of their squadron so as to leave it on par with the French. Pakenham then departs inland on January 8, 1839, for Mexico City, eventually arranging a meeting between Baudin and the Mexican delegates Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza and Guadalupe Victoria for March 7.

MARCH 9, 1839. Mexican and French representatives sign a peace treaty whereby the former agrees to pay the 600,000-peso compensation, while the latter restores San Juan de Ulúa to Mexican control.

ROSAS'S CAMPAIGNS (1838–1852)

In March 1835, the arch-conservative Juan Manuel de Rosas returns to the governorship of Buenos Aires, establishing a harsh dictatorship as a reaction to decades of anarchy and strife endured by the young republic. His rule is maintained by a large standing army and a paramilitary organization called the *Mazorca* to combat both external and internal foes.

EARLY MARCH 1838. The French vice consul in Buenos Aires submits a list of diplomatic complaints to Rosas, who in turn presents him with his traveling-papers to quit the country. However, the French representative travels only as far as Montevideo, where he boards the squadron of Rear Adm. Louis Leblanc.

MARCH 24, 1838. *French Blockade.* The French vice consul reappears off Buenos Aires with Leblanc's squadron, once more submitting his government's complaints to Rosas. When the latter refuses to deal, a blockade is imposed four days later.

JUNE 15, 1838. The ex-president of Uruguay, Fructuoso Rivera, invades his homeland from Brazil with a volunteer army (one-third being Argentine exiles). At El Palmar, he defeats his Blanco Party rival Manuel Oribe, forcing him back inside Montevideo.

OCTOBER 11, 1838. Eight French warships from Leblanc's blockading squadron cover the disembarkation of a Uruguayan flotilla on Martín García Island, whose 125-man Argentine garrison under Lt. Col. Jerónimo Costa is quickly subdued.

OCTOBER 23, 1838. Rivera's siege of Montevideo concludes when Oribe agrees to capitulate, setting sail for Buenos Aires two days later. Rivera's temporary new administration—he is not officially elected president of Uruguay until March 1, 1839—includes many Argentine exiles who are enemies of Rosas.

DECEMBER 31, 1838. In addition to his French support, Rivera also signs an alliance against Rosas with the 34-year-old governor Genaro Berón de Astrada of the inland province of Corrientes (Argentina).

JANUARY 20, 1839. Governor Berón de Astrada of Corrientes throws off Rosas's rule.



Manuel Oribe. (Museo Histórico, Montevideo)

FEBRUARY 24, 1839. Uruguay's president Rivera officially declares war against Rosas, seconded four days later by Governor Berón de Astrada of the Corrientes Province.

MARCH 31, 1839. *Pago Largo.* Rebel governor Berón de Astrada quits his Ávalos base camp near San Roque (northwest of Goya, Argentina), heading southeast toward Mocoretá in hopes of uniting with his Uruguayan ally Rivera. Instead, a loyal Rosist army under 42-year-old governor Pascual Echagüe of Entre Ríos Province quickly marches north from Calá (east of Tala) to intercept him before this juncture can be effected.

Learning of his approach, Berón de Astrada withdraws to Pago Largo Ranch, near Santa Elena southwest of Curuzú Cuatiá, bracing his 4,500 riders, 450 infantrymen, and three fieldpieces to receive his opponent's onslaught. Echagüe attacks with 5,500 cavalrymen, 360 foot soldiers, and two guns. His right wing, under 37-year-old Justo José Urquiza, defeats Olazábal's rebel division opposite, then swings behind the loyal army to help scatter Berón de Astra-

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da's other flank under Brig. Gen. José V. Ramírez. At a cost of 55 dead and 104 injured, Echagüe's Rosist forces massacre 2,000 rebels—a huge disparity because of all the wounded and prisoners who are summarily executed as traitors, including Berón de Astrada himself.

JULY 2, 1839. Rosas's rival Lavalle returns from 10 years of exile in Uruguay, leading 160 volunteers ashore from a French flotilla out of Montevideo to occupy the Argentine island of Martín García.

LATE JULY 1839. Echagüe invades western Uruguay from Entre Ríos Province with 5,000 Argentine troops. Rivera warily circles these invaders from a distance with his mounted irregulars.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1839. Escorted by French vessels, Lavalle sails up the Uruguay River and disembarks his 800 men a dozen miles south of Guleguaychú (Argentina) to raise an anti-Rosas revolt.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1839. *Yeruá.* Finding little anti-Rosas sentiment at Guleguaychú, Lavalle's small army marches north to Villaguay, then east toward Concordia, accompanied by a French flotilla in the Uruguay River. On the south side of Yeruá Creek, his 800 men are intercepted by 1,600 Rosist militia advancing from Nogoyá under the acting provincial governor, Col. Vicente Zapata.

Lavalle advances into battle in four lines, driving into Zapata's center before fanning out right and left, thus scattering his more numerous opponents.

OCTOBER 25, 1839. Lavalle safely reaches the anti-Rosist territory around Corrientes, camping at Ombú, 18 miles northeast of Curuzú Cuatiá, to be joined by Brigadier General Ferré and other rebels.

OCTOBER 29, 1839. A group of wealthy landowners revolts against Rosas, beginning at Dolores, southeast of Buenos Aires.

NOVEMBER 5, 1839. *Chascomús.* The Argentine rebel Pedro Castelli leads 4,000 followers north from Dolores, while three loyal Rosist columns converge upon his small army: Col. Vicente González from Monte, Col. Nicolás Granada from Tapalqué, and Col. Prudencio Rosas from Azul.

On November 6, Castelli camps on the northeastern shores of Chascomús Lagoon, east of the town of the same name, expecting to confront González's

contingent. Instead, he is surprised the next day by Prudencio Rosas's 1,300 regular troops and defeated after three hours of confused fighting. Some 500 rebels are either killed or captured, Castelli figuring among the fallen, his head being exhibited upon a pike. Another 800 succeed in escaping to Montevideo aboard French ships, where they eventually join Lavalle's anti-Rosas army.

DECEMBER 29, 1839. *Cagancha.* After closing in upon Montevideo in early November, Echagüe finally brings Rivera to battle northwest of the capital at Cagancha, on the banks of the San José River. The Uruguayans muster 4,000 riders, 800 infantrymen, and 10 fieldpieces, compared to slightly less than 5,000 Argentine invaders with 4 cannon.

Echagüe's cavalry wings, commanded by Urquiza and Lavalleja, engage in a freewheeling series of clashes, retreats, and pursuits, leaving the Argentine infantry to receive the brunt of Rivera's 1,500-man counterattack and be defeated. Echagüe retreats from the field, having lost 480 dead and 1,000 prisoners, compared to 323 Uruguayans killed and 190 injured. Both sides furthermore lose hundreds of stray units and individual deserters, as the Argentines retire toward Entre Ríos Province.

MARCH 9, 1840. Lavalle returns to the Yeruá battlefield with greater numbers after his excursion into northern Argentina, and one week later he strikes west-southwest in search of the Rosist general Echagüe.

MARCH 26, 1840. A 150-man rebel detachment from Lavalle's army under Col. Mariano Vera is annihilated at Cayastá Creek north of Santa Fe (Argentina) by Rosist commander Juan Pablo López.

APRIL 10, 1840. *Don Cristóbal.* Lavalle's 3,400-man, two-gun rebel army comes upon 4,500 Rosists and a half-dozen fieldpieces under Echagüe, dug in between Don Cristóbal Creek and the Montiel Jungle southeast of Paraná, Argentina. Although preferring to commence action the next day, Lavalle is attacked this same afternoon by Echagüe's left wing, which is beaten back by a rebel cavalry counterattack. Darkness brings a halt to these confused proceedings, and the Rosists retire overnight, a few hundred casualties having been sustained on both sides.

JULY 15, 1840. *Sauce Grande.* The rebel commander Lavalle resumes his slow progression toward

the city of Paraná (Argentina). He again encounters Echagüe's 4,500 Rosists and eight fieldpieces barring his path, this time at an encampment on the banks of Sauce Grande Creek, 20 miles southeast of this city. The advancing 3,400 rebels drive in Echagüe's pickets, then Lavalle uses his longer-range artillery to pound the Rosist lines, until his gunners run out of shells and night falls.

Hoping to resume the action at dawn of July 16, Lavalle must instead wait until midday, while a heavy fog burns off. His main effort sends 2,000 cavalrymen to drive in Echagüe's right wing, and although they defeat Urquiza's division, Oribe and Gómez's cavalry shift over from the Rosist left to contain this break. The rebel infantry then makes no headway against their counterparts in the center, and the battle ends with 500 rebel fatalities, as opposed to 150 Rosists.

Discouraged in his drive against Paraná, Lavalle veers westward, reaching the port of Diamante by nightfall to begin transferring his army out to Coronda Island, rejoining the French flotilla.

AUGUST 5, 1840. Having hurried down the Paraná, Lavalle's main body disembarks at San Pedro, while sending a smaller contingent ahead to Baradero. His 2,700 troopers and 300 infantrymen, with four fieldpieces, then reunite and advance southwest into Arrecifes, commandeering mounts along the way. After a brief respite, Colonel Videla leads one rebel column through Carmen de Areco before rejoining Lavalle's main body on August 19 at Guardia de Luján to press on together against Rosas's capital of Buenos Aires.

AUGUST 23, 1840. A 600-man rebel cavalry patrol under Colonel Vega drives 700–800 Rosist troopers under Commander Lorea out of Navarro, chasing them as far as Lobos before rejoining Lavalle at Guardia de Luján.

AUGUST 29, 1840. Lavalle hesitantly resumes his advance upon nearby Buenos Aires from Guardia de Luján, concerned by a lack of local support and the apparent strength of Rosas's garrison (greatly exaggerated through false intelligence reports). Five days later, at Cañada de la Paja—near the Morales Creek headwaters, three miles southwest of the capital—his 400-man cavalry vanguard easily scatters 200 Rosist troopers, then takes Merlo by September 5. At this point, Lavalle halts his army, convinced it is too weak to successfully storm Buenos Aires, so the

next day he reverses direction to instead attack the inland city of Santa Fe.

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1840. Having learned that Corrientes has signed an alliance with the Uruguayan leader Rivera and begun to raise troops under the Argentine fugitive Paz, Rosist general Echagüe strikes across the Paraná with 5,000 troops. Paz resorts to a guerrilla campaign with his 3,000 followers, and Echagüe retires back across the river one month later.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1840. Having invaded Rioja Province to reimpose Rosist rule over the uncooperative “Northern Coalition”—which consists of this Argentine province plus Tucumán, Salta, Jujuy, and Catamarca—General Aldao’s 400-man vanguard is defeated at Pampa Redonda (also called Salinas, 90 miles south of the city of Rioja) by General Lamadrid, compelling Aldao to retire into Cuyo.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1840. Lavalle’s subordinate, Gen. Tomás de Iriarte, approaches Santa Fe with a 1,000-man vanguard, clashing with its 700 Rosist defenders under General Garzón. The latter capitulates two days later, upon the approach of the main rebel army.

OCTOBER 29, 1840. The signing of the Arana-Mackau Treaty puts an end to France’s differences with Rosas, the former being granted all their demands. In exchange, the naval blockade is lifted, and Martín García Island is restored to Argentina; Uruguay and the rebels, therefore, are left to fight on alone.

NOVEMBER 28, 1840. *Quebracho Herrado.* After a gruelling nine-day march to Romero in Córdoba Province (Argentina), Lavalle’s 4,250 rebel cavalymen—1,200 being on foot—350 infantrymen, and four fieldpieces are overtaken and attacked at Quebracho Herrado by 2,000 Rosist riders. The latter prove to be merely the vanguard of Oribe’s 4,900 cavalymen, 1,600 infantrymen, and five guns, which charge the rebel left wing repeatedly before finally breaking through, disintegrating Lavalle’s line. Through logistical error, the rebel artillery only has a few rounds, so this rout goes completely unchecked. At a cost of 36 dead and 50 wounded, Oribe kills 1,500 rebels and captures another 500, along with all their artillery and baggage trains. Devastated, Lavalle and Lamadrid retreat northwestward with 1,500 survivors.

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JANUARY 19, 1841. *Sancala.* Colonel Videla’s 1,500 rebels and two fieldpieces, resting at Sancala (50 miles west-northwest of Córdoba, Argentina), are surprised at dawn by Gen. Ángel Pacheco’s 1,100 Rosists. At least 400 rebels are killed and several dozen others captured, while the remainder disperses.

MARCH 20, 1841. After a successful guerrilla campaign, Col. Mariano Acha’s 400 rebel troopers are surprised at Machigasta (Argentina) by Gen. Nazario Benavídez’s Rosist forces and dispersed.

MAY 24, 1841. With the withdrawal of the French blockade, Admiral Brown sorties from Buenos Aires with an Argentine squadron to bottle up the smaller Uruguayan Navy—under a hired American commodore named John H. Coe—inside Montevideo. On May 24, Coe emerges and encounters Brown three miles south of the Uruguayan capital, engaging from 10:00 a.m. until sunset, when he returns into port. Both the Uruguayan flagship *Sarandí* and the *Pereyra* sustain some damage, whereas the *Montevideano* is unable to regain port and is beached the next morning to prevent its capture. The next night, May 25–26, the crew of the Uruguayan schooner *Palmar* mutinies and carries their vessel into Buenos Aires.

JUNE 20, 1841. The rebel governor Brizuela is killed at Sañogasta, 45 miles west of the Argentine city of Rioja, when his 600 troopers are defeated by Rosist general Benavídez.

AUGUST 3, 1841. On this afternoon, Coe’s Uruguayan squadron sorties and has a three-hour confrontation with Brown’s Argentine warships, five miles south of Montevideo. Action ends at nightfall; the Uruguayan schooner *Rivera* collides with another vessel while reentering port and is lost.

AUGUST 13, 1841. *Angaco.* Having captured the Argentine city of San Juan, Colonel Acha sorties with 500 troopers to confront the 2,100 Rosists approaching in diverse contingents under Aldao and Benavídez. Three days later, 20 miles northwest of this city at Angaco, he surprises and defeats 400 advance riders under Benavídez, prompting Aldao to lead his 600 cavalymen and 700 infantrymen on a forced march through the desert to engage him.

Although outnumbering the rebels, the Rosist general’s initial cavalry charges against Acha’s flanks prove too feeble to be effective, and when his infan-

try also becomes embroiled, it soon has to form a defensive square. Eventually, the attackers suffer 1,000 killed and 157 captured, as opposed to only 200 dead among Acha's ranks.

Despite this brilliant feat of arms on August 16, the rebel colonel is in turn surprised two days later on the outskirts of San Juan by Benavidez, whose 700 men smash into Acha's 250-man force and drive it to seek shelter inside nearby buildings. Eventually, the colonel and 100 survivors surrender on August 22; Acha is then executed and beheaded in San Luis Province on September 15.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1841. Having chased Benavidez out of San Juan, rebel general Lamadrid occupies the city of Mendoza (Argentina), then a couple of weeks later sorties 15 miles eastward to await Pacheco's approaching Rosist army at Rodeo del Medio.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1841. Rosist general Echagüe marches out of Villaguay with 5,000 men to invade the rebel Corrientes Province.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1841. *Famaillá.* After a lengthy pursuit through Tucumán Province, Lavalle's 1,300 rebel riders, 70 infantrymen, and three fieldpieces are overtaken by General Oribe's 1,700 Rosist cavalrymen, 700 infantrymen, and three cannon. Although still having the Famaillá River as a barrier between them, Lavalle adopts the desperate expedient of crossing upstream overnight, positioning himself west of his opponent in hopes of gaining some advantage.

Although the initial Rosist cavalry charge against the rebel left is broken the next morning, the issue is nonetheless decided within an hour. The rebel army crumbles, suffering 600 killed and 480 captured, while Lavalle escapes into Jujuy with 200 riders.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1841. *Rodeo del Medio.* Lamadrid's 1,200 cavalrymen, 400 infantrymen, and nine fieldpieces are dug in three-quarters of a mile behind a swamp with a single bridge, which Pacheco's 1,200 cavalrymen, 1,800 infantrymen, and 10 guns are nonetheless able to cross, despite enemy artillery fire. Once in position, the cavalry on Pacheco's right are driven back by Álvarez's initial rebel charge, yet recover when several Rosist squadrons are shifted over from the left to contain this development.

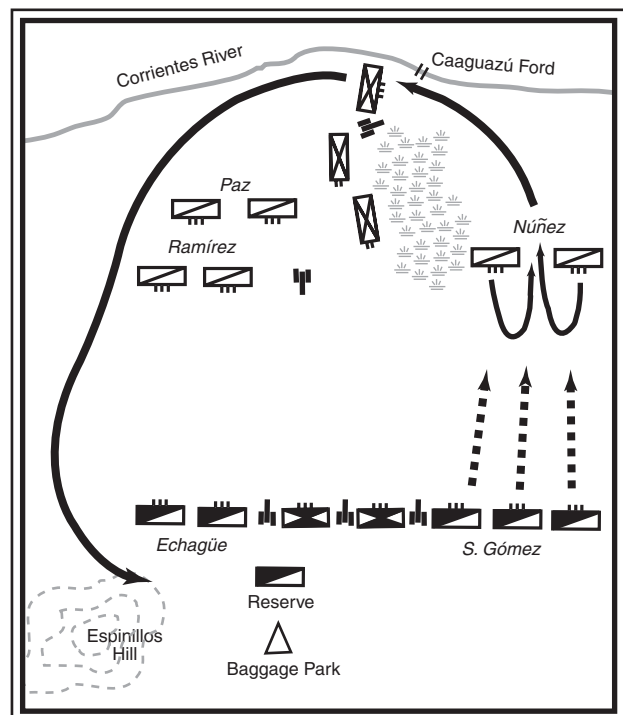
Meanwhile, Pacheco's left outflanks its rebel opponents, after which Lamadrid's outnumbered infantry are decimated by the Rosist troops opposite

them in the center. Only 18 Rosists are killed and 80 wounded, while the rebels suffer 400 casualties and another 300 captured before being driven from the field. Having lost all his artillery and baggage trains, Lamadrid flees across the Andes into Chile with 100 followers.

OCTOBER 9, 1841. Lavalle is killed in Jujuy by a chance round.

OCTOBER 28, 1841. Echagüe's Rosist army reaches Pago Largo, southwest of Curuzú Cuatiá, prompting rebel general Paz to retire north behind the Corrientes River and dig in to cover its Caaguazú Ford. The Rosists encamp opposite, six miles upstream, and both armies remain in proximity for the next month.

NOVEMBER 26, 1841. *Caaguazú.* Determined to break the stalemate with his Rosist opponent Echagüe, Paz slips across the Corrientes River after nightfall with approximately 5,000 men and a dozen fieldpieces. On the morning of November 27, he sends out a 500-man cavalry patrol but is discovered by Echagüe, who deploys his own 5,000 men and 12 guns to attack the rebels, whose backs are still to the river.



Battle of Caaguazú.

However, on the morning of November 28, the rebel left wing under Núñez launches an attack against the Rosist right, then deliberately retreats, drawing Gómez's counterattack into a bottleneck between the river and a nearby swamp. A carefully stationed infantry battalion and two cannon then allow the rebel cavalry to ride between them, opening up a withering fire upon their pursuers. While the Rosist right is thus being destroyed, Núñez continues in a sweeping arc far to the west, gradually outflanking Echagüe's left. When this formation begins to crumble, the Rosist center is doomed, Echagüe's army being destroyed and suffering 1,350 casualties, plus the capture of 800 men, nine guns, and all their supply trains.

DECEMBER 9, 1841. The Uruguayan squadron under Coe battles Brown's Argentine blockaders 15 miles south of Montevideo, this engagement ending after four hours when a storm blows up. The 12-gun, 106-man Uruguayan brigantine *Cagancha* is unable to regain port along with its consorts, so it is chased down the next day and captured off Ortiz Bank by the brigantine *Echagüe* under Capt. Joaquín Hidalgo.



Joaquín Hidalgo. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

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DECEMBER 15, 1841. Echagüe is replaced as Rosist governor of Entre Ríos Province by Urquiza.

DECEMBER 21, 1841. Uruguayan and Argentine warships exchange long-range volleys between Indio Point and Montevideo, this action ending indecisively after several hours.

JANUARY 11, 1842. After its Caaguazú victory, Paz's rebel army invades Entre Ríos Province.

JANUARY 20, 1842. Rivera crosses the Uruguay River with 2,500 troops, threatening to trap Urquiza's remaining 600 Rosists between himself and Paz. The loyal governor therefore evacuates Entre Ríos Province at Gualaguay, allowing the city of Paraná to fall into rebel hands.

MARCH 1842. Rather than pursue his advantage, rebel governor Ferré returns into Corrientes to demobilize his army; Paz does the same.

APRIL 1842. Rosist governor Benavídez of San Juan Province defeats the Argentine rebel Ángel Vicente "El Chacho" Peñaloza—who has invaded from Chile—at Cuesta de Miranda, nine miles south of Sañogasta.

APRIL 12, 1842. Rosist general Oribe defeats Juan Pablo López—now a rebel—at Coronda, then again at Aguirre Ford four days later, compelling the latter to retire into Corrientes.

MAY 1842. Oribe crosses the Paraná River near the city of this same name with 7,000 Rosist troops.

JUNE 26, 1842. The exiled Italian revolutionary Garibaldi, now the new commander of Rivera's navy, sweeps past Martín García Island with three small Uruguayan warships, exchanging shots with its Argentine garrison for two hours before disappearing up the Paraná River. His mission is to carry armaments into Corrientes Province and revive its flagging rebellion against Rosas.

JULY 18, 1842. The Argentine rebel Peñaloza is defeated once again by Rosist governor Benavídez, this time near Tucumán (Argentina).

JULY 19, 1842. Garibaldi's squadron clashes with an Argentine flotilla under Maj. Juan F. Seguí at

Bajada del Paraná but presses upriver nevertheless—little damage is sustained on either side.

AUGUST 15, 1842. At Costa Brava, opposite San Juan Creek on the borderline between Corrientes and Entre Ríos provinces, Garibaldi's Paraná incursion is brought to an end when his flotilla is overtaken by Brown's Argentine river squadron. Outnumbered, Giuseppe Garibaldi ties up his vessels and entrenches ashore, only to be defeated by a disembarkation force under Brown's subordinate, Lt. Mariano Cordero. The next day, his ammunition gone, Garibaldi blows up his *Constitución* and *Pereyra*, retiring north with the survivors and eventually regaining Montevideo overland.

OCTOBER 1842. At Paysandú (Argentina), Uruguayan president Rivera signs an alliance with the rebel governors Paz, Ferré, and Juan Pablo López.

DECEMBER 6, 1842. *Arroyo Grande.* After entering Entre Ríos Province on November 20 to bolster its anti-Rosas rebellion, President Rivera's 5,500 Uruguayan–Argentine cavalymen, 2,000 infantrymen, and 16 fieldpieces are confronted south of Concordia at Arroyo Grande by 6,500 Rosist troopers, 2,500 infantrymen, and 18 guns under his old political rival Oribe (see “June 15, 1838” entry). Brigadier General Urquiza commands the loyalist right wing, Ángel Pacheco, the center, and José María Flores, the left.

Their attack commences when Oribe's infantry advances upon Rivera's center, smashing through, thus splitting the Uruguayan–rebel army. Flores's cavalry then defeats and disperses its opponents on the left, while Urquiza's seesaw struggle on the right is eventually decided when the victorious Rosist infantry moves to his support, taking his opponents in the flank. Rivera is routed, suffering 2,000 killed and 1,400 prisoners, while being pitilessly chased back into Uruguay. Oribe only endures 300 total casualties, this disparity in losses being explained by the numerous executions carried out upon the battlefield. Urquiza occupies the city of Corrientes with a flying cavalry column, installing Dionisio Cabral as its new Rosist governor.

LATE DECEMBER 1842. Oribe advances into Uruguay with his victorious Rosist army, leading one contingent to besiege his former capital of Montevideo and detaching another to keep Rivera in check.

JANUARY 3, 1843. Brown's Argentine squadron sorties from Buenos Aires to begin blockading Montevideo in anticipation of the arrival of Oribe's besieging army.

JANUARY 7, 1843. An Argentine flotilla deposits 200 troops at Paysandú (Uruguay) before reversing course and penetrating eastward along the Negro River to support Oribe's approaching army.

JANUARY 15, 1843. The Argentine rebel Peñaloza is defeated by Rosist governor Benavídez in a clash at Illisca, 100 miles south of the city of La Rioja, then again two days later farther west at Saquilán.

JANUARY 29, 1843. Some 2,500 Argentine troops disembark and seize Colonia (Uruguay).

FEBRUARY 16, 1843. *Siege of Montevideo.* Oribe's Argentine army reaches Cerrito, three miles north of the Uruguayan capital, to institute a siege. This operation is complicated by the fact that most of the large foreign colony within Montevideo rallies to its defense: 2,000 Frenchmen under Col. Jean Thiebaut, 600 Italians under Colonel Garibaldi, plus 500 Argentine exiles under Eustaquio Díaz Vélez, swelling its garrison under General Paz to 7,000 men.

More importantly, the Royal Navy squadron of Commo. Brett Purvis—anchored in the harbor since January 7—refuses to allow Brown to blockade Montevideo and declares that any British-born subjects serving aboard Argentine warships (a significant percentage of their skilled seamen) will be condemned as traitors if caught in action against the Union Jack. This threat is sufficient to cause Brown's squadron to retire into port, rendering the ensuing Argentine land siege useless.

MARCH 10, 1843. Oribe's troops begin their first landward assaults against Montevideo's defenses.

MARCH 31, 1843. Joaquín Madariaga invades Corrientes Province from Rio Grande do Sul with 110 Argentine exiles, marching upon its capital while gathering up a host of adherents and deposing its Rosist governor. When Col. José Miguel Galán marches to the latter's relief with 1,600 Rosist troops, they are ambushed and defeated at Laguna Brava, 18 miles east of this capital, by 600 of Madariaga's rebel partisans.

LATE MARCH 1843. *Santa Lucía.* Having gathered 5,000 mounted irregulars on the banks of the

Santa Lucía River northwest of Montevideo, Uruguayan president Rivera is challenged by the approach of 4,000 Argentine cavalymen under Urquiza, supported by small contingents of infantry and artillery. Rather than give battle, the Uruguayans melt away, preferring to employ guerrilla tactics against the invaders.

MAY 8, 1843. The Argentine rebel Peñaloza is defeated by Rosist governor Benavídez at Leoncito, 75 miles northwest of the city of San Juan, prompting him to recross the Andes into Chile.

JUNE 1843. London having disavowed Purvis's threats against the Argentine Navy (see "February 16, 1843" entry), Brown sorties from Buenos Aires and imposes a blockade against Montevideo.

DECEMBER 1843. The Argentine rebel Madariaga invades Entre Ríos Province from Corrientes with 4,500 troops, hoping to depose its Rosist governor Garzón and thereby create difficulties in the rear of Oribe's and Urquiza's armies, which are fighting in Uruguay. On December 30, Madariaga crosses to the east side of the Uruguay River, seizing Salto—which has been abandoned the previous night by its Rosist garrison—and presenting this prize to Rivera.

JANUARY 17, 1844. Some 2,000 Argentine rebel riders from Corrientes Province endure an indecisive clash with 1,300 Rosist troops under Governor Garzón at Arroyo Grande (Entre Ríos Province); action concludes at nightfall.

JANUARY 24, 1844. *Arroyo Sauce.* After an arduous three-day ride, Urquiza's Argentine cavalry column disperses 3,000 Uruguayan irregulars gathered at Sauce Creek under Rivera.

FEBRUARY 15, 1844. Two battalions sally from beleaguered Montevideo, damaging Oribe's Argentine siege works.

MARCH 28, 1844. Gen. Venancio Flores succeeds in breaking the Argentine siege lines around Montevideo with 2,000 men and four fieldpieces.

APRIL 24, 1844. *Arroyo Pantanoso.* Garrison commander Paz attempts to break Oribe's siege of Montevideo, committing 7,800 troops to a surprise three-pronged assault against the encircling lines.

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His plan is to cut off Pacheco's Argentine contingent holding the commanding 400-foot Cerro Hill across the bay, then annihilate Oribe's reserves near Arroyo Pantanoso or "Swampy Creek" as they hasten to the rescue. Instead, Paz's operation breaks down, the 2,000 men sent by boat to outflank Pacheco disembarking so noisily as to forewarn the enemy, after which the main body of infantry falls back into the city at the mere threat of an Argentine cavalry charge.

JULY 4, 1844. General Paz resigns as Montevideo's garrison commander, emigrating to Rio de Janeiro.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1844. Capt. Philip F. Voorhees of the 52-gun, 1,867-ton frigate USS *Congress* seizes the Argentine blockading vessels *9 de Julio*, *Americano*, and *25 de Mayo* off Montevideo for having fired upon an American merchantman that he is convoying. (Voorhees will be court-martialed the next year for this action, eventually being restored to his full rank by President James K. Polk.)

MARCH 27, 1845. *India Muerta.* After patiently stalking his opponent, Argentine general Urquiza finally surprises Rivera's 3,000 mounted irregulars at India Muerta Creek south of Mirim Lagoon with his own slightly smaller contingent of troopers. With their first charge, the attackers drive in the Uruguayan left and center, and Urquiza commits his reserve against their right, turning the battle into a rout. Rivera suffers 400 killed and 500 captured, along with the loss of his supply train; he retires northward into the safety of Brazil's Rio Grande do Sul Province.

APRIL 18, 1845. The British plenipotentiary Robert Gore Ouseley and French representative Pierre Lemoine, Baron Deffaudis, reach Buenos Aires, jointly laying their respective governments' protests before Rosas—in particular, complaining against the protracted siege of Montevideo, which affects their citizens' commercial interests. The Argentine dictator refuses to oblige, so the diplomats withdraw.

LATE JUNE 1845. Argentine rebel Juan Pablo López invades Santa Fe Province from Corrientes with 700 troopers to raise an anti-Rosas revolt. By the time he reaches the town of Andino north of Santa Fe, López's numbers have swelled to 1,500—including 600 Indian warriors—and he pulverizes a Rosist force that has sallied under Santa Coloma.

JULY 6, 1845. López's Argentine rebels fight their way into the city of Santa Fe, while Rosist governor Echagüe awaits reinforcements from Argentina.

JULY 22, 1845. *Anglo-French Intervention.* Off Montevideo, a combined British and French squadron under Commo. Sir Thomas Sabine Pasley of the 36-gun, 1,000-ton *Curaçao* seizes Brown's Argentine blockaders, then hands these vessels over to the Uruguayans. The prisoners are paroled by their captors on condition that they will not take up arms against the Anglo-French entente.

AUGUST 12, 1845. After chasing the Argentine rebel López out of Santa Fe, Governor Echagüe's 3,000 Rosists overtake López's army at San Jerónimo or Mal Abrigo, inflicting a stinging defeat that drives this force even farther north.

AUGUST 31, 1845. *Garibaldi's Incursion.* Having gone aboard the three Argentine prizes seized by the Anglo-French squadron, Colonel Garibaldi sets sail from Montevideo with 700 Italian volunteers, 200 Uruguayan infantrymen under the 35-year-old colonel Lorenzo Batlle, and 100 cavalymen to re-occupy nearby Colonia.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1845. Garibaldi's flotilla seizes the Argentine island of Martín García before proceeding up the Uruguay River.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1845. The British and French announce a blockade of Argentina's shorelines along the River Plate.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1845. Having advanced up the Uruguay River, Garibaldi's 1,000 Italian and Uruguayan troops disembark and sack Gualeguaychú (Argentina).

LATE OCTOBER 1845. Garibaldi seizes Salto (Uruguay), remaining for a few months with his small army while skirmishing against local Argentine units under Urquiza, Díaz, and Servando Gómez.

Eventually, the Italian adventurer's depleted forces are confronted on February 8, 1846, at San Antonio Chico Creek outside Salto by 250 infantrymen and 1,000 riders under Gómez. Garibaldi's outnumbered legionnaires entrench themselves in a derelict tannery called Tapera de Don Venancio, while his cavalry under Col. Bernardino Baez begins the clash at noon with a charge into the enemy ranks, only to

Giuseppe Garibaldi

Giuseppe Garibaldi was born on July 4, 1807, in Nice, an Italian seaport conquered 15 years earlier by France. The second son from a family of Ligurian fishermen and coastal traders, young Giuseppe was raised for the sea. At the age of 14, he was enrolled in the Genoese maritime school and obtained his merchant captain license by 1832. The next April, he was anchored in the Russian Black Sea port of Taganrog with his schooner *Clorinda*. In a dockside tavern, he met the political exile Giovanni Battista Cuneo, who persuaded Garibaldi to join the *Giovine Italia* or "Young Italy" movement. This secret society was formed to free the fractured Italian states from Austrian domination.

In November 1833, Garibaldi met the equally passionate Giuseppe Mazzini in the Swiss border city of Geneva. Mazzini advocated Italian unification into a liberal republic. Garibaldi joined his *Carbonari* revolutionary movement. When Mazzini attempted a revolt in the Piedmont district in February 1834, it failed. Garibaldi was among those sentenced to death in absentia by a Genoese court, so he fled to Marseilles and then on to Tunisia by March 1835.

The next year, he set sail for Brazil under an assumed name. Disembarking in its southernmost province of Rio Grande do Sul, Garibaldi gathered some 50 fellow Italian exiles and, in the summer of 1837, joined its ongoing Farroupilha Revolt against Brazilian imperial rule. A couple of years later, he also started to help Uruguay resist the Argentine dictator Rosas, leaving the Farroupilha to take up residence in besieged Montevideo by 1841. At first he supported himself by trading and teaching mathematics, but by the next summer he was entrusted with command of the city's small naval squadron.

His fame was attained when Montevideo became closely invested by Oribe's Argentine army in February 1843. Garibaldi quickly raised 600 volunteers, known as the "Italian Legion," to help in its defense. Their black flag represented Italy in mourning, with a depiction of Mount Vesuvius to symbolize its dormant strength. Garibaldi uniformed his legionnaires with a consignment of bright red shirts, originally intended for delivery to the Buenos Aires slaughterhouses.

become dispersed. Garibaldi's Italians then successfully fend off repeated assaults until midnight, inflicting a couple hundred casualties while suffering 100 of their own. Retiring into Salto, news of his victory is smuggled into beleaguered Montevideo, so heartening its defenders that he is promoted to general on February 16 for his efforts.

NOVEMBER 8, 1845. *Paraná River Offensive.*

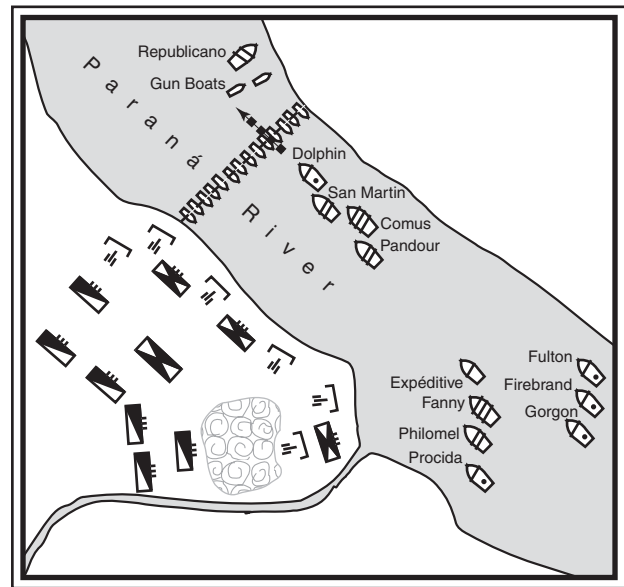
Having been instructed by their home governments to establish free navigation up the Paraná—which Rosas has long stifled out of Argentine self-interest and commercial animosity against Paraguay as well as the hinterlands of Uruguay and Brazil—an Anglo-French expedition departs Martín García Island. The force includes shallow-draft vessels capable of driving past the Argentine batteries installed about 60 miles below Rosario, north of the town of San Pedro and south of Ramallo, at Vuelta de Obligado (literally, “Obligatory Turn”).

Cmdr. Bartholomew James Sullivan aboard the 8-gun, 428-ton *Philomel* leads the 6-gun, 1,100-ton English paddle steamers *Gorgon* under Flag Capt. Charles Hotham and *Firebrand* under James Hope; the 18-gun, 492-ton sloop *Comus* under Acting Cmdr. Edward Augustus Inglefield; the 3-gun, 318-ton *Dolphin* under Lt. Reginald Thomas Jonathan Levinge; and the 1-gun Argentine prize schooner *Fanny* under Lt. Astley Cooper Key. The French squadron consists of the 2-gun, 650-ton paddle steamer *Fulton* under Lieutenant Mazères; the 8-gun, 200-ton Argentine prize *San Martin* under François Thomas Tréhouart; the 16-gun sloop *Expéditive* under Lieutenant Miniac; the 10-gun *Pandour* of Lieutenant Duparc; and the 4-gun Argentine prize *Procida* under Lieutenant de la Rivière. This flotilla is carrying an additional 70 Royal Marines under Capt. Thomas Hurdle, plus three fieldpieces.

NOVEMBER 11, 1845. The rebel Argentine province of Corrientes signs a military alliance with Paraguay.

NOVEMBER 18, 1845. The Anglo-French expedition anchors two miles below the Argentine defenses at Vuelta de Obligado, Commander Sullivan and Lieutenant Mazères reconnoitering this position and finding it formidable: 24 large armed hulks held together across its half-mile width by triple chains; four batteries on the west bank; plus two gunboats and the schooner *Republicano* guarding the eastern bank. Mansilla, the Rosist general in charge, commands 2,500 troops—including two squadrons of cavalry, 600 infantry regulars, and 300 volunteer militiamen.

On the morning of November 20, Sullivan weighs anchor with the *Philomel*, the *Expéditive*, the *Fanny*, and the *Procida*, advancing past Tréhouart’s heavier division with the *San Martin*, the *Comus*, the *Pandour*, and the *Dolphin*. Hotham is to remain in reserve with the steamers *Gorgon*, *Firebrand*, and *Fulton*



Battle of Vuelta de Obligado.

until the chains have been burst, as they might foul his propellers. The *Dolphin* dashes directly upstream, drawing much of the Argentine fire until being passed by Tréhouart’s 100-man *San Martin*, after which all the attackers drop anchor opposite the batteries and return fire. Because of the strong current and faint breeze, most vessels struggle to reach their assigned positions. Ten Argentine fire vessels are released at 10:50 a.m., drifting harmlessly past the allies, at which point Hotham and Mazères join the action.

The *Republicano* is set on fire and abandoned by its crew at 11:30 a.m., blowing up three-quarters of an hour later. In the middle of the battle, Hope of the *Firebrand* leads three boatloads of men aboard the 16th hulk from shore, chopping through its cables to open a gap through which the *Fulton* passes, followed by the *Gorgon* and the *Firebrand*. From here, Hotham rakes the northern Argentine batteries, silencing them by 5:00 p.m. One hour later he sets 180 British seamen, 145 Royal Marines, and 135 French sailors ashore, who oblige the defenders to retreat—wounding Mansilla in the process, who is replaced by Col. Ramón Rodríguez. By the next morning, all the defenses have been occupied, at a cost of 24 dead and 72 wounded among the allied force. Rosist losses are 250 dead, 400 wounded, plus several hundred deserters or stragglers.

JANUARY 2, 1846. Rosist general Urquiza departs Concordia with 6,000 troops, marching north into Corrientes Province to defeat the Argentine rebel

Paz before the latter's 4,000-man, 14-gun army can be reinforced from Paraguay.

JANUARY 16, 1846. At Las Osamentas Creek northwest of Pago Largo, an advance contingent of Urquiza's troops surprise a rebel cavalry force after a nocturnal march, dispersing them.

JANUARY 20, 1846. Part of the Anglo-French expedition reaches Corrientes on the Paraná River, from where Hotham continues as far as the capital Asunción (Paraguay) aboard the French *Fulton*.

FEBRUARY 4, 1846. A 1,200-man rebel cavalry screen is scattered at Laguna Limpia northeast of Bella Vista by 600 Rosist troopers riding ahead of Urquiza's army. Among their prisoners is Juan Madariaga, brother to the rebel governor of Corrientes Province, who is released the next day with a peace proposal.

General Paz, however, is to be excluded from these negotiations, so Urquiza continues against his defensive positions at Ubajay (north-northwest of Loreto, south of the Paraná River). They are judged to be so large and impregnable, though, that Urquiza orders a full-scale retirement back toward Entre Ríos Province by February 12.

FEBRUARY 8, 1846. Garibaldi's small army, comprising four companies of his Italian Legion and some irregular cavalry under Col. Bernardino Báez, is overtaken on the banks of San Antonio Chico Creek by 1,200 Oribista pursuers under Gen. Servando Gómez and the Argentine colonels Cesareo Domínguez and Nicolás Granada. Garibaldi digs in around the abandoned Don Venancio tannery, successfully resisting after his cavalry is scattered by Gómez's opening charge at noon. The next day, Garibaldi resumes his retirement down the Salto River.

APRIL 2, 1846. The British *Philomel* fights its way past the new Argentine batteries installed at San Lorenzo on the Paraná River.

APRIL 4, 1846. Governor Madariaga demotes Paz as commander of the rebel forces in Corrientes Province.

MAY 16, 1846. Hotham assembles a convoy of 110 merchantmen at Bajada de Santa Fe, to be escorted down the Paraná past Rosas's Argentine batteries at San Lorenzo.

JUNE 4, 1846. Hotham's convoy works its way past the Argentine batteries at San Lorenzo, which are distracted by hidden rocket batteries installed on an uninhabited island by Lt. Lauchlan Bellingham Mackinnon of the *Alecto*. (As a reward for their services in reaching Paraguay, Hotham is eventually made Knight Commander of the Bath, while Tréhouart is promoted to rear admiral in February 1847.)

JULY 1846. The British plenipotentiary Thomas Samuel Hood reaches Buenos Aires to attempt to negotiate an end to Anglo-Argentine hostilities, only to be rebuffed by Rosas.

AUGUST 14, 1846. Governor Madariaga signs a treaty at Alcaraz with Rosist general Urquiza whereby the rebel Corrientes Province rejoins Rosas's rule on condition that it will not have to take part in the ongoing hostilities against Uruguay, England, or France. Paraguay's independence is also recognized by this document.

MAY 1847. English and French representatives reach Buenos Aires to renew attempts to reach a diplomatic solution with Rosas.

JULY 15, 1847. Britain lifts its blockade against Buenos Aires, leaving France to maintain its own.

OCTOBER 1847. President Rivera is driven out of Uruguay.

OCTOBER 20, 1847. Rosist general Urquiza once more invades Corrientes Province, departing his Calá base camp east of Tala with 6,000 troops. During his advance, Correntine colonel Nicanor Cáceres switches sides and joins these invaders on the border, as does Cmdr. Juan Verón at Mercedes and Col. Juan Francisco Soto at the Corrientes River.

NOVEMBER 27, 1847. *Vences.* At the small Vences Ranch, deep in the jungle 50 miles east-southeast of the city of Corrientes, the provincial governor Madariaga digs in with 4,100 riders, 900 infantrymen, and 12 fieldpieces—his army's morale being particularly low. Urquiza arrives to attack with 6,000 Rosist cavalrymen, 500 foot soldiers, and seven cannon.

A frontal assault by two infantry battalions, a cavalry squadron, and two guns under Rosist commander Francia ties down the Correntine defenders, allowing huge flanking movements to penetrate

the jungle on both sides and take Madariaga's followers by surprise. The effect of these cavalry columns pouring down upon the Correntine rear, plus enfilading salvos from a five-gun battery hidden in the trees, breaks the defenders' will and causes a wholesale flight. Some 500 Correntine soldiers are killed and another 2,100 captured, the rest dispersing into the jungle.

DECEMBER 14, 1847. Urquiza installs the 35-year-old general Benjamín Virasoro in the capital of Corrientes as its new Rosist governor.

JUNE 15, 1848. France lifts its blockade of Buenos Aires.

NOVEMBER 24, 1849. Britain signs a peace treaty with Rosas.

AUGUST 31, 1850. Admiral Lapredour signs a peace treaty with Rosas on behalf of the French government.

APRIL 5, 1851. Following Rosas's election to a fourth term as president, and amid growing fears about Buenos Aires's domination over the rest of Argentina, Governor Urquiza of Entre Ríos Province contacts other leaders about a possible revolt.

MAY 1, 1851. Urquiza proclaims Entre Ríos Province to be in open rebellion against the Rosas dictatorship.

MAY 29, 1851. At Montevideo, Urquiza signs a military alliance with Brazil and Uruguay, promising to help the latter in their ongoing war against Oribe's 14,000 troops, which, thanks to support from Rosas, hold most of that country (except for its capital city).

JULY 26, 1851. *Uruguayan Campaign.* Urquiza begins mustering 7,500 troops near Paysandú and then, two days later, crosses the Uruguay River to attack Oribe from the rear. He is soon joined by Rosist deserters and Uruguayan patriots, bringing his strength up to 9,000 men.

AUGUST 16, 1851. From Buenos Aires, Rosas officially declares war against Brazil for its intervention in Argentine affairs.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1851. Having encountered no opposition in Uruguay, Urquiza reaches the town of

Europe's Year of Revolutions

The Sicilian city of Palermo exploded into revolt on January 12, 1848. Crop failures, food shortages, and unemployment were the spark. Yet anger had also been brewing in the kingdoms of Europe for decades, with calls for social and political reforms. Industrial innovations had already changed many workers' lives, while new ideals such as liberalism and socialism were being raised in the popular press. Inspired by the Sicilians, an uprising ensued in Paris on February 22. Within two days, King Louis Philippe fled to England, after which a French Republic was proclaimed.

Revolution spread into Hungary, Bohemia, the Rhineland, and most of Central and Eastern Europe by March 1848. Vienna, Berlin, Milan, Venice, and every other city with more than 100,000 residents had some kind of violent uprising. Among the agitators adding to these upheavals was 29-year-old Karl Marx, whose *Communist Manifesto* was published in German on February 21. Most monarchs agreed to concessions, gathering delegates to begin constitutional change. But when so many diverse groups were involved, they soon fell out along class or ethnic lines. Urban working-class revolutionaries enacted radical socialist measures, which were rejected by the middle class or rural peasantry. Proposals for unifying the scores of German, Austrian, or Italian principalities were resisted by regional factions.

The anarchy unleashed by this revolutionary wave led to disenchantment. A conservative assembly was elected in France as early as June 1848, which sent troops into the streets of Paris to crush dissent. The Habsburg emperor reimposed his rule over his Austrian and Italian territories, while King Friedrich Wilhelm IV dissolved his Prussian "Constituent Assembly" by December. Although some reforms such as voting privileges were retained, no real gains were achieved. The year 1848 would be remembered as the "Year of Revolutions" or the "Spring of Nations."

Thousands of rebels fled, joining the millions of poor migrants leaving Europe for the New World. They settled in Argentina, Brazil, and the United States, bringing their beliefs into their new countries.

Durazno, while a 16,000-man Brazilian army crosses the frontier from Santana do Livramento to join him.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1851. Urquiza's huge army contacts Oribe, and after almost a month of negotiations, the latter capitulates at Pantanoso on October 8, bringing the Uruguayan civil war to a close. His Argentine followers are incorporated into Urquiza's

ranks, while the Uruguayans agree to serve the government in Montevideo.

DECEMBER 17, 1851. An 11-vessel Brazilian river squadron under Adm. John Greenfield fights its way past General Mansilla's 1,500 Rosist defenders and 16 guns at Tonelero (north of San Pedro, on the Paraná River), disembarking the 1st Brazilian Division to establish a beachhead.

Shortly thereafter, 5,000 of Urquiza's cavalymen also cross farther upriver from his base camp at Diamante to pave the way for his main body. No opposition is encountered.

DECEMBER 28, 1851. Urquiza's main army begins embarking at Diamante, traveling down the Paraná River to land and reassemble at Espinillo, between Rosario and San Lorenzo, by January 8, 1852.

JANUARY 10, 1852. Urquiza's "Aquino" Division—formerly under Oribe in Uruguay (*see* "September 13, 1851" entry)—mutinies and kills its officers at Espinillo, fleeing into Santos Lugares to rejoin Rosas.

JANUARY 15, 1852. Urquiza departs Espinillo, beginning his offensive against Buenos Aires. Three

days later, his army traverses Medio Creek, encountering no resistance from Rosist forces, who continue to fall back as the invaders gain Pergamino, Chivilcoy, Luján, and Márquez Bridge (over the Conchas—the modern Reconquista—River).

JANUARY 31, 1852. A 3,000-man cavalry detachment under Juan Pablo López clashes with 3,500 Rosist troopers under Col. Hilario Lagos at Álvarez Fields, six miles west of Márquez Bridge, killing 200 and capturing a similar number before the latter retire into Santos Lugares.

FEBRUARY 3, 1852. Caseros. At long last, Rosas decides to make a stand just southwest of Buenos Aires at the Caseros's family estate, on the banks of Morón Creek (modern grounds of the National Military College), with 12,000 cavalymen, 10,000 infantry, and 1,000 gunners and auxiliaries manning 56 artillery pieces. Urquiza traverses this creek during the morning with his own slightly larger army of 28,150 Argentines, Uruguayans, and Brazilians, and after drawing up in battle array, personally leads a devastating charge at 9:00 a.m. by 10,000 riders from his right wing. They destroy Rosas's left and consume his reserves during a vain attempt to check this onslaught.



Battle of Caseros. (Ministerio da Defesa, Brazil)

Although the Rosist right and Brigadier General Díaz's infantry and Chilavert's batteries resist tenaciously, the rest of this army disintegrates, leaving Urquiza triumphant by early afternoon. Wounded in one hand, Rosas flees from the battlefield, his army having suffered 1,500 casualties and 7,000 prisoners, plus the loss of all its artillery, provisions, and equipment. Urquiza's losses are 600 dead and wounded; the next day he designates Vicente López y Planes as governor of Buenos Aires, and will parade his army through its streets by February 20.

Following his defeat and resignation from office, Rosas flees into the British Embassy in Buenos Aires on the same evening of this battle, with his daughter Manuelita; Ambassador Robert Gore conducts them aboard the man-of-war *Centaur* in the harbor. The fallen despot is transferred shortly thereafter aboard the *Conflict* and sails with some loyal retainers a few days later for England, living out the remaining 25 years of his life as an exile at Southampton. His dictatorial methods and restrictive economic policies, which initially maintained his regime, in the end hastened its fall.

SIMMERING CONFRONTATIONS (1839–1844)

Minor outbursts continue to erupt throughout Central and South America—especially in Mexico, which is gripped by worsening political anarchy after its recent humiliation at the hands of France, while still feebly attempting to reconquer its lost province of Texas.

MAY 18, 1839. Angered by the centralist tendencies and increased taxation imposed by the Mexico City government, a brief revolt occurs in the state of Jalisco and is quickly suppressed.

MAY 29, 1839. Another anticentralist uprising erupts in Yucatán, where a leader called Santiago Imán besieges the town of Tizimín until November 11, before finally carrying this place. After a month-long occupation, his followers are dispersed eastward into the jungles.

FEBRUARY 17, 1840. Rebel colonel Sebastián López de Llergo arrives outside Yucatán's capital of Mérida and is allowed inside three days later by the defection of Col. Anastasio Torrens's garrison at the San Benito Barracks. This juncture of López de Llergo and Torrens so emboldens the separatist cause that the state legislature soon after severs relations with Mexico City.

APRIL 2, 1840. A small separatist expedition appears out of Yucatán under López de Llergo and Imán, blockading and laying siege to Campeche's centralist garrison. The defenders request terms by June 6, capitulating 10 days afterward.

JULY 15, 1840. At 2:00 a.m., Gen. Juan José Urrea—incarcerated in Mexico City's old Inquisi-

torial headquarters for abetting the French cause during the recent "War of the Cakes"—is broken out of confinement, then leads troops from the 5th Battalion and *Comercio* Militia Regiment in an assault against Anastasio Bustamante's palace, capturing the latter in bed and proclaiming Gómez Farías as the new president. However, the army chief of staff, Gabriel Valencia, along with generals Antonio Mozo and Juan Nepomuceno Almonte, lead a loyalist counterattack from the Ciudadela Barracks, opening fire upon the rebels with their artillery. During the night of July 15–16, Bustamante moreover cuts his way free with 28 dragoons and, after a fortnight of further street fighting that inflicts many civilian casualties, compels Urrea to surrender and retire north into the state of Durango.

NOVEMBER 18, 1840. Panama, under Col. Tomás Herrera, declares its independence from the Republic of New Granada (Colombia), a secessionist effort that collapses three months later.

AUGUST 8, 1841. In a prearranged coup, the 44-year-old Mexican brigadier general Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga—military commander at Guadalajara—rises against President Bustamante, being joined shortly thereafter by Antonio López de Santa Anna at Veracruz. Paredes marches upon Guanajuato with 600 men and receives the defection of Brig. Gen. Pedro

Cortázar. They then proceed together toward Querétaro to incorporate Gen. Julián Juvera's garrison into their ranks, swelling rebel numbers to 2,200 men.

Santa Anna meanwhile occupies Perote with a few hundred troops, while General Valencia mutinies with another 1,200 inside Mexico City itself, seizing the Ciudadela and Acordada barracks. The beleaguered president fights back with 2,000 loyal troops and a dozen guns, calling for reinforcements from the countryside, while civilians flee out of the line of fire. Although his following eventually numbers 3,500 men, Bustamante is driven out of the capital by September 20, resigning nine days later to go into exile in Europe.

OCTOBER 1, 1841. Yucatán contemplates declaring independence from Mexico, while furthermore signing peace and commerce treaties with the Republic of Texas—which reciprocates by sending armed gunboats to help protect Yucatán's coastline.

FEBRUARY 6, 1842. The British brig *Jane and Sarah* and sloop *Little William* are boarded and ransacked by five of General Carmona's Colombian warships while at anchor off Zapote near Cartagena. The 6-gun, 55-man Royal Navy brig *Charybdis* of Lt. Michael de Courcy is sent to demand satisfac-

tion and, in an hour-long engagement, seizes the Colombian flagship—a corvette—while inflicting 26 fatalities. He then sinks a brig and captures three schooners before blockading Cartagena's roadstead. De Courcy is promoted for these actions.

MAY 7, 1842. Having failed to arrive at a reconciliation with Yucatán, Mexico's Congress severs relations with this breakaway province.

AUGUST 22, 1842. *Yucatán Rebellion.* A Mexican expedition escorted by the British-built steamers *Guadalupe*, *Moctezuma*, and captured *Yucateco* arrives before the Gulf port of El Carmen to begin subduing the rebel provinces of Campeche and Yucatán. This outpost surrenders by August 30, and a 4,000-man army then advances northeast through Champotón, Seybaplaya, and Lerma under Vicente Miñón without encountering any resistance.

At Campeche, however, the centralists meet 3,500 separatist defenders under Santiago Méndez, who compel them to settle in for a lengthy siege. Miñón is eventually recalled on January 29, 1843, because of his inactivity, being replaced by Matías de la Peña y Barragán.

AUTUMN 1842. *Texas Incursion.* Gen. Adrián Woll—an ex-Napoleonic officer—leads a Mexican raid across the border against San Antonio. When the Republic of Texas attempts to retaliate by marching against Santa Fe (New Mexico), their entire 270-man expedition is captured at Antón Chico and Laguna Colorada, subsequently being marched south into incarceration within the fortress of El Perote.

SEPTEMBER 1842. While lying at Callao with Capt. James Armstrong's 44-gun, 1,600-ton frigate *United States* and 20-gun, 200-man, 790-ton sloop *Cyane*, the veteran commander of the U.S. Pacific Squadron—Commo. Thomas ap Catesby ("Tac") Jones (see "September 16, 1814" entry in "War of 1812")—receives seemingly reliable information as to an outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Mexico because of border frictions involving the Republic of Texas. Concerned lest California be preemptorily seized during this confrontation by British or French interests, he sets sail northwestward.

OCTOBER 19, 1842. *Jones's War.* At 2:45 p.m., the American commodore drops anchor in Monterey, determined to launch a preemptive strike. The few



Mariano Paredes. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

ships in port are consequently taken as prizes of war, and at 4:00 p.m., Armstrong is sent ashore under a flag of truce to demand the Mexican garrison's surrender. Ex-Gov. Juan B. Alvarado and Capt. Mariano Silva command only 29 soldiers and 25 raw recruits, plus 11 nearly useless cannon within their tiny redoubt, so agree to capitulate that same night. The next morning, Jones lands 150 men and a band, marching inland to occupy this position, which is renamed Fort Catesby.

By the next day, however, it becomes obvious even to Jones that there is no state of belligerency between both nations, so he restores all his captures. Notwithstanding this unwarranted action, his subsequent stay in California is not altogether unfriendly, although he is eventually recalled by an embarrassed—though not altogether reproving—government in Washington.

LATE JANUARY 1843. Growing dissatisfaction against the more than two decades of misrule by Haitian president Jean-Pierre Boyer sparks an insurrection at Les Cayes, which quickly gains momentum throughout the countryside, obliging Boyer and his family to board the English corvette *Scylla* at Port-au-Prince by the evening of March 13 to sail away into exile on Jamaica. An insurgent army under the mulatto leader Charles “Rivière” Hérard Sr. enters the capital shortly thereafter in triumph, yet will prove unable to govern.

FEBRUARY 4, 1843. After the newly arrived centralist Mexican general de la Peña decides to reinvigorate the Campeche siege by detaching General Andrade five miles eastward with 800 troops into the town of Chiná, this force is surprised by 500 separatist troops under Lt. Col. Manuel Oliver. In a ferocious exchange, some 400 men are slain on both sides, plus many others wounded, before the separatists retreat into Campeche.

MARCH 25, 1843. De la Peña disembarks 2,500 centralist troops at the tiny port of Telchac (north-central Yucatán), hoping to surprise its capital of Mérida from the rear. Although able to overrun Motul, he is checked at Tixcocab by López de Llergo on April 10, then compelled to seek terms two weeks later at Tixpéhual. De la Peña's army reembarks at Chicxulub by May 26, sailing away in defeat.

JUNE 26, 1843. The 39-year-old Cuban-born centralist general Pedro Ampudia y Grimarest lifts

the siege of the separatist garrison within Campeche, retreating by sea toward El Carmen.

FEBRUARY 27, 1844. Heartened by the political chaos gripping Haiti in the wake of the deposal of President Boyer, the disgruntled Spanish-speaking subjects on the Dominican side of the island seize the “Puerta del Conde” bastion in the city of Santo Domingo to once more proclaim their independence. This secession is promptly challenged by a three-pronged Haitian invasion, which is successfully repelled by a Dominican army under the wealthy rancher and general Pedro Santana.

The fledgling “Dominican Republic” nonetheless remains so overmatched that Santana and a number of like-minded conservatives in the “National Junta” request annexation as a protectorate of France—or at least offer to make territorial concessions for a coaling station in Samaná Bay, a long-standing interest of that nation.

APRIL 15, 1844. Because of fears of a preemptive Mexican invasion of the Republic of Texas before it can be annexed by the United States, Commo. David Conner is ordered to concentrate his squadron in the Gulf of Mexico. When the U.S. Senate subsequently rejects this treaty of annexation on June 6, his vessels are withdrawn.

JUNE 2, 1844. Defeated by the Dominicans, rejected by black Haitian peasants, and deposed at Port-au-Prince with the acclamation of the octogenarian Philippe Guerrier as interim president, Hérard has no choice but to forego his Archaie military camp and board the British corvette *Sparta* to follow his predecessor Boyer into exile.

JUNE 9, 1844. To prevent the Dominican Republic's submission to France, the more liberal and nationalistic Trinitario faction, from the northern part of the island, stages a coup in the capital of Santo Domingo, deposing the junta leader Tomás de Bobadilla and other leading conservatives; yet the liberals' attempt to impose Esteban Roca as commander of the army is rejected by its rank and file, so Santana is reinstated.

OCTOBER 30, 1844. In Guadalajara, Paredes—en route to take up a new command in Sonora—agrees to spearhead a revolt against Santa Anna's regime. He is backed one week later by the Aguascalientes garrison, joined by the Mazatlán garrison on No-

vember 7, backed by the Zacatecas and Colima garrisons the next day, and then joined by the Durango and Querétaro forces on November 10.

NOVEMBER 22, 1844. *Santa Anna's Overthrow.*

Santa Anna marches northwest out of Mexico City toward San Juan de los Lagos with a small army to confront the rebel Paredes, who has reached Mochiltic (state of Querétaro) with 4,000 troops. On December 6, the *Batallón de Reemplazos* or “Reserves Battalion” also revolts in its Acordada Barracks in the capital, sparking a general uprising

against Santa Anna’s 50-year-old handpicked “interim president,” Gen. Valentín Canalizo, who is arrested. The next day, the mutineers select 52-year-old general José Joaquín de Herrera as the new president of Mexico.

By early January, Santa Anna gives up all hope of reclaiming power, so he departs with his shrunken army and a small cavalry escort toward Veracruz. En route, he disguises himself as a muleteer, but he is recognized upon reaching Naolinco. He is detained in Perote Castle until banished to Cuba on June 3, 1845, aboard the gunboat *Victoria*.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846–1848)

When the U.S. Congress votes on March 1, 1845, to accede to American settlers’ wishes and annex the Republic of Texas, Juan Nepomuceno Almonte—the 41-year-old Mexican ambassador in Washington—requests his passport five days later to depart in protest, as his nation still regards Texas a breakaway province. Three weeks of wrangling ensue between the American and Mexican governments, culminating on the last day of that same month when Mexico severs diplomatic relations.

MARCH 20, 1845. Conner’s squadron—consisting of the 50-gun, 480-man, 1,700-ton frigate *Potomac* of Capt. John Gwinn; the 22-gun, 190-man, 700-ton sloop *Falmouth* of Cmdr. Joseph R. Jarvis; and the 10-gun, 80-man brig *Lawrence* (364 tons) of Cmdr. Samuel Mercer and *Somers* (260 tons) of Cmdr. Duncan N. Ingraham—is ordered back into Mexican waters.

APRIL 18, 1845. Conner anchors off Antón Lizardo, southeast of the port of Veracruz.

EARLY MAY 1845. The 50-year-old commodore Robert Field Stockton arrives at Galveston (Texas) with his 13-gun, 166-man, 670-ton, propeller-driven flagship *Princeton* under Cmdr. Frederick Engle, plus a small flotilla, for a two-month visit.

JULY 4, 1845. Anglo-Texans accept the U.S. terms for annexation.

JULY 23, 1845. To match Mexico’s military build-up near the mouth of the Río Grande—apparently threatening the peaceful annexation of Texas by the United States—61-year-old brevet brigadier gen-

eral Zachary (“Old Rough and Ready”) Taylor departs Fort Jesup in Louisiana with 1,500 troops of Lt. Col. Ethan Allen Hitchcock’s 3rd Infantry Regiment and other auxiliaries. Their transport steamer, the *Alabama*, is escorted by the 22-gun, 210-man, 960-ton sloop *St. Mary’s* of Cmdr. John L. Saunders.

JULY 25, 1845. Taylor arrives at Aransas Inlet near Saint Joseph’s Island and, after some difficulty in disembarking, encamps six days later at Corpus Christi, near the Nueces River mouth—traditionally regarded by Mexicans as the Texan border.

AUGUST 24, 1845. Taylor is joined at Corpus Christi by 300 troopers of 59-year-old colonel David E. (“Old Davy”) Twiggs’s 2nd Dragoon Regiment, who have traveled overland from Louisiana via San Antonio. By late October, Taylor’s contingent will consist of 3,500 regulars: four infantry regiments, one dragoon regiment, and four artillery regiments—half the peacetime U.S. Army.

OCTOBER 30, 1845. Stockton departs Hampton Roads in Virginia aboard the 54-gun, 480-man, 1,860-ton frigate *Congress* of Cmdr. Samuel F. Du

Pont to round Cape Horn and become second-in-command in the Pacific to 64-year-old commodore John D. Sloat. The latter is lying at Mazatlán (Mexico) with the 50-gun, 480-man, 1,700-ton frigate *Savannah* of Capt. James Armstrong; the sloop *Cyane* of Capt. William Mervine; the 22-gun, 210-man, 1,020-ton sloop *Portsmouth* of Cmdr. John B. Montgomery; the 20-gun, 200-man, 790-ton sloop *Levant* of Cmdr. Hugh N. Page; the 24-gun, 190-man, 690-ton sloop *Warren* of Cmdr. Joseph B. Hull; the 12-gun, 100-man, 200-ton schooner *Shark* of Lt. Neil M. Howison; and the 4-gun, 43-man, 610-ton store-ship *Erie* of Lt. James M. Watson.

OCTOBER 31, 1845. To help facilitate a reconciliation with Mexico, Conner withdraws his squadron from off Veracruz.

NOVEMBER 29, 1845. The ex-Louisiana congressman John C. Slidell arrives at Veracruz aboard the *St. Mary's* to reopen diplomatic contacts with the Mexican government.

DECEMBER 14, 1845. Frustrated in his attempts to mobilize an effective fighting force at San Luis Potosí, Paredes revolts against President Herrera, marching upon Mexico City with his small army. Herrera is abandoned by his troops, so Paredes enters the capital uncontested on January 2, 1846, to be acclaimed president.

MARCH 5, 1846. The 32-year-old explorer and brevet captain in the U.S. Engineers, John Charles Frémont—already gaining fame as “the Pathfinder” and son-in-law to the influential Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton, a close advisor to newly inaugurated President James Knox Polk—approaches Monterey out of the Santa Cruz Mountains with a 60-man survey party to refresh supplies.

Although approved by the Mexican authorities, Frémont's visit is peremptorily canceled when he is a mere 25 miles away, and he is ordered to leave California. He instead entrenches atop Gavilán (modern Frémont) Hill northeast of Salinas and is besieged by a 350-man force under Gen. José María Castro. After four days of bombastic exchanges, the Americans begin withdrawing north toward Oregon, under cover of darkness.

MARCH 8, 1846. Taylor, having been authorized to move his 3,500 troops south from Corpus Christi—deeper into disputed territory—orders his vanguard



Zachary Taylor. (Library of Congress)

to break camp this Sunday. He follows with segments of his main body over the next few days. The first American troops sight Point Santa Isabel by March 24, finding supply ships awaiting them in the Gulf of Mexico; the vanguard also enters the town of El Frontón, which has been ominously torched and evacuated by its 280-man Mexican garrison.

Four days later, the U.S. expedition reaches the Río Grande and receives a frosty reception from Col. Francisco Mejía, commander in Matamoros, who considers this American advance an invasion of Mexican territory. He is nevertheless not empowered to do anything more than observe as Taylor erects a 2,200-man camp opposite him, named Fort Texas. (Mejía's own strength consists of 3,000 men of the 1st and 10th Infantry, 2nd Light Infantry, and 7th Cavalry regiments; a sapper, plus several border guard companies; a battalion of Matamoros militiamen; and 20 guns. Other units are soon on their way to reinforce him.)

MARCH 30, 1846. Having failed to reach any agreement with the Mexican government, Slidell departs Veracruz aboard the 10-gun, 260-man, 1,700-ton paddle-steamer *Mississippi* of Capt. Andrew Fitzhugh.



General campaigns of the Mexican-American War.

APRIL 4, 1846. Mexico's war minister, José María Tornel y Mendivil, appoints major general and former president Mariano Arista to organize an "Army of the North" to confront Taylor's incursion. Shortly thereafter, Arista sets out from Monterrey (Nuevo León) with diverse bodies of troops, marching for Matamoros.

APRIL 11, 1846. Arista's vanguard—1,000 cavalymen and 1,500 infantrymen under de Ampudia—reaches Matamoros and, two days later, orders Taylor to begin retiring north to Corpus Christi within 24 hours. The American general refuses and, in turn, directs his warships out into the Gulf of Mexico to

blockade the Río Grande, cutting off seaborne supplies for the Mexican army.

APRIL 17, 1846. The *Lawrence* and the Texas revenue cutter *Santa Anna* turn back the schooners *Equity* and *Floridian*, which are approaching Matamoros from New Orleans with provisions for the Mexican forces. Upon learning of this action five days later, de Ampudia lodges a formal protest.

APRIL 23, 1846. Paredes declares a "defensive war" against the American intervention, and Arista orders Gen. Anastasio Torrejón to cross the Río Grande a few miles upstream of Taylor's encampment with

1,600 cavalrymen. The American general responds by dispatching a reconnaissance patrol of 63 dragoons under Capt. Seth Thornton, which is ambushed at Carricitos the next day by 200 Mexican troopers, suffering 16 killed and the remainder captured.

APRIL 29, 1846. This night, Capt. Samuel Walker's 77 volunteer Texas Rangers clash with Mexican irregulars, suffering 10 killed.

MAY 1, 1846. Fearful that he is about to be encircled by a Mexican flanking maneuver, Taylor leaves the 7th ("Cotton Balers") Infantry Regiment of 58-year-old major Jacob Brown and two, four-gun batteries to hold Fort Texas, and commences a 30-mile forced march northeastward this afternoon with his remaining 2,300 men and 300 wagons to fall back and bolster his detached coastal contingent at Point Santa Isabel.

This same day, Arista's army slips east-southeastward out of Matamoros, hoping to cross the Río Grande at Longoreno and unite with Torrejón's cavalry behind the American lines, although a lack of boats slows this deployment.

MAY 2, 1846. Taylor reaches Point Santa Isabel at noon and digs in.

MAY 3, 1846. At dawn, Mexican artillery in Matamoros opens a heavy fire across the Río Grande against Fort Texas, which returns fire over the next several days. While inspecting outposts on May 5, Brown is killed by a shell, so Fort Texas is renamed Fort Brown in his honor; the town that eventually springs up around it becomes known as Brownsville.

MAY 4, 1846. This morning, Conner departs Veracruz for the Río Grande with his 50-gun, 480-man, 1,700-ton frigates *Cumberland* (flag) of Capt. Bladen Dulany, *Raritan* of Capt. Francis H. Gregory, and *Potomac*; the 22-gun, 190-man, 700-ton sloop *John Adams* of Cmdr. William J. McCluney; plus the brig *Somers* (leaving the *Falmouth* behind to maintain watch). Four days later, this squadron arrives off Taylor's base camp at Brazos de Santiago, using the army steamer *Monmouth* to set 500 sailors and marines ashore to reinforce Maj. John Monroe's garrison at Fort Polk.

MAY 7, 1846. *Palo Alto.* Learning that Fort Texas has been attacked, Taylor departs Point Santa Isabel with 2,300 men at 3:00 p.m. to relieve his beleaguered detachment. After camping overnight, he encounters Arista and Torrejón's 3,200 Mexicans on May 8, blocking the road at Palo Alto Pond in a mile-and-a-half-long battle line.



Taylor advances against Arista's waiting Mexican army at Palo Alto, lithograph by Carl Nebel. (Author's Collection)

Having secured their baggage train, the Americans advance early this afternoon with the 8th Infantry and Capt. James Duncan's light artillery battery on the left; the 4th and 3rd Infantry in the center, supported by heavy 18-pounders; and the 5th Infantry and Capt. Samuel Ringgold's light field artillery on the right. The Mexican guns open fire as Taylor advances, although resulting in poor execution due to their weak powder and because they have no high-explosive shells. The horse-drawn "flying" American light batteries, in contrast, wreak fearful havoc by swiftly deploying ahead of Taylor, pouring a heavy fire into the static Mexican lines.

Arista orders Torrejón's lancers to charge the American left, but this attack is broken by Ringgold's accurate counterfire before it can develop. Having suffered more than 400 casualties without coming to grips with their enemies, as well as being blinded by a dense brushfire raging through the chaparral, the Mexicans withdraw by evening. American losses total 9 dead—among them, Ringgold—44 wounded, and 2 missing.

MAY 9, 1846. *Resaca de la Palma.* At 6:00 a.m., Arista retreats into a new defensive position, re-deploying his army four hours later into an empty lake bed called Resaca de la Palma, six miles south of Palo Alto. Taylor resumes his advance and reestablishes contact shortly after noon.

Finding Arista's army again in a long, narrow line, the American general decides to drive directly down the road at his opponent's center. The ensuing fight is confused because of limited visibility in the heavy undergrowth, but at a cost of 39 American dead and 82 wounded, Arista's artillery is overrun and his line broken. Mexican losses are estimated at 200 dead, 300 wounded, and 100 captured, their outer wings fleeing back toward Matamoros in disarray. (That same evening, the American garrison in Fort Brown is heartened to see defeated columns streaming back across the Río Grande.)

MAY 11, 1846. In Washington on this Monday, Polk—having been informed two days previously of the Carricitos incident (see "April 23, 1846" entry)—asks Congress for an official declaration of war, which is passed by a 173–14 vote in the House of Representatives, then 40–2 the next day in the Senate, before finally being signed by the president on May 13.

MAY 17, 1846. After regrouping at Fort Brown, Taylor pushes across the Río Grande, despite a be-

lated armistice offer from Arista. The Americans encounter no resistance the next day upon entering Matamoros (population 4,000), having been abandoned by its Mexican garrison—although leaving behind 300 wounded.

Arista retreats southwest toward Linares (state of Nuevo León), losing many men in the desert, then resigns his command to Gen. José María Ortega and requests to be court-martialed in early July so as to defend his conduct.

MAY 18, 1846. The 8-gun, 1,100-ton paddle-steamer *Moctezuma* and the 6-gun, 775-ton *Guadalupe*—having been repossessed from the Mexican Navy by their British builders for lack of payment—sail out of Alvarado (state of Veracruz) toward Havana, eluding the rapidly approaching American blockade.

MAY 19, 1846. The *St. Mary's* arrives off Tampico, proclaiming a blockade the next day.

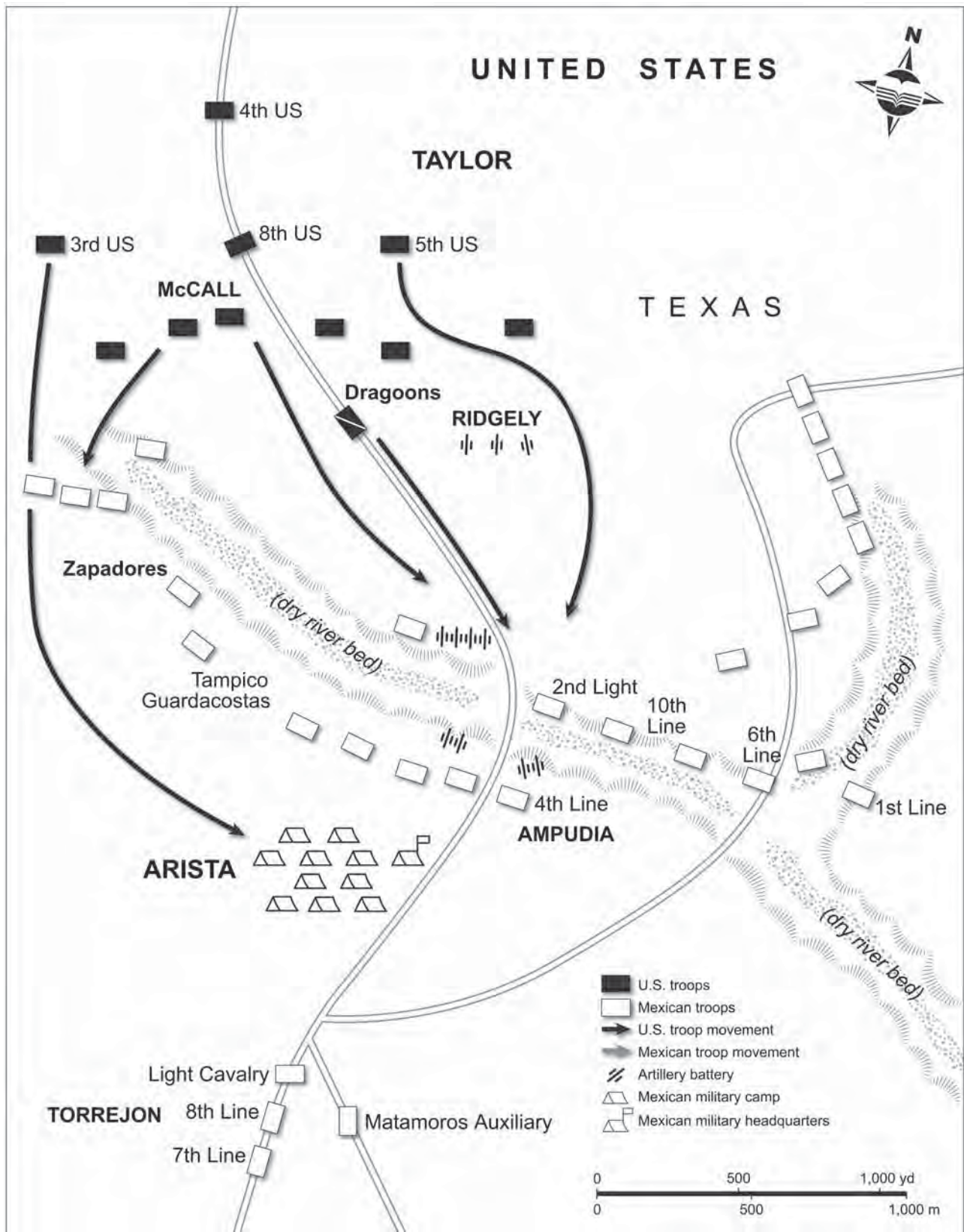
MAY 20, 1846. The *Mississippi* blockades Veracruz.

This same day, amid growing dissatisfaction with Paredes's handling of Mexico's affairs, a revolt occurs in Guadalajara. Its governor and garrison commander are arrested, the former being replaced by the liberal politician Juan N. Cumplido, with support from colonels José María Yáñez, J. Guadalupe Montenegro, and Santiago Xicoténcatl.

JUNE 8, 1846. Early this afternoon, the *St. Mary's* shells the fort on the north bank of the Pánuco River mouth near Tampico and the anchored, single-gun, 25-man, 74-ton gunboat schooners *Unión*, *Isabel*, and *Poblano*. Little damage is inflicted because of the extreme long range.

This same day in the Pacific, Commodore Sloat departs Mazatlán with the *Savannah* to sail northwest into Monterey (California). Despite having received numerous reports over the past three weeks about the outbreak of hostilities, he wishes to refrain from any offensive actions until officially advised by Washington.

JUNE 10, 1846. Ezekial Merritt and five or six other American settlers seize a 150-horse herd destined for Castro's camp at Santa Clara; then four days later, 40 of the settlers furthermore arrest Gen. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo—titular Mexican commander for Northern California—at his Sonoma home, along with 18 other followers, 8 guns, 250 muskets, and 250 horses.



Battle of Resaca de la Palma.

JUNE 12, 1846. Embroiled in its conflict with Mexico, Washington arrives at a diplomatic compromise with Britain over conflicting territorial claims in the Pacific Northwest, agreeing to establish a boundary between the United States and Canada along the 49th parallel, with Vancouver Island being ceded to the British.

The Mexican government, for its part, experiences even worse distractions, for this same day, the first half of a 6,000-man army arrives to besiege the liberal rebels within Guadalajara (*see* “May 20, 1846” entry). A protracted encirclement ensues, both sides firing upon each other to little effect.

JUNE 14, 1846. After failing to get a cutting-out expedition into Tampico’s roadstead under cover of darkness, the *St. Mary’s* shells the port ineffectually at dawn before retiring.

JUNE 24, 1846. The leading 50 men of Castro’s 160-man column, moving northward across San Francisco Bay to contain Merritt’s insurrection at Sonoma (California), are easily defeated by American settlers.

JULY 1846. American consul John Black relays a peace feeler from the Mexican government to Washington.

JULY 1, 1846. Having returned into California, Frémont leads some men across San Francisco Bay to spike the 10-gun, unoccupied San Joaquín Battery on its southern shore.

JULY 3, 1846. Sloat’s *Savannah* arrives at Monterey (California), joining the *Cyane* and the *Levant*. The American commodore nonetheless hesitates to secure the Mexican port because of his continuing uncertainty about the true state of hostilities.

JULY 4, 1846. California’s rebellious American settlers—led by the ex-Vermonters William B. Ide—proclaim themselves independent from Mexico, dubbing their new country the Bear Flag Republic.

JULY 5, 1846. Cmdr. Alexander Slidell Mackenzie (brother of John Slidell; *see* “November 29, 1845” entry) visits Havana, meeting the exiled Santa Anna two days later to enumerate Polk’s terms for a peace in case the Mexican strongman should regain power.

JULY 7, 1846. At 7:30 a.m., Sloat calls upon Monterey (California) to surrender, encountering no oppo-

sition as Capt. Mariano Silva has no means to resist so withdraws. Boats convey 85 marines and more than 140 sailors ashore three hours later to occupy the town.

JULY 9, 1846. This morning, Montgomery’s *Portsmouth* sets 70 men ashore at Clark’s Point to occupy San Francisco (California). Its Mexican authorities having already been displaced by rebellious American settlers, and its defenses having been destroyed by Frémont, no resistance is offered.

When news of the U.S. Navy’s seizures of Monterey and San Francisco reach Sonoma and Sutter’s Fort that same afternoon, the Bear Flag Republic is dissolved, and allegiance to the United States is formally proclaimed.

JULY 11, 1846. The British sloop *Juno* of Capt. F.J. Blake enters San Francisco Bay, prompting Montgomery to man its defenses. The Americans suspect that Rear Adm. Sir George F. Seymour’s Pacific squadron—spearheaded by his 80-gun, 2,600-ton flagship HMS *Collingwood*—will attempt to appropriate portions of California during this volatile transition period from Mexican rule. The *Juno* merely observes, though, before departing six days later.

JULY 16, 1846. Frémont, with 160 men, occupies the abandoned Mexican base of San Juan Bautista (California), gaining 9 cannon, 200 old muskets, and ammunition.

JULY 25, 1846. Frémont departs Monterey (California) with 200 men aboard the *Cyane*, disembarking four days later near San Diego to isolate the Mexican concentration around Los Angeles under Castro and Gov. Pío Pico.

JULY 28, 1846. This afternoon, Conner quits Antón Lizardo with the frigates *Cumberland* (flag), *Potomac*, and *Raritan*, plus the single-gun, 40-man, 74-ton schooners *Reefer* of Lt. Isaac Sterrett and *Petrel* of Lt. T. Darrah Shaw, to proceed southeast against Alvarado. Upon passing the northwest side of Chopas Reef, however, the *Cumberland* runs aground and is holed, bringing a halt to this operation.

JULY 29, 1846. Two weeks after reaching Monterey (California) aboard the *Congress*, Stockton replaces Sloat as commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Squadron. Sloat, old and infirm, immediately sets sail for home aboard the *Levant*.



The campaigns in California from 1846 to 1848.

JULY 31, 1846. After an arduous, 650-mile trek from Fort Leavenworth (Kansas), the 52-year-old brevet brigadier general Stephen Watts Kearny arrives nine miles outside Bent's Fort near modern Animas (Colorado) with 300 of his 1st Dragoons; 860 of the 1st Missouri Volunteer Mounted Infantrymen under his second-in-command—six-foot, six-inch, 240-pound colonel Alexander William Doniphan—plus 250 gunners under Maj. Meriwether Lewis Clark. (The 2nd Missouri under Col. Sterling Price is to follow later.) This so-called “Army of the West” is intended to capture the Mexican outpost of Santa Fe.

AUGUST 4, 1846. Taylor departs Matamoros up the Río Grande toward Camargo, having already sent most of his 12,000-man army ahead under Brigadier general Worth. Many of his latest reinforcements—inexperienced, 90-day volunteers—sicken at an alarming rate, 1,500 of them eventually dying.

This same day out in California, Stockton—three days after quitting Monterey with his flagship *Congress*—occupies Santa Barbara without opposition, leaving behind a 17-man garrison before proceeding toward San Pedro.

AUGUST 5, 1846. At dawn, just as Paredes is preparing to depart Mexico City to invigorate his besiegers outside the rebel city of Guadalajara (see “June 12, 1846” entry), Gen. José Mariano Salas mutinies at the capital's main *Ciudadela* or “Citadel,” arresting and deposing the president.

AUGUST 6, 1846. Conner detaches the *Falmouth* from Antón Lizardo this afternoon to join the *Somers* in blockading Alvarado. The next morning he follows with the frigates *Cumberland* (flag) and *Potomac*; steamers *Mississippi* and *Princeton*; schooners *Reefer*, *Petrel*, and *Bonita* of Lt. Timothy G. Benham; plus the British frigate HMS *Endymion* (as an observer) to once more attempt to assail this Mexican port. The steamers tow the *Cumberland* and the *Potomac* along the coast, then cast off to deploy before Alvarado that afternoon.

The outer channel is guarded by 16-gun Fort Santa Teresa, plus the 6-gun brig *Zempoalteca* and the single-gun, 25-man, 50-ton gunboats *Guerrero*, *Queretana*, and *Victoria* under junior naval captain Pedro A. Díaz Mirón, with other lesser batteries and warships inside. The Americans open a long-range bombardment toward the evening of August 7, only

to cease fire at 6:30 p.m. Overnight, Conner prepares a boat party, but cancels his plans the next morning because the weather turns foul. Leaving the *Falmouth* on station, his squadron returns to its Antón Lizardo anchorage by noon of August 8.

AUGUST 7, 1846. A day after disembarking 360 of the *Congress's* sailors and four fieldpieces at San Pedro to assault nearby Los Angeles (population 1,500), Stockton receives a truce proposal from Castro's headquarters at Campo en la Mesa (now Boyle Heights). Rejecting it, the American commodore advances four days later to Rancho Los Cerritos (North Long Beach), then enters Los Angeles itself by August 13, encountering no opposition from its 100 defenders who have melted away.

One hour later, Frémont's small force also arrives overland from the opposite direction, while the remnants of Castro's army surrender by August 14, along with their 10 guns. A joint party of marines and Frémont's men then overtakes the ex-governor Alvarado and several other prominent Mexican officials at San Luis Obispo, capturing them after a brief skirmish.

AUGUST 14, 1846. Toward dusk in a heavy gale, Cmdr. Edward W. Carpenter's 10-gun, 80-man, 330-ton brig *Truxtun* runs onto Tuxpan Reef, surrendering to its Mexican garrison under Gen. Antonio Rosas three days later. The steamer *Princeton* arrives just past midday of August 20 in a belated rescue attempt. They burn the *Truxtun's* stripped remnants two days later, then return into Antón Lizardo by August 23.

AUGUST 16, 1846. Santa Anna returns to Veracruz from Cuban exile aboard the British mail-packet *Arab*, which is allowed to enter Veracruz by its U.S. blockaders because Washington believes he will help conclude a peace.

AUGUST 18, 1846. Kearny—after approaching Santa Fe (population 3,000) via a circuitous, southwesterly route—occupies the New Mexican capital without a fight, while Gov. Manuel Armijo retires toward Albuquerque with his troops.

AUGUST 19, 1846. Taylor advances west out of Camargo toward Mier and Cerralvo (state of Nuevo León), taking all his 3,200 regulars and his 3,000 best volunteers and leaving behind another 4,700 of the latter as garrison troops.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1846. Du Pont—now commanding the *Cyane*—arrives off the Pacific port of San Blas (Nayarit), setting a landing party ashore that spikes 24 cannon and seizes the sloop *Solita* and the brig *Susana*.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1846. Shortly after midday, Hull's *Warren* stands into the Pacific port of Mazatlán, anchoring a quarter-mile from the 12-gun, 114-ton Mexican brig *Malek Ahdel* and sending a 70-man boarding party across in four boats to secure this vessel without a fight. After exiting the port, the prize is commissioned under Lt. William B. Renshaw; the inbound brig *Carmelita* is also taken the next day.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1846. Taylor's vanguard marches southwest out of Cerralvo toward Monterrey (state of Nuevo León), followed by his main body, spread out over the next three days.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1846. After rendezvousing with Hull off Mazatlán, Du Pont's *Cyane* seizes nine Mexican vessels at La Paz (capital of Baja California) despite the neutrality agreement which is then struck with its governor, Col. Francisco Palacios Miranda.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1846. Santa Anna appears outside Mexico City on the eve of its Independence Day celebrations, entering the next morning to a tumultuous reception, escorted by Salas's troops.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1846. Monterrey. This Saturday morning, Taylor's 6,645 troops come within sight of this northern Mexican city, promptly being fired upon by its dark, formidable, eight-gun *Ciudadela* or "Citadel" (quickly dubbed "Black Fort" by the Americans). Garrison commander de Ampudia commands 7,000 Mexican regulars and 2,000–3,000



U.S. general John Wool and his staff, in the streets of Saltillo, about 1847. (Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library)

militiamen, with which he intends to wage a defensive struggle.

The next afternoon, Worth swings west in a flanking maneuver with Col. John C. (“Jack”) Hays’s Texas Cavalry Regiment, Lt. Col. Thomas Staniford’s 1st Infantry Brigade, and Col. Persifor F. Smith’s 2nd Brigade. Early on September 21, a mixed body of 1,500 Mexican cavalry and infantry under Lt. Col. Juan N. Nájera confronts this American column, suffering 100 casualties—including their commander—before retiring 15 minutes later, having killed or wounded only a dozen invaders. Thus, Worth sits astride the Saltillo road by 8:00 a.m., cutting off Monterrey’s supply lines. At noon, he continues eastward up nearby Blanca Hill to overrun the Federación and El Soldado strongpoints by nightfall. Taylor’s main body also launches an assault against Monterrey’s northeastern suburbs this same September 21, during which Twiggs’s 1st Division—temporarily commanded by Lt. Col. John Garland—and other units become enfiladed by various Mexican redoubts, suffering 394 casualties. Despite such punishment, the Americans capture the 200-man *Tenería* or “Tannery” stronghold, plus five Mexican artillery pieces.

While Taylor’s main force recuperates on the rainy day of September 22, Worth steals up Independencia Hill, surprising its defenders. Lt. Edward Deas’s 50 gunners manhandle a 12-pound howitzer to its 800-foot summit by noon, opening fire upon the 200 Mexican troops holding the fortified *Obispado* or “Bishopric” under Lt. Col. Francisco Berra. The latter are finally overwhelmed by 4:00 p.m., prompting a discouraged de Ampudia to call in all his outposts this same night.

By the morning of September 23, the principal American army notices that Rincón or Diablo strongpoint is abandoned, so the Americans quickly occupy it with the 1st Mississippi Rifle Regiment under 38-year-old colonel and congressman Jefferson Davis (Taylor’s former son-in-law and later to become the Confederate president). Supporting units then begin fighting their way into northeastern Monterrey house to house, joined this afternoon by a similar offensive out of the west under Worth.

By dawn of September 24, most of Monterrey is in American hands, and de Ampudia requests terms. The capitulation is signed the next morning, Taylor agreeing to permit the Mexican army to march out with their arms and six guns over a number of days, retreating beyond Rinconada Pass, after which both sides will observe a two-month cessation of offen-

sive operations. The conquest of this city has cost 120 American dead and 368 wounded, while the defenders suffered 700 casualties.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1846. The 52-year-old commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (destined to “open” Japan seven years later) joins Conner off Veracruz as his second-in-command, having arrived from New York aboard the 3-gun, 50-man, 240-ton paddle-steamer *Vixen* of Cmdr. Joshua Sands.

This same day out in Los Angeles, marine lieutenant Archibald H. Gillespie’s 48-man garrison endures a dawn attack by 20 Californio guerrillas under Servulo Varela, sparking a general uprising the next day under paroled Mexican captain José María Flores. The latter’s 150 followers trap Gillespie atop Fort Hill, compelling him to capitulate by September 29. According to the surrender terms, the Americans are allowed to depart San Pedro with their arms by October 4 aboard the merchantman *Vandalia*.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1846. Almost six weeks after arriving in San Antonio (population 2,000) to organize an expedition in support of Taylor’s campaign, Brig. Gen. John E. (“Old Fussy”) Wool departs this Texan town with 1,300 troops, proceeding southwest toward Presidio del Rio Grande (modern Eagle Pass). One month later, he is followed by another 1,200 under Col. Sylvester Churchill.

This same day of September 25, Kearny quits Santa Fe (New Mexico) for California with 300 troopers of Maj. Edwin V. Sumner’s 1st Dragoons.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1846. Santa Anna leaves Mexico City to travel northward with a small body of troops, arriving at San Luis Potosí by October 8 to begin the four-month-long process of marshaling a 21,500-man army to then proceed against Taylor.

EARLY OCTOBER 1846. Having been reinforced at Santa Fe (New Mexico) by Price’s 1,200-man 2nd Missouri Mounted Infantry, plus the 500-man Mormon Battalion of Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, Doniphan launches a seven-week mountain campaign against the Utah and Navajo tribes, who have been massacring outlying Mexican settlements.

OCTOBER 1, 1846. Du Pont’s *Cyane* seizes the Mexican schooners *Libertad* and *Fortuna* at Loreto, as well as intercepting three more vessels in the Gulf of California over the next few days.

OCTOBER 6, 1846. Early this morning, Mervine—now commanding the *Savannah*—appears off San Pedro to reverse the recent Californio revolt at Los Angeles. The next day, 225 Americans come ashore and begin marching inland. After camping overnight at Rancho Dominguez (North Long Beach), they encounter 80 Mexican riders and 10 soldiers under José Antonio Carrillo on October 8, who are barring their path with a 4-pounder. Despite three charges, Mervine's sailors and marines are unable to close with their more nimble opponents, so they must retreat back aboard their frigate. (Four of the 10 American wounded die and are subsequently buried in San Pedro harbor, on Isla de los Muertos or Deadmen's Island.)

That same morning of October 6, Kearny's 300 dragoons meet 36-year-old Christopher "Kit" Carson and 8 other scouts near Socorro (New Mexico), learning that California is now in American hands. Kearny therefore orders 200 of his men to return toward Santa Fe and nine days later continues westward across the mountains with only two companies—100 troopers.

OCTOBER 7, 1846. A day after arriving off Guaymas (Sonora) and calling for the surrender of its single-gun schooner gunboats *Anáhuac* of 105 tons and *Sonorense* of 27 tons, plus the merchant brig *Condor*—a proposal that is rejected by Col. Antonio Campuzano, the local military commander—Du Pont's *Cyane* begins bombarding the port by mid-afternoon of October 7. Both gunboats are set ablaze (possibly by their Mexican crews), while a 42-man American boarding party cuts out the *Condor*, despite a brisk exchange of small-arms fire with the defenders ashore. The brig is subsequently found to be useless so is scuttled.

OCTOBER 15, 1846. Just after midnight, Conner and Perry quit Antón Lizardo with the paddle-steamers *Vixen* (flag), *Mississippi* (vice flag), and 6-gun, 370-ton revenue cutter *McLane* of Capt. William A. Howard; the schooners *Reefer*, *Bonita*, and *Petrel*; the 6-gun, 150-ton revenue cutter *Forward* of Capt. H. B. Nonnes; plus the captured 4-gun, 122-ton Mexican schooner *Nonata* under Lt. Samuel F. Hazard to once again attack Alvarado.

Arriving offshore this same dawn, the Americans find the sea too rough for immediate penetration, so they content themselves with a long-range bombardment of its outer defenses. Fort Santa Teresa's 39-man garrison under Díaz and the Mexican warships

under Commo. Tomás Marín—the 9-gun, 70-man, 175-ton brig *Veracruzano Libre*; the *Zempoalteca*; the 7-gun, 40-man, 130-ton schooner *Aguila* ("Eagle"); and two gunboats—are left largely unscathed.

Early this afternoon, Conner bears down upon Alvarado's bar in two columns, towing the *Reefer* and the *Bonita* with the *Vixen*, while the *McLane* does the same for the *Nonata*, the *Petrel*, and the *Forward*. Although his flagship weathers the defenders' batteries and crosses at 1:45 p.m., the *McLane* runs aground a half hour later, obliging the Americans to retreat back toward Antón Lizardo by 2:30 p.m.

OCTOBER 16, 1846. Perry departs Antón Lizardo eastward with the vessels *Mississippi* (flag), *Vixen*, *McLane*, *Reefer*, *Bonita*, *Nonata*, *Forward*, and a 250-man landing force under Capt. French Forrest of the *Cumberland* to ascend the Grijalva River and seize San Juan Bautista de Villahermosa (Tabasco). A storm separates the *Reefer* en route, but the remaining vessels rendezvous off the San Pedro y San Pablo River five days later, before steering east toward the town of Frontera.

OCTOBER 21, 1846. Mexican forces begin the week-long process of evacuating Tampico as part of Santa Anna's plan to concentrate his forces around the inland city of San Luis Potosí.

OCTOBER 23, 1846. After transferring aboard the *Vixen*, which has a shallower draft, Perry tows the *Forward* and the *Bonita* across the Grijalva River bar, followed by the *McLane*. The latter attempts to do the same for the *Nonata* and Forrest's boat party, only to run aground. Perry nonetheless presses on toward the nearby town of Frontera, sighting it by 3:00 p.m. and rushing ahead with the *Vixen* to secure the schooner *Laura Virginia* and paddle steamers *Petríta* and *Tabasqueña*, while the schooner *Amado* escapes upriver, pursued by the *Bonita*.

Having occupied Frontera, the American commodore installs a small garrison under Lt. Joseph C. Walsh, then transfers Forrest's boat party aboard the 200-ton prize *Petríta* to continue the next morning toward Villahermosa, 72 miles farther up the Grijalva. A short distance ahead, they find the *Bonita* with the captured *Amado*.

OCTOBER 25, 1846. At 8:45 a.m., Perry's 600-man expedition sights Fort Acachapan beyond *Vuelta del Diablo* or "Devil's Bend," two miles below Villahermosa. Its tiny garrison flees, allowing the

Americans to disembark a mile away and spike its guns before noon.

By 1:00 p.m., Perry drops anchor before the town of Villahermosa proper, then one hour later calls for its surrender. Villahermosa's governor, Lt. Col. Juan Bautista Traconis—despite commanding only 330 regulars from infantry and cavalry companies, plus a militia battalion—bids the invaders open fire whenever they choose.

Twenty-five minutes later, at 3:05 p.m., the *Vixen* commences a desultory bombardment, followed by a disembarkation around 5:00, while American boat parties board the anchored brigs *Yunaute* and *Rentville*, the schooners *Tabasco* and *Alvarado*, plus the sloop *Deseada*. Notwithstanding the light resistance encountered, Perry withdraws his landing party at nightfall, then retires downriver the next morning with his prizes.

Also late this afternoon, Stockton's *Congress* reaches San Pedro (California), reinforcing the *Savannah* and setting a landing party ashore at dawn of October 27. Unable to advance upon Los Angeles, the American commodore decides to shift southeast toward San Diego, setting sail with his flagship by October 29.

OCTOBER 31, 1846. Stockton sets reinforcements ashore to relieve Lt. George Minor's beleaguered American garrison at San Diego (California).

NOVEMBER 11, 1846. Conner detaches the *Potomac* and the *Raritan* to join the *St. Mary's* and the 11-gun, 225-ton brig *Porpoise* of Lt. William E. Hunt off Tampico, following the next morning with his flagship *Princeton*, the *Mississippi*, the *Vixen*, and the 3-gun, 50-man, 240-ton paddle-steamer *Spitfire* of Cmdr. Josiah Tattnall, plus the *Reefer*, the *Bonita*, the *Petrel*, and the *Nonata*.

NOVEMBER 13, 1846. Taylor pushes southwest out of Monterrey (state of Nuevo León) with a portion of his army, occupying the undefended town of Saltillo three days later without resistance.

NOVEMBER 14, 1846. *Tampico.* At dawn, Conner's squadron rendezvouses off this port and, by 11:00 a.m., sends a 300-man boat party across its bar. One and a half hours later, they spot the Stars and Stripes flying above the abandoned town, having been raised by Mrs. Anna McClarmonde Chase (Irish-born wife of its former American consul). The Mexican garrison of 41-year-old Anastasio Parrodi

having already withdrawn (see "October 21, 1846" entry), Conner gains Tampico without a fight and claims the schooners *Unión*, *Poblano*, and *Isabel* as prizes, along with the merchantmen *Mahonese* and *Ormigo* (or possibly the *Hormiga*).

NOVEMBER 15, 1846. Early this morning, the 20-gun, 190-man, 700-ton sloop *Boston* of Cmdr. George F. Pearson is lost on Eleuthera Island in the Bahamas.

That same day, Stockton's *Congress* runs aground at San Diego (California) and almost heels over with the ebbing tide, tempting 100 Californio guerrillas to launch an assault against its distracted garrison. This attack is repelled, and the frigate is saved.

NOVEMBER 16, 1846. Near San Luis Obispo, Manuel Castro's 100 Californios scatter a formation of American volunteers who were marching to reinforce Frémont's 400 men at Monterey.

NOVEMBER 18, 1846. While preparing Tampico to receive an American garrison of 2,000–3,000 troops, Conner detaches Tattnall 25 miles upriver with the *Spitfire* and the *Petrel* (reinforced with an extra 32 marines and sailors) to raid the Mexican outpost at Pánuco. It is overrun early the next morning and leveled by the time the Americans withdraw two mornings later.

NOVEMBER 23, 1846. Perry returns to Tampico from Brazos de Santiago (Texas), having brought 500 of Maj. Gen. Robert Patterson's soldiers to garrison the town.

NOVEMBER 26, 1846. After the Mexican schooner *Criolla* runs into Veracruz past the blockading brig *Somers* of Lt. Raphael Semmes—later captain of the famed Civil War-raider *Alabama*—eight of Semmes's men volunteer to cut it out from under the guns of the island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa. Despite boarding the schooner before midnight, the Americans become becalmed, so must burn their prize and escape back out to sea through a hail of gunfire, with their seven prisoners. (The *Criolla* subsequently proves to have been a spy ship, allowed to slip into Veracruz with Conner's connivance.)

NOVEMBER 30, 1846. Having failed to bring the Mexican government to the bargaining table, despite occupying the northern portion of their country, Washington decides upon a different strategy:

Winfield Scott

Winfield Scott was born into wealth and privilege on June 13, 1786, at the Laurel Branch estate in Dinwiddie County near Petersburg (Virginia). The son of a Revolutionary War hero, young Winfield's life was changed after his parents died. In 1805, he enrolled at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, becoming a lawyer by the next year. In 1807, he also enlisted as a militia cavalry trooper and was sent to Charleston (South Carolina) when war with Britain loomed. Scott then went to Washington to secure a regular commission as captain of light artillery in May 1808. He recruited a company in Richmond and Petersburg before being ordered to Louisiana. While at Baton Rouge in 1809, Winfield was suspended for a year for disparaging his superior, General Wilkinson. In 1811, he joined Wade Hampton's staff at New Orleans.

When hostilities with Great Britain erupted the next year, Scott—now a lieutenant colonel of artillery—was sent, in July 1812, to the Niagara frontier with Canada. He was captured on October 11, 1812, during the American defeat at Queenston Heights. After being exchanged in January 1813, promoted to colonel, and made General Dearborn's adjutant in March, he led the assault against Fort George on May 25, being injured when its magazine exploded two days later. Scott also went to Washington to lobby the Senate to punish British prisoners of war for the British execution of 13 Irish Americans. (Regarded as British-born subjects, they were hanged as traitors.) Although his bill passed, President Madison refused to enforce it. Scott returned to duty, receiving a brevet commission as brigadier general by March 1814 and commanding the 1st U.S. Brigade in that summer's offensive into Ontario. His role in the war ended when he was severely wounded in the left shoulder on July 25 at the Battle of Lundy's Lane. He convalesced as a hero in New York.

After hostilities with Britain ceased, Scott studied military science in France and, on his return, married Maria Mayo of Virginia in 1817. Scott also stayed involved as a militia major general and translated several Napoleonic manuals into English. In 1830, he produced the War Department's official manual for militia training, the *Abstract of Military Tactics*.

Two years later, Scott returned to active duty with the U.S. Army. He led an expedition to negotiate an end to the Black Hawk War, then returned to Charleston by that same November 1832 to monitor the "Nullification Crisis." On the eruption of the Second Seminole War, he organized the military response early in 1836. Two years later, he replaced his friend Gen. John Wool as commander of the federal troops in the Cherokee Nation. Scott had the unhappy task of moving these native families farther west, a heartbreaking migration remembered as the "Trail of Tears." In March 1839, he helped to defuse a border dispute between Maine and New Brunswick. Then the next year, his three volumes of *Infantry Tactics* were published, becoming the U.S. Army's standard drill manual.

By June 1841, Scott's seniority had gained him the highest rank of major general, and the next month he succeeded as general in chief on the death of Macomb. Although Scott was smart, influential, and experienced, he had also acquired a reputation as overbearing, contentious, and vain. An example occurred in December 1846 during his layover in New Orleans, while en route to prepare for the Veracruz landings. Telling his hosts that he wished an evening of chess against a strong local player, Scott was miffed when the nine-year-old Paul Morphy was ushered in after dinner. The proud general's mood did not improve when he was easily beaten in two games, the second after only six moves; he therefore retired early to bed.

rather than have Taylor march south across the desert from Monterrey into the teeth of Santa Anna's waiting army, the U.S. Navy will transport another army to Veracruz to invade nearer the enemy capital. Consequently, six-foot, five-inch, 59-year-old major general Winfield Scott and his staff set sail this day from New York for New Orleans, to continue on toward Brazos de Santiago to begin organizing this second expedition.

DECEMBER 6, 1846. At dawn, Kearny's 100 weary dragoons and Carson's 20 scouts—having been reinforced the previous day, after their trans-Sierra hike, by 40 sailors and marines under Gillespie, plus a brass 4-pounder—surprise 72 Mexican riders en-

camped near San Pascual under Capt. Andrés Pico, a brother of Gov. Pío Pico. Because of the Americans' exhausted mounts, the outnumbered Mexicans acquit themselves well, despite being driven from the field. American losses total 19 killed and 13 wounded (including Kearny and Gillespie), plus one of two howitzers lost, compared with only a single man captured and a dozen injured among Pico's men. The Americans subsequently limp toward San Diego, encumbered by their convalescents and Mexican harassing raids, until relieved on December 10 by a 215-man rescue column under Lt. Andrew V. F. Gray.

That same day of December 6, the polarized Senate in Mexico City votes 11–9 to offer the pres-

idency to Santa Anna and the vice presidency to Gómez Farías. The former remains at San Luis Potosí training his army, leaving the latter to assume office alone on December 23.

DECEMBER 8, 1846. While pursuing a blockade-runner off Veracruz, the *Somers* accidentally overturns and sinks, drowning 32 of Semmes's 76 crew members, while 7 others are captured by the Mexicans. The remainder are rescued by neutral British, French, or Spanish warships anchored off Sacrificios Island.

DECEMBER 14, 1846. While marching from San Juan Bautista to contain the Californio revolt at Los Angeles, Frémont surprises San Luis Obispo this dark rainy night, capturing its commander Jesús Pico (cousin to Pío and Andrés Pico) at nearby Wilson's Ranch, along with 35 other Mexicans.

DECEMBER 16, 1846. Doniphan marches south out of Valverde (New Mexico) with his 850-man 1st Missouri Mounted Infantry to proceed 200 miles down the Río Grande and across the *Jornada del Muerto* or "Dead Man's Journey" against El Paso (Texas).

DECEMBER 17, 1846. To cut the clandestine trade entering Mexico through the neutral state of Yucatán, Perry sets sail from Antón Lizardo with the vessels *Mississippi* (flag), *Vixen*, *Bonita*, and *Petrel* to capture the border outpost of El Carmen.

DECEMBER 18, 1846. Having returned through Monterrey with his main army to press southeast against Ciudad Victoria (Tamaulipas), Taylor learns that Santa Anna is moving north from San Luis Potosí to assail Worth's small garrison holding Saltillo. The American commander therefore retraces his route with his regulars, leaving Brig. Gen. John A. Quitman to continue against Ciudad Victoria with an all-volunteer force.

Saltillo is reinforced on December 19 by an American unit out of Monterrey under Maj. Gen. William O. Butler, then two days later by Wool from Parras (state of Coahuila). Realizing his enemies are now gathering in strength, Santa Anna cancels his operation.

DECEMBER 20, 1846. Perry arrives off El Carmen bar, transfers his flag aboard the more shallow-drafted *Vixen*, then leads the *Bonita* and the *Petrel*

across to proceed five miles inside its bay and assail El Carmen proper. The next morning, the town surrenders unconditionally, and Perry strips it of military stores, while installing Sands as governor. Leaving the *Vixen* and the *Petrel* behind, the commodore, aboard the *Bonita*, rejoins the *Mississippi* by December 22, before standing away west.

DECEMBER 23, 1846. Although absent from Mexico City on active duty in San Luis Potosí, Santa Anna is officially inaugurated as president, with Gómez Farías as his vice president.

DECEMBER 25, 1846. This afternoon, Doniphan's vanguard reaches the confluence of the Brazito and Río Grande rivers (30 miles north of El Paso), finding perhaps 1,200 Mexican irregulars under Colonel Ponce de León barring its path. After rebuffing a surrender demand, the better-armed Americans easily repel an amateurish cavalry charge, inflicting 100 fatalities while suffering no losses among their own ranks. The city is occupied shortly thereafter, without any further resistance.

DECEMBER 26, 1846. Taylor reaches Montemorelos (45 miles southeast of Monterrey), learning of Scott's imminent arrival to organize a second front—not realizing that his own army is to be stripped of 8,000 regular infantrymen, 1,000 cavalrymen, and two field batteries for this new campaign. The next day, Scott arrives at the Brazos de Santiago (Texas) and begins issuing instructions.

DECEMBER 28, 1846. *Los Angeles.* This morning, Stockton and Kearny quit San Diego with 600 men—dismounted U.S. Dragoons, two companies of the California Battalion, naval contingents from the *Congress*, the *Savannah*, and the *Portsmouth*, plus a small artillery train—to march 140 miles northwest and recapture the city of Los Angeles.

They do not sight any enemies until the evening of January 7, 1847, when Flores is discovered waiting at La Jabonería Ford with 450 Mexicans and a few guns to dispute the Americans' passage across the San Gabriel River. The next morning, Stockton and Kearny swing right, hoping to slip across at Bartolo Ford before Flores becomes aware, but the Mexican commander checks this maneuver by re-deploying his own riders opposite them. The Americans form a square and push across the ford, disregarding the feeble Mexican fire and unlimbering their artillery, then scattering the Californio riders

in an hour-and-a-half melee that claims 2 American dead and 9 wounded. Flores suffers similar losses, and the Mexicans retreat, about 300 regrouping a half-dozen miles away at Cañada de los Alisos (on the mesa between the San Gabriel and Los Angeles rivers, near the modern Union Stockyards). The Americans again approach in a square, exchanging long-range artillery salvos and weathering a half-hearted cavalry charge, before Flores's army finally gives up two and a half hours later. One American and a Mexican lie dead, with 5 Americans and an unknown number of Mexicans wounded.

Stockton and Kearny cross the river about three miles below Los Angeles that same evening, then waiting until the next day—January 10—before making their triumphal entry into the city, the commodore establishing headquarters in Avila Adobe House (on modern Olvera Street). At a total cost of 20 American casualties, the campaign has subdued the last Mexican stronghold in California.

DECEMBER 29, 1846. Quitman's small army approaches Ciudad Victoria, prompting 1,500 Mexican cavalymen to abandon it without a fight and retire southwest toward Tula.

This same day, marine captain Ward Marston leaves San Francisco with 100 men and a field gun to put down a Californio insurrection. On January 2, 1847, he comes upon Francisco Sánchez and 120 rebels about seven miles from the Santa Clara Mission. They are dispersed after a brief skirmish in which 4 Californios are killed and 5 wounded, compared to only 2 Americans injured. Four days later, an armistice is finalized.

JANUARY 4, 1847. Taylor enters Ciudad Victoria, detaching Twiggs's division east toward Tampico.

JANUARY 5, 1847. Frémont, with 400 men and six fieldpieces, disperses a small band of Californio riders at San Buenaventura Mission (modern Ventura), plus another 60–70 the next day.

JANUARY 11, 1847. Late this evening, Frémont comes upon Flores's 100 surviving troops at Rancho Los Verdugos near San Fernando Mission, persuading them to surrender the next day—although the Mexican commander escapes into Sonora.

JANUARY 13, 1847. Infantry lieutenant John Alexander Richey, carrying one of two sets of Scott's campaign plans for Taylor, is killed while attempting

to buy provisions in the village of Villagrán between Monterrey and Ciudad Victoria. The captured papers are forwarded to Santa Anna at San Luis Potosí.

JANUARY 19, 1847. At 6:00 a.m., because of high-handed actions by unruly American occupiers, the home of popular governor Charles Bent at Taos (New Mexico) is attacked by a mob of Mexicans and Indians, led by Pablo Montoya and Tomás Romero. Bent is murdered in front of his Mexican wife and sister-in-law—Kit Carson's 17-year-old bride Josefa Jaramillo—along with five other American residents. Seven more are killed at nearby Arroyo Hondo, plus eight at the town of Mora.

JANUARY 23, 1847. Having learned three days previously of the anti-American insurrection at Taos (New Mexico), Price leads 290 of his 2nd Missouri troopers northward, plus 63 local volunteers under Capt. Ceran St. Vrain—all afoot—with four field howitzers to battle the rebels. One day later at the village of La Cañada, this column encounters perhaps 1,500 Mexicans and Indians, driving them from their entrenchments and slaying 36 of them. American losses are 3 killed and 6 wounded. Price is reinforced shortly thereafter by a company of 1st Dragoons under Capt. J. H. K. Burgwin and another of the 2nd Missouri, bringing his total strength to 479 men.

JANUARY 24, 1847. Patterson reaches Tampico with 4,500 men.

JANUARY 25, 1847. Some 50–60 miles south of Saltillo, a 50-man patrol of Kentucky and Arkansas riders under majors John P. Gaines and Solon Borland is surprised and captured at Encarnación by a large body of Mexican cavalry. A second detachment of 30 Kentuckians under Capt. William J. Heady, sent to find this first patrol, shares its same fate.

JANUARY 28, 1847. Knowing of Taylor's diminished strength because of an intelligence windfall (see "January 13, 1847" entry), Santa Anna decides to strike northward and surprise his American opponent. The Mexican vanguard—an artillery train, sapper battalion, and the San Patricio Company of Irish American deserters—departs San Luis Potosí, followed the next day by Francisco Pacheco's infantry division, then Manuel Lombardini's division on January 30, and finally Ortega's division on January

31. In all, more than 20,000 troops advance to rendezvous south of Saltillo at Encarnación.

JANUARY 29, 1847. At El Embudo (New Mexico), 180 of Burgwin and St. Vrain's troopers defeat a small rearguard of Taos rebels, killing 20 and wounding another 60, while suffering only a single American killed and another wounded.

FEBRUARY 2, 1847. Price's small army passes through Taos (New Mexico), deploying five miles north to besiege its rebellious Mexicans and Indians within the old pueblo. After battering its adobe church throughout February 3 with their howitzers, the Americans launch a two-pronged assault the next morning at 11:00, which kills about 150 rebels by nightfall and ends all effective resistance. The survivors surrender the next day, 17 of their leaders eventually being executed—including Montoya and Romero. Price's losses are 7 dead (including Burgwin), plus 45 wounded.

FEBRUARY 15, 1847. Scott departs Brazos de Santiago, arriving at Tampico three days later, then proceeding 65 miles farther southeast to his expedition's rendezvous off Lobos Island.

FEBRUARY 17, 1847. Pacheco's division reaches Encarnación, followed soon afterward by the rest of Santa Anna's army. Only 14,000 Mexican troops and 17 guns have completed the grueling march from San Luis Potosí, the remainder having deserted or fallen by the wayside. Santa Anna nevertheless prepares to assail Taylor's encampment at nearby Agua Nueva (Coahuila).

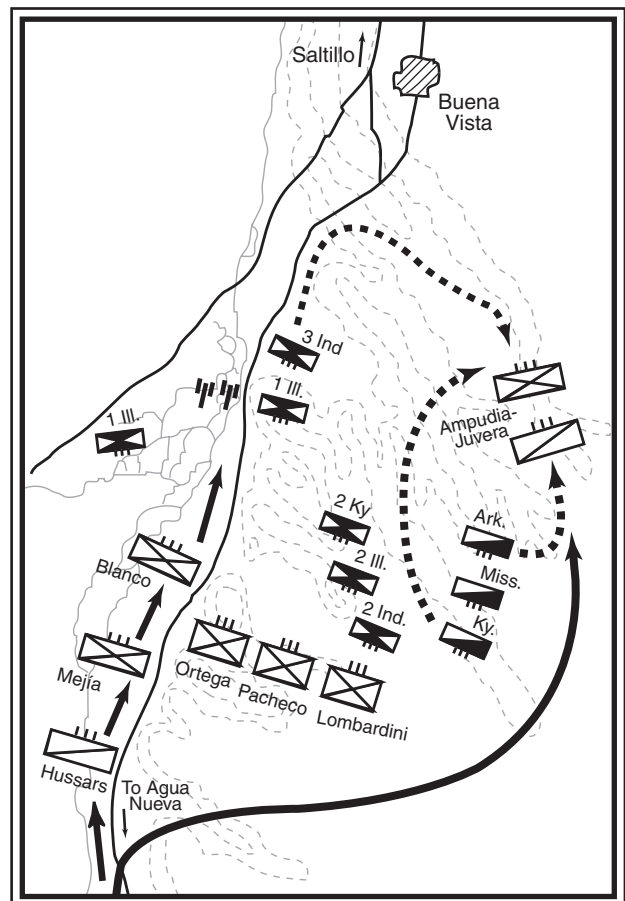
FEBRUARY 20, 1847. This evening, a 400-man American reconnaissance unit under Lt. Col. Charles A. May spots Miñón's 4,000 cavalrymen approaching Hediona Ranch in advance of Santa Anna's main army. By riding throughout the night, the scouts are able to advise Taylor at Agua Nueva the next morning of this approaching danger. (Maj. Benjamin McCulloch of the Texas Rangers brings in even more detailed information at midday, having penetrated the Mexican base at Encarnación in disguise.)

Taylor contemplates making a stand with his 4,800 troops but is instead persuaded by Wool to fall back to La Angostura—a narrow pass on Buena Vista Hacienda, six miles south of Saltillo—where his flanks cannot be as easily turned by the superior

enemy numbers because of the adjacent mountains. Leaving the 1st Arkansas Cavalry Regiment of Col. Archibald Yell to break camp at Agua Nueva, the rest of the American army retires.

This same night of February 21, Santa Anna rests only six miles farther south at Carnero Pass. After midnight, Miñón's cavalry descends upon the vacated American camp, chasing Yell's regiment—plus a Kentucky cavalry battalion and two companies of 1st Dragoons—northward to rejoin Taylor and Wool by the next morning.

FEBRUARY 22, 1847. Buena Vista. While Taylor quickly visits Saltillo to ensure that Santa Anna has not slipped behind him, Wool digs in, facing southward down the San Luis Potosí road with 580 infantrymen of the 1st Illinois Regiment under Col. John J. Hardin, 573 of the 2nd Illinois under Col. William H. Bissell, 571 of the 2nd Kentucky under Col. William R. McKee, 628 of the 2nd Indiana under Col. William A. Bowles, and 625 of the 3rd Indiana under Col. James H. Lane. Cavalry consists of



Battle of Buena Vista.

368 troopers of the 1st Mississippi Rifles under Col. Jefferson Davis, 479 of the 1st Arkansas Regiment under Col. Archibald Yell, 305 of the 1st Kentucky under Col. Humphrey Marshall, 133 of the 1st Dragoons under Capt. Enoch Steen, 76 of the 2nd Dragoons under Lt. Col. Charles A. May, as well as 88 Texas Rangers under Maj. Benjamin McCulloch. The 18 fieldpieces are manned by 150 gunners of the 3rd Artillery Battery under Capt. Braxton Bragg, a like number from the 3rd Artillery Company under Capt. Thomas W. Sherman, plus 117 from the 4th Artillery Battery of Capt. John M. Washington. Only the dragoons and gunners are regulars, while of the remaining regiments, the Mississippians alone are battle experienced.

Shortly after sunrise, Santa Anna's 18,000 troops appear, and at 11:00 a.m., the Mexican general sends a surrender demand ahead under a flag of truce. Taylor, who has just returned from Saltillo, rejects it. Around noon, de Ampudia's light infantry brigade and Juvera's cavalry are detached to occupy the high ground east of the plateau, prompting the American commander to send the Arkansas and Kentucky cavalry regiments, plus a battalion of Indiana infantrymen, to contest this flanking maneuver. After an indecisive firefight, these Americans withdraw at nightfall, the only other action being a long-range exchange between Blanco's leading Mexican division and Taylor's main battle line.

Early the next morning, the Mexicans resume the action, Blanco being repulsed by Washington's battery and 1st Illinois. However, de Ampudia and Juvera repel a second attempt by Yell's Arkansas and Marshall's Kentucky cavalry to gain the eastern high ground, after which Pacheco's division hits Bowles's 2nd Indiana, sending it reeling out of Wool's line. By the time Taylor returns from Saltillo around 9:00 a.m., the situation has grown precarious, although soon rectified when the 1st Mississippi and the 3rd Indiana plug the hole. As in previous encounters, the American horse-drawn artillery proves too much for the attackers, repeatedly smashing threatened Mexican breakthroughs. Taylor's army is compressed but does not break, whereas Santa Anna has a horse shot out from under him. A flanking maneuver by Pacheco's division is intercepted atop a ridge at 1:00 p.m. by the Mississippians, the 3rd Indiana, and Bragg's artillery, resulting in heavy Mexican losses. By nightfall, the Americans have suffered 267 killed, 456 wounded, and 1,500 deserters, but they still hold the field. They are further encouraged by the arrival of Brig. Gen. Thomas Marshall and

Col. George W. Morgan's two fresh regiments behind them at Saltillo.

The Mexicans, in contrast, have had enough, enduring 1,800 dead or injured, plus another 300 captured. After conferring with his staff this evening, Santa Anna orders a stealthy retreat toward Agua Nueva, hence the Americans awaken on the morning of February 24 to find the plain virtually empty. Satisfied with his hard-won victory, Taylor retires northeast into Monterrey shortly thereafter.

FEBRUARY 27, 1847. The Mexico City garrison under conservative general de la Peña y Barragán revolts against the liberal vice president Gómez Farías, who has introduced new taxes on church properties. Both factions then appeal to Santa Anna for resolution.

FEBRUARY 28, 1847. *Sacramento.* After pushing south from El Paso (Texas) into the state of Chihuahua, Doniphan's 924 Missouri troopers and 300 wagonloads of auxiliaries learn that 1,200 Mexican cavalrymen, 1,200 infantrymen, and 1,400 irregulars, supported by 300 gunners manning 10 brass cannon, are deployed just north of the Sacramento River and 15 miles above Chihuahua City under 40-year-old general and senator Pedro García Conde.

At sunrise, the Americans begin a wide flanking maneuver toward the west, not being discovered by the defenders until 3:00 p.m., when García Conde launches a belated, 800-man cavalry charge. The latter is easily dispersed by Clark's artillery, after which Doniphan methodically works his way behind the static Mexican lines, rolling up García Conde's hopelessly overmatched throng. At the cost of only a single American dead and 11 wounded, Doniphan kills 300 opponents and wounds a similar number, while capturing all 10 guns and their baggage train.

The next day, the Americans occupy Chihuahua City, finding it largely abandoned.

MARCH 2, 1847. After marshalling his seaborne expedition off Lobos Island southeast of Tampico, Scott's steamer *Massachusetts* gives the signal to get under way toward Antón Lizardo. His 8,600-man army, aboard 40 transports, is divided into three divisions. Worth's division consists of Garland's 4th, Lt. Col. J. S. MacIntosh's 5th, Col. N. S. Clarke's 6th, and Maj. C. A. Waite's 8th U.S. Infantry regiments; Col. James Bankhead's 2nd and Lt. Col. F. S. Belton's 3rd Artillery regiments; Duncan's field battery; Capt. G. H. Talcott's rocket and mountain battery; plus a

sapper company under Capt. A. J. Swift. Twiggs's 2nd Division comprises Col. William Davenport's 1st, Lt. Col. Bennett Riley's 2nd, Capt. Edmund B. Alexander's 3rd, and Lt. Col. Joseph Plymton's 7th U.S. Infantry regiments; Col. Thomas Childs's 1st and Maj. J. L. Gardner's 4th Artillery regiments; Col. Persifor F. Smith's Mounted Rifle Regiment; plus Capt. Francis Taylor's field battery. Patterson's 3rd Division contains Col. P. M. Butler's South Carolina ("Palmetto"), Col. F. M. Wynkoop's 1st Pennsylvania, Col. J. W. Geary's 2nd Pennsylvania, Col. W. B. Campbell's 1st Tennessee, and Col. William T. Haskell's 2nd Tennessee Volunteer regiments; plus Capt. E. J. Steptoe's field battery.

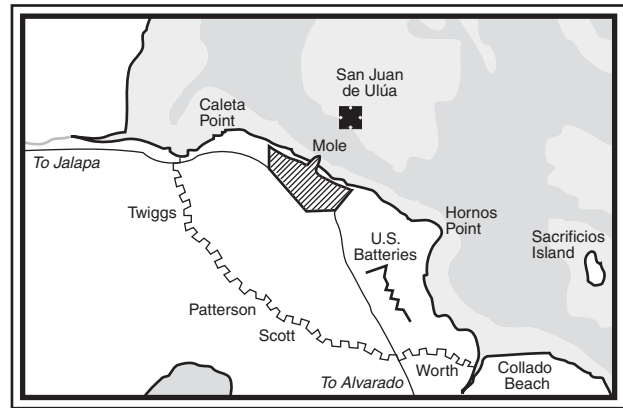
The first of these vessels arrives two days later, anchoring between Antón Lizardo and Salmedina Island to begin preparing for the disembarkation.

MARCH 6, 1847. To permit Scott to view the proposed landing site at Collado Beach (three miles southeast of Veracruz), Conner takes him aboard the *Petrita* along with Patterson, brigadier generals Worth, Twiggs, and Gideon Johnston Pillow, captains Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, plus lieutenants Pierre G. T. Beauregard and George G. Meade. The steamer is unexpectedly shelled by the big guns at San Juan de Ulúa, compelling it to withdraw.

MARCH 7, 1847. Generals Quitman, Fields, and Jesup set sail from Tampico toward Veracruz, bringing more troops for Scott's army.

MARCH 9, 1847. *Veracruz.* After a one-day delay, during which Scott's troops were transhipped from transports aboard navy vessels, Conner's men-of-war stand toward Sacrificios Island at 11:00 a.m., detaching a line of gunboats closer inshore by 3:30 p.m. to provide covering fire at Collado Beach. They open up their bombardment at 5:00, an hour before Worth's 2,600-man 1st Division actually begins disembarking. This landing meets no opposition, so is soon followed by Twiggs's 2nd Division, then Patterson's 3rd. By nightfall, all 8,600 American soldiers are ashore, along with a 1,200-man naval contingent, being joined the next morning by Scott and his headquarters staff.

Before sunrise of March 10, Conner directs Tattall's *Spitfire* to mount a brief diversionary attack against San Juan de Ulúa, while the American troops fan out at daylight to begin investing the city proper. Veracruz (population 15,000) is defended by 3,360 Mexicans—about two-thirds being regulars—with



American siege of Veracruz.

86 guns under Maj. Gen. Juan Morales, while their offshore island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa boasts an additional 1,030 men and 135 artillery pieces. These ill-prepared defenders offer no resistance to the invaders' progress, however, preferring to wait behind their ramparts.

Shortly after midday of March 13, Twiggs reaches the sea northwest of Veracruz, thus entirely cutting off the city. Patterson has meanwhile taken up position in the center, with Worth farther southeast. The Americans then begin building formal siegeworks. By noon of March 21, their first heavy batteries are ready to open fire, Scott calling for Morales's capitulation the next afternoon. Upon being rejected, a concerted bombardment commences, seconded by Perry's warships offshore (who, having returned on March 20 from repairing the *Mississippi* in Norfolk, Virginia, bears orders to supplant Conner).

The besiegers increase their rate of fire until dawn of March 26, when Gen. José Juan Landero—new garrison commander within Veracruz in place of the ill Morales—requests terms. The city officially capitulates by March 29, along with San Juan de Ulúa, all defenders being paroled and officers allowed to retain their sidearms, mounts, and personal effects. At a cost of 14 American dead and 59 wounded, Scott gains a secure supply base for his march inland.

MARCH 21, 1847. Having led 10,500 survivors of his shattered army back from Buena Vista into San Luis Potosí, Santa Anna appears with his two best divisions at the Guadalupe suburb north of Mexico City, then ends the dispute between General de la Peña and Vice President Gómez Farías by deposing the latter in favor of 51-year-old general and congressman Pedro María Anaya.

MARCH 29, 1847. At midday, Montgomery's *Portsmouth* arrives off San José del Cabo (Baja California), calling for the town's surrender. The Mexican authorities refuse, yet offer no resistance when Lt. Benjamin F. B. Hunter disembarks the next day with 140 sailors and marines.

MARCH 30, 1847. This afternoon, Scott detaches Quitman's brigade to march southeast from Veracruz along the coast and seize the port of Alvarado, supported by a naval squadron offshore. When the 3-gun, 60-man, 230-ton, twin-propeller steamer *Scourge* of Lt. Charles G. Hunter bombards La Vigía Battery the next morning, he also discovers Alvarado already abandoned by its Mexican garrison. Hunter thus immediately occupies the place and pushes upriver as far as Tlacotalpan, capturing three vessels and burning a fourth.

After a brief occupation, Quitman's brigade rejoins Scott at Veracruz, leaving the U.S. Navy to garrison both Alvarado and Tlacotalpan under Capt. Isaac Mayo.

APRIL 3, 1847. Santa Anna departs Mexico City, traveling east to assume command over the three infantry divisions, one cavalry brigade, and 2,000 militiamen guarding the Veracruz highway under Canalizo.

This same day on the Pacific coast, Montgomery's *Portsmouth* seizes the village of San Lucas (California), then on April 4 steers for La Paz to obtain the surrender of the entire province from governor Palacios Miranda.

APRIL 8, 1847. Scott's vanguard departs Veracruz under Twiggs. It consists of 2,600 infantrymen, a dragoon squadron, two light field batteries, and a dozen heavier pieces. Twiggs is to be followed up the national highway toward Jalapa by Patterson's division; Scott himself emerges on April 11 with the balance of his forces.

APRIL 12, 1847. *Tuxpan.* Perry departs Sacrificios Island with a flotilla of small steamers and gunboats, rendezvousing the next evening with his main fleet off Lobos Island to veer south and make a land descent. Despite being briefly scattered by a norther, the Americans appear outside the Tuxpan River mouth by morning of April 17 with the steamers *Spitfire* (flag), *Vixen*, and *Scourge*; the schooners *Bonita*, *Petrel*, and *Reefer*, plus 30 barges bearing a 1,500-man landing force under Capt. Samuel L.

Breese of the 22-gun, 210-man, 1,040-ton sloop *Albany*.

After gingerly crossing the river's bar on the morning of April 18, the raiders proceed upriver. By 2:30 p.m., Perry's advance elements are fired upon by the three-gun La Peña Battery, which is abandoned when a contingent of Americans disembarks nearby. The same occurs shortly hereafter at the two-gun La Palmasola water battery, after which Perry's flotilla arrives directly before Tuxpan by 3:30 p.m. The town's 350-man garrison under General Cós (Santa Anna's brother-in-law; see "Texan Independence") melts into the interior, fighting a rear-guard action that kills two invaders and wounds nine.

The commodore spends the next four days stripping Tuxpan of everything of military value before he retires toward Antón Lizardo on April 22.

APRIL 13, 1847. Montgomery's *Portsmouth* officially occupies La Paz (Baja California), before withdrawing his marines and retiring north to Monterey.

APRIL 14, 1847. *Cerro Gordo.* Three days after Twiggs's vanguard has detected a large Mexican force dug in four miles northwest of Plan del Río (Veracruz), barring further progress up the national highway toward Jalapa—which lies four miles beyond—Scott arrives to assume direct command over operations. Desperate to halt the Americans' offensive before it can penetrate into Mexico's fertile and more densely populated interior, Santa Anna has emplaced 12,000 raw troops and 43 field-pieces east of the town of Cerro Gordo (whose 1,000-foot prominence is today called El Telégrafo). This ground being well chosen, Scott waits until Worth's division joins, bringing his own strength up to 8,500 effectives.

On the morning of Saturday, April 17, Twiggs circles north of the Mexican positions with Riley's 2nd Infantry, Smith's Mounted Rifles—temporarily commanded by Col. William S. Harney—and Brig. Gen. James Shields's brigade, which comprises the 3rd and 4th Illinois, plus the New York Regiment. Although intended only as a preliminary deployment, this column is hit around La Atalaya Hill by a Mexican counterattack, provoking Twiggs into pushing as far forward as Santa Anna's main force before his outnumbered men finally withdraw at nightfall.

The next morning, the Americans move forward again from La Atalaya. Supported by a frontal assault from Scott's main army, this flanking maneuver breaks



American troops advancing against the Mexican defenses atop the hill outside Cerro Gordo, lithograph by Carl Nebel. (Author's Collection)

the Mexican line and overruns the town of Cerro Gordo. Fearful of being cut off from the rear, Santa Anna's panic-stricken troops flee south from the heights toward Orizaba, leaving behind more than 3,000 prisoners. His carriage and six-mule team having been riddled by American shots, the Mexican commander in chief is compelled to join this flight, along with de Ampudia and other generals. Scott's losses total 63 killed and 367 wounded.

APRIL 20, 1847. Led by Patterson's division, the victorious American army enters deserted Jalapa.

APRIL 21, 1847. After an exhausting cross-country ride, Santa Anna reaches Orizaba, beginning to re-assemble 4,000 of his defeated troops. The next day, de Ampudia rides toward Puebla with the remnants of his cavalry.

APRIL 28, 1847. Doniphan quits Chihuahua City, striking southeast to join Wool at Saltillo.

MAY 6, 1847. Worth's division departs Jalapa, pushing west-southwest toward Puebla. En route,

one of his regiments occupies the abandoned Mexican stronghold of El Perote.

That same day, seven of Scott's volunteer regiments—3,000 men of the 3rd and 4th Illinois, 1st and 2nd Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama Infantry, plus the Tennessee Cavalry—quit Jalapa to travel eastward under Patterson, their terms of enlistment having expired. The American commander is therefore left with scarcely 3,000 troops in Jalapa.

MAY 10, 1847. Perry departs Antón Lizardo southeastward with the *Mississippi* (flag), the *Vixen*, and the 4-gun, 60-man, 340-ton paddle-steamer *Scorpion* of Cmdr. Abraham Bigelow to sweep the Mexican coastline. Two days later off Coatzacoalcas, he joins the *John Adams*, the 16-gun, 150-man, 566-ton sloop *Decatur* of Cmdr. Richard S. Pinckney, and 47-man, 180-ton "bomb brig" *Stromboli* (ex-Howard) of Cmdr. William S. Walker. Finding the 12-gun fort guarding its entrance abandoned and demolished by the Mexicans, Perry sends a reconnaissance party upriver on May 13, which surveys as far as Minatitlán—24 miles inland—before retiring.

MAY 11, 1847. Doniphan reaches Parras (state of Coahuila), his vanguard rescuing a group of Mexican captives being carried off by Lipan Indians and slaying 15 of these raiders.

MAY 15, 1847. Scott's army occupies the city of Puebla without opposition.

MAY 16, 1847. After watering at Frontera (state of Tabasco), Perry's *Mississippi* (flag), *Vixen*, *Scorpion*, *John Adams*, and *Decatur* arrive off El Carmen to join the brigs *Porpoise* and the single-gun *Washington* of Lt. Samuel P. Lee, plus the 47-man, 240-ton bomb brig *Vesuvius* (ex-*St. Mary's*) of Cmdr. George H. Magruder. The next day, to once again stem its clandestine traffic into Mexico (see "December 20, 1846" entry), Perry reoccupies the town of El Carmen with a party of sailors and marines, naming Magruder as governor.

MAY 19, 1847. While returning west toward Antón Lizardo from El Carmen, Perry pauses to appoint Cmdr. Gershom J. Van Brunt of the 47-man, 180-ton bomb-brig *Etna* (ex-*Walcott*) as military governor of Coatzacoalcos and its inland district.

MAY 28, 1847. Scott rejoins Worth at Puebla, their combined forces totaling 5,820 effectives—too few to push on toward Mexico City. Over the next three months, he awaits reinforcements to resume his offensive.

JUNE 9, 1847. Perry departs east from Antón Lizardo aboard the *Mississippi*, commanding his forces to gather at Frontera (state of Tabasco) for a campaign up the Grijalva River.

JUNE 14, 1847. *Tabasco.* Early this morning, Perry's steamers *Scorpion* (flag), *Scourge*, *Spitfire*, and *Vixen* begin towing the vessels *Washington*, *Stromboli*, *Vesuvius*, the merchant schooner *Spitfire*, and approximately 40 boats with a 1,200-man landing party across the Grijalva River mouth, joining the *Bonita* and the *Etna* already anchored off Frontera. The deeper-draft *Mississippi*, *Raritan*, *John Adams*, *Albany*, *Decatur*, and 22-gun, 210-man, 940-ton sloop *Germantown* of Cmdr. Franklin Buchanan remain outside the mouth of the river, although they contribute men toward this enterprise.

After spending the first day coaling, Perry signals his expedition to proceed upriver at 5:25 p.m. The next afternoon at 4:00, his advance elements are

fired upon by 150 Mexicans under Col. Miguel Bruno, occupying a hill 12 miles below Villahermosa at Santa Teresa. The Americans push past unscathed, weathering further sniping at *Vuelta del Diablo* or "Devil's Bend" before anchoring for the night opposite some underwater obstacles at Siete Palmas.

At 6:00 a.m. on June 6, the Mexican breastwork at La Colmena opens fire upon an American reconnaissance boat, prompting Perry to disembark and lead his 1,200-man "naval brigade" in a flanking maneuver. Within a few hours, he has circled far enough inland to approach Fort Acachapan out of the east, finding it defended by 300 Mexican infantrymen, 300 militia riders, and two guns under Col. Claro Hidalgo. The attackers deploy their troops and artillery, scattering the garrison with a charge. Meanwhile, 34-year-old lieutenant David Dixon Porter—in acting command of the *Spitfire*—clears the river's log obstructions, then passes Perry's small army while it is still pressing southwest against Villahermosa's last lines of defense. Shortly after 10:30 a.m., the flotilla runs past Iturbide breastwork, raking it from behind so that its Mexican gunners flee, allowing Porter to set 68 men ashore and secure this strongpoint. The vessels then anchor before Villahermosa, which has been deserted by Gov. Domingo Echegaray's garrison so surrenders at noon. Perry's brigade arrives three hours later in heavy rain to begin the occupation. American casualties total 5 wounded, as opposed to about 30 Mexican casualties.

JUNE 22, 1847. Perry departs Villahermosa, having installed a small garrison under Commander Van Brunt, supported by the *Spitfire*, the *Scourge*, and the *Etna*.

JUNE 24, 1847. Mexican guerrillas launch a nocturnal attack against the American garrison in Villahermosa. They are dispersed but remain outside to harass foraging parties.

JUNE 30, 1847. Having sallied westward from Villahermosa before dawn to chastise the Mexican guerrillas encircling the town, Commander Bigelow approaches their base camp four miles up the Grijalva River at Tamulté with 200 men and a pair of 6-pounders, accompanied by the *Scourge* and the *Vixen*. After a 20-minute skirmish in which 1 American is killed and 5 wounded, the raiders disperse from the Mexican encampment, destroying everything of value before retiring.

JULY 8, 1847. Scott is reinforced at Puebla by 4,500 American troops under Pillow, MacIntosh, and Brig. Gen. George Cadwalader.

JULY 16, 1847. Mexican guerrillas launch a daylight assault against the American garrison within Villahermosa but are repelled.

JULY 19, 1847. Because of increasing sickness and persistent Mexican guerrilla attacks, Perry orders Villahermosa evacuated, which is accomplished by the evening of July 22, rearguard actions costing the Americans one killed and three wounded.

JULY 21, 1847. The 6-gun, 43-man, 690-ton store-ship *Lexington* of Lt. Theodore Bailey anchors two miles outside La Paz (Baja California), depositing Lt. Col. Henry S. Burton's 112 men of the 1st New York Volunteer Regiment to act as a permanent garrison.

JULY 27, 1847. On Santa Anna's orders, Gen. Gabriel Valencia arrives north of Mexico City at Guadalupe from San Luis Potosí, bringing 4,000 veterans of the army defeated at Buena Vista.

AUGUST 6, 1847. The 42-year-old brigadier general, ex-senator (and future U.S. president) Franklin Pierce reaches Scott's army at Puebla with 2,400 reinforcements. This same day, another 1,000 men of the 9th Infantry Regiment begin marching inland from Veracruz under Maj. F.T. Lally, taking 13 days to reach Jalapa because of constant harassing attacks by 2,000 Mexicans under Gen. Juan Soto.

The day after Pierce's arrival, Scott launches his long-anticipated offensive against Mexico City, dispatching Twiggs's division west-northwest out of Puebla in advance of his main army. All told, Scott has 14,000 troops—of whom 2,500 are sick and 600 more convalescent.

AUGUST 10, 1847. Learning that the Americans are at last moving, Anaya's brigade marches out of Mexico City this morning to begin fortifying El Peñón Hill, 10 miles to its east, with 7,000 troops and 30 cannon, in accordance with Santa Anna's plans for defending the capital.

AUGUST 14, 1847. Mexico's ex-president Paredes—disguised as “M. Martínez”—arrives at Veracruz from Havana aboard the British mail-steamer *Téviot*. The 46-year-old commander David Glasgow Far-

ragut of the 22-gun, 275-man, 880-ton sloop *Saratoga* fails to make an inspection, thus allowing Paredes to escape ashore.

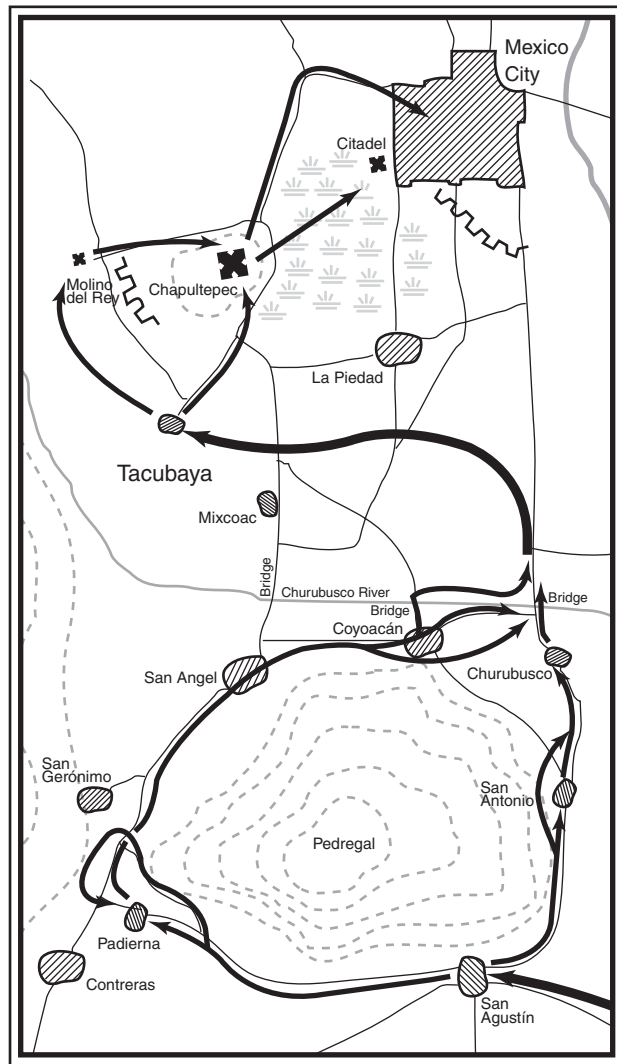
AUGUST 16, 1847. Rather than approach the main Mexican defenses at El Peñón head-on, Worth, Pillow, and Quitman's divisions veer southwestward this morning, leaving Twiggs's division at Ayotla (20 miles east-southeast of Mexico City) to hold Santa Anna in check, while they circle around.

AUGUST 18, 1847. Scott's vanguard reaches the town of San Agustín and turns north, only to have the advance cavalry screen draw fire from a heavy battery at San Antonio, three miles south of Churubusco (which kills Seth Thornton, among others). Unable to outflank this position because of an impassable lava field to its west called El Pedregal, the Americans decide to again slip farther around along a road reconnoitered by Captain Lee.

Santa Anna, meanwhile—having been alerted to this movement around his southern flank—redeploys Valencia's 5,500 men into San Angel, Francisco Pérez's 3,500 men two miles farther east into Coyoacán, and Bravo's force into Churubusco, using Rincón's force, which remains at El Peñón, as a reserve. Fearing his troops will see no action, however, Valencia disobeys and takes up station five miles southwest of his allotted position in the village of Padierna.

AUGUST 19, 1847. *Contreras-Churubusco.* This morning, Twiggs sets out westward from San Agustín to lead Pillow and Worth in the latest flanking maneuver. Early in the afternoon, while approaching the San Angel–Contreras highway at its Padierna crossroads, his advance elements come under artillery fire, prompting Twiggs to deploy Capt. John Magruder's two field batteries. When it becomes evident that they are dueling with Valencia's 22 heavy guns and not some minor outpost, Pillow commits 3,500 men of Riley's, Cadwalader's, and Morgan's contingents to capturing vacant San Gerónimo, hoping to thereby isolate Valencia from the principal Mexican body.

Instead, Santa Anna moves southwestward late in the day with another 3,500 Mexicans to extricate Valencia, in the process unwittingly threatening to crush the American thrust between two pincers. Realizing the danger, Smith follows Riley, Cadwalader, and Morgan into San Gerónimo at nightfall, directing them to leave a screen facing northward against



American advance upon Mexico City.

Santa Anna while continuing with him behind Valencia's positions under cover of darkness with their combined strength. The next dawn, Santa Anna unexpectedly begins retiring northeastward, so that, when Riley suddenly launches his surprise attack from Valencia's rear at 6:00 a.m., the latter's men are already feeling lost. They scatter after only 17 minutes of fighting, suffering 700 killed plus 813 captured, along with all their artillery.

The subsequent American pursuit of this broken formation from Contreras carries as far northeastward as San Ángel and Coyoacán, spreading panic among other Mexican units. Worth takes advantage of this breakthrough to send Clarke's brigade (the 5th, 6th, and 8th Infantry regiments) wheeling behind the San Antonio stronghold, causing its Mexican garrison to flee northward into Churubusco as

well rather than risk being cut off. Santa Anna's dispersed contingents now utterly collapse as a cohesive fighting force, every man struggling to recross the river at either Coyoacán or Churubusco. Scott directs Shields and Pierce to attack the former bridgehead and sends Worth and Pillow against the latter around noon.

After more than two hours of heavy fighting, the 2,600 troops of Clarke's and Cadwalader's brigades, plus Duncan's Artillery Battalion, overcome the Churubusco bridgehead; then Alexander's 3rd Infantry storms its last stronghold, the fortified San Mateo Convent. This building's defenders—renegade Irish American deserters re-formed into the so-called San Patricio Battalion—resist desperately but are eventually overwhelmed (30 of their 69 survivors later being court-martialed and executed). By midafternoon of August 20, Santa Anna has fled back into his capital, his army ruined. Mexican casualties total 4,000 killed or wounded, plus another 3,000 captured—including two former presidents and six generals. Scott's losses are 139 killed and more than 900 wounded or missing.

Although having Mexico City at his mercy, Scott hesitates to move against the capital the next morning, instead allowing Santa Anna time to request a truce—which the Americans grant on Sunday, August 22, hoping it will lead to a general armistice.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1847. After two weeks of fruitless talks, Scott informs Santa Anna that the American army will resume offensive operations the next midday.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1847. *Molino del Rey.* This afternoon, Scott learns that a large body of Mexican troops has occupied the *Molino del Rey* or "King's Mill," barely one and one-third miles from his Tacubaya headquarters. Wishing to brush back this outpost before his main army launches its final drive against Mexico City, the American commander sends 3,500 men against this place the next morning under Worth.

Expecting the Mexicans to fall back, the attackers instead encounter five brigades and heavy artillery, the defenders stubbornly holding both Molino del Rey and its adjacent stone Casa Mata. Twin columns under Maj. George Wright and Garland, supported by a field battery, become embroiled in a fierce two-hour battle before finally rooting the defenders out of these strongholds. American losses total 116 killed and 671 wounded.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1847. *Chapultepec.* Having marshaled his forces, Scott orders his artillery to begin bombarding the hilltop castle of Chapultepec at 5:00 a.m. so as to take this place before continuing on toward Mexico City. The 260 defenders under elderly general Bravo—including 50 young cadets of Mexico’s Military College—endure this daylong barrage, along with 600 troops stationed in the surrounding woods.

At 8:00 the next morning, Pierce’s brigade charges eastward from Molino del Rey, supported by Quitman’s brigade on its right, to overwhelm the lower defenses in intense hand-to-hand fighting. Scaling ladders are then brought forward, and by 9:30 a.m., Col. Joseph E. Johnston’s gray-coated Voltigeur Regiment unfurls the American colors atop this lofty fortress. (A half-dozen Mexican cadets fight to the death rather than surrender, one of them—Fernando Montes de Oca—jumping off the ramparts with the Mexican flag clutched in his arms. All six are today remembered as the *Niños Héroes* or “Boy Heroes.”)

Two American columns then sweep past this captured stronghold, speeding on toward the capital’s western gates. By nightfall, Santa Anna has suffered

a total of 1,800 casualties (compared with Scott’s 450), so at 1:00 a.m., the Mexican president decides to evacuate his capital.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1847. Encountering only sporadic resistance, Scott fights his way into Mexico City’s main square by noon, while Santa Anna and his surviving troops retreat north toward Guadalupe. After a couple of days of severe rioting, some semblance of order is restored in the capital, Quitman being appointed as its military governor.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1847. At Guadalupe, Santa Anna resigns the presidency in favor of Chief Justice Manuel de la Peña y Peña.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1847. Brig. Gen. Joseph Lane departs Veracruz with 2,500 American reinforcements, joining Lally shortly thereafter at Jalapa.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1847. Santa Anna appears outside Puebla with 3,200 irregular cavalymen and 2,500 militiamen, calling upon its American garrison commander—Col. C. F. Childs—to surrender.



American troops sweeping past Chapultepec Castle toward Mexico City, lithograph by Carl Nebel. (Author's Collection)



General Scott's tense entry into Mexico City; the cathedral is at center, with the low presidential palace adorned with the Stars and Stripes at right. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

The latter refuses, at which the raw Mexican troops balk at storming its walls, instead instituting a half-hearted siege.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1847. Four days after departing occupied La Paz (Baja California), the 16-gun, 150-man, 566-ton sloop *Dale* of Cmdr. Thomas O. Selfridge approaches Mulegé under false English colors, then raises the Stars and Stripes and cuts out the Mexican schooner *Magdalena* this afternoon with a 50-man boarding party. Deemed unseaworthy, the prize is burned shortly thereafter.

The next morning, Selfridge calls upon Mulegé's officials to submit to U.S. authority. Capt. Manuel Pineda—having earlier overthrown the collaborationist Palacios Miranda—refuses, prompting the Americans to disembark 17 marines and 57 sailors around 3:30 p.m. after a 90-minute bombardment by the *Dale*. Although able to fight their way into this town, the landing party accomplishes little, before

retiring at nightfall under harassing fire from the 150 defenders scattered through the hills. On October 2, the U.S. sloop reverses course southeast toward Loreto, while the heartened Mexicans prepare to advance against the U.S. garrison occupying La Paz.

OCTOBER 5, 1847. Selfridge's *Dale* disembarks a company of marines and sailors at Loreto (Baja California), seizing two brass 4-pounders and other armaments.

OCTOBER 8, 1847. Walker's Texas Rangers, acting as scouts for Lane's brigade, surprise Santa Anna's pickets and chase them back into the town of Huamantla (Puebla). However, here lies the main Mexican army, complete with two artillery pieces, which devastates this pursuit and kills Walker. Lane's infantry thereupon arrives, scattering Santa Anna's force and capturing his two guns before continuing westward into Puebla the next day.

Shortly thereafter, Santa Anna is ordered by President Peña to turn over command to Rincón and prepare to stand trial for his conduct of Mexico's defense.

OCTOBER 17, 1847. Capt. Elie A. F. La Vallette arrives outside Guaymas (Sonora) with the *Congress*, the *Portsmouth*, and the brigantine *Argo* (a Chilean blockade-runner intercepted earlier), calling upon its governor—Colonel Campuzano—to surrender his 400-man garrison the next afternoon. The Mexican officer refuses, so La Vallette installs a 32-pounder on Almagre Grande Island overnight to sweep the bay.

At 5:30 a.m. on October 19, the *Portsmouth* is rowed into Guaymas's inner harbor, its commander again calling for capitulation at noon, while threatening to shell the town. Campuzano rebuffs this latest offer as well, so the *Portsmouth* and *Congress* open fire the next morning at 6:30, halting an hour later when the Mexican garrison retreats four miles into Boca-chicacampo. A marine company occupies Casa Blanca Hill briefly that same afternoon and razes Guaymas's fortifications on October 21; otherwise, the Americans install no garrison, preferring to control this port by leaving a warship anchored in its roadstead.

NOVEMBER 1, 1847. Patterson strikes inland from Veracruz with 3,000 reinforcements, reaching Jalapa one week later. He is followed shortly thereafter by Butler with another 4,000.

NOVEMBER 10, 1847. *Mazatlán.* The new commander in chief of the U.S. Pacific Squadron—Commo. William Branford Shubrick—arrives this evening off Mazatlán (Sinaloa), anchoring his 56-gun, 750-man, 1,900-ton flagship *Independence* due west at Olas Altas; the *Congress* northwest in Puerto Viejo; while the *Cyane* inches into Puerto Nuevo farther east. (The storeship *Erie* also joins after dark.) With the city thus threatened on three sides, Col. Rafael Telles withdraws his 560-man garrison inland to Palos Prietos overnight.

The next morning, the Americans discover Mazatlán undefended, so disembark 730 men in 29 boats. After beginning repairs on its fortifications, Shubrick installs a 400-man garrison, with Captain La Vallette as military governor. Telles is satisfied to maintain cavalry patrols outside, preventing supplies from entering the occupied city.

NOVEMBER 11, 1847. In an attempt to drive the Americans out of Baja California, Pineda launches a

Fall of Mexico City

By late evening on September 13, 1847, the last Mexican units outside the capital were vanquished, so Santa Anna gave the order at 1:00 a.m. for his remaining troops to slip away. Three hours later, some city councilors visited Scott at his headquarters, asking to discuss terms. The general refused, instead instructing at dawn that the twin American columns, standing before the capital's western gates under Worth and Quitman, cautiously push inside the city of 250,000 inhabitants. The former halted his advance at the Alameda Park, while Quitman's troops pressed all the way into the main square by noon of September 14.

Yet even as the Stars and Stripes were being hoisted atop the presidential palace, sniper fire began from the "flat roofs of the houses, from windows and corners of streets." Mexico City plunged into chaos. American troops, taking casualties in the narrow streets, returned fire, prompting frightened civilians to drape their homes with white flags. Jails were flung open by the fleeing Mexican authorities, and an estimated 2,000 prisoners then looted empty stores and dwellings. Anarchy raged for more than 24 hours before the invaders finally brought in field artillery to blast pockets of resistance. A curfew was imposed by the next evening.

September 16, Mexico's Independence Day, dawned quietly in the gutted city. Scott appointed Major General Quitman as military governor and also recognized the civilian authority of the Mexican councilors, police, and courts. The U.S. Army, "in consideration of its protection," imposed a levy of 150,000 pesos on the city council. Quitman meanwhile doused fires, repaired the prisons, treated the wounded, and buried the dead. As fears eased, life gradually returned to the capital. U.S. regulars behaved themselves quite well among the civilian population, although some volunteers proved so abusive that their regiments were billeted eight miles away at San Ángel. The American authorities installed pillories in Mexico City to punish offenders, native or foreign.

After a while, Quitman's duties came to include such mundane chores as replacing windows in the presidential palace, setting exchange rates, and processing restaurant applications. He was therefore granted leave on November 1, 1847, to depart for Washington. Commerce revived as the occupiers paid in dollars for their provisions, while their quartermaster employed 1,000 Mexicans to make uniforms to reclothe Scott's entire army. U.S. soldiers came to enjoy shows at the *Nuevo México* theater and to frequent dance halls on Coliseo or Betlemitas streets. They set up their canteen in the Hotel Bella Unión, complete with gambling tables and prostitutes. Even English-language newspapers eventually appeared during the nine-month occupation of the Mexican capital.

dawn assault against the La Paz garrison with 120 men, being repulsed by artillery fire.

This same day, elections are held in the unoccupied portions of Mexico, with Anaya emerging as interim president for the next two months, in succession to Peña (who becomes foreign minister).

NOVEMBER 17, 1847. In an attempt to impose sterner American control over Guaymas, Selfridge leads 17 marines and 50 seamen ashore from the *Dale*, encountering 250 Mexicans at Casa Blanca Hill. The Americans are pinned down in a brief firefight, and their commander is seriously wounded, before these defenders disperse.

This same day, Pineda mounts a second attack against La Paz on the far side of the Gulf of California, suffering four or five killed and a like number wounded, before withdrawing six miles to La Laguna. American casualties are one dead and two injured.

NOVEMBER 18, 1847. Delegates from eight Mexican states agree to seek peace from the Americans.

NOVEMBER 19, 1847. Lt. Charles Heywood's 24-man marine garrison at San José (Baja California) is called upon to surrender by 150 Mexicans under captains Vicente Mejía and José Matías Moreno, plus naval lieutenant José Antonio Mijares. The Americans refuse and, along with 20 Mexican collaborators, withstand two nights of assaults inside the old mission. The attackers withdraw by the morning of November 21, as two approaching sail seemingly promise relief—although proving to be merely the American whalers *Magnolia* and *Edward*.

NOVEMBER 20, 1847. Before dawn, two large American boat parties push out of Mazatlán, attempting to surprise a 90-man Mexican patrol 10 miles away at Urias, under Swiss-born Carlos Horn. One sailor is killed and 20 others wounded after a brief encounter, which also leaves 4 Mexicans dead and an unknown number injured.

NOVEMBER 26, 1847. The 8-gun, 43-man, 567-ton store-ship *Southampton* of Lt. Robert D. Thorburn reinforces the garrison at San José (Baja California) with 26 men and two guns.

NOVEMBER 27, 1847. This afternoon, Pineda rushes La Paz (Baja California) with 350 men, only to be repulsed by Burton's 112 defenders.

JANUARY 11, 1848. The *Lexington* joins the bark *Whiton* of Lt. Frederick Chatard off San Blas (Nayarit), combining to set 47 men ashore the next morning who strip its harbor castle of guns and cut out two schooners.

JANUARY 18, 1848. Chatard goes ashore at Manzanillo (Colima) with a small party from the *Whiton*, spiking three guns.

JANUARY 22, 1848. Pineda and several hundred men capture an American foraging party outside San José (Baja California) and then besiege 27 marines, 15 sailors, 20 Mexican collaborators, and 50 noncombatants inside its old mission. The defenders resist until dawn of February 15, when the *Cyane* deposits 102 men three miles away and relieves the garrison.

JANUARY 30, 1848. Before sunrise, 12 marines and two companies of seamen quit the *Dale*—now under acting command of Lt. Edward M. Yard—to row stealthily toward Cochori, eight miles east of Guaymas, and surprise a Mexican concentration. These raiders disembark three miles short of their destination and close upon it from three directions. Cochori is carried in a rush, 3 Mexicans being killed, 5 wounded, and numerous others captured before this landing party returns aboard the *Dale* two hours later.

FEBRUARY 13, 1848. At dawn, 60 of the *Dale*'s seamen and marines close upon the remnants of Campuzano's camp at Bocachicacampo from three directions, dispersing and destroying his base.

MARCH 22, 1848. Another company of the 1st New York Volunteer Regiment, plus 115 recruits, reach La Paz (Baja California).

Reassured by these reinforcements, Capt. Seymour G. Steele three days later leads a 33-man raiding party against Pineda's main encampment at San Antonio, severely wounding this Mexican commander and capturing 3 of his men, while releasing 5 American captives.

MARCH 31, 1848. Eight days after departing La Paz (Baja California) with three companies—217 men—of the 1st New York Volunteers, Burton surprises a Mexican concentration under Gov. Mauricio Castro at Todos Santos, killing 10 and dispersing the rest. Many of these fleeing troops, including the governor, are subsequently captured 25 miles farther

California Gold Rush

In the lonely Sacramento Valley of occupied Upper California, a Swiss-born settler named John Sutter owned a vast tract of wilderness. In the summer of 1847, he sent a work crew up the south branch of the American River as far as Coloma to build a sawmill. When the workmen loosed water into its millrace on January 23, 1848, to wash clear the debris, they noticed gold nuggets glinting in its bed the next morning. Worried about potential disruptions from an influx of lawless prospectors, Sutter asked them to keep their discovery secret for another six weeks, until spring planting was done.

The workers agreed, continuing their regular shifts at his site, while panning for gold on Sundays. News of their strike nonetheless trickled into San Francisco and was reported in both newspapers. Still, the city's 850–900 residents were not unduly excited. A second, richer lode was then found by several Mormons about 25 miles from Sutter's Mill. By late April 1848, men were slipping into San Francisco with gold nuggets to replenish supplies before hastening back up the American River. The Mormon businessman Sam Brannan deliberately brandished a bottle full of gold on May 12 to excite enough interest that he might sell supplies and equipment to prospectors disembarking at his store below Sutter's Fort. Within two days, fleets of boats were departing upriver from San Francisco. By the end of June, it was estimated that less than 100 inhabitants remained in the deserted port city.

Word spread rapidly through Oregon, Utah, and the Mexican state of Sonora before finally reaching as far as the eastern United States. What really started the "California Gold Rush," though, was when President Polk corroborated reports of this wealthy new discovery in his annual State of the Union address on December 5, 1848. Thousands of easterners and mid-westerners then struck out overland, arriving the next year to be remembered as the "Forty-Niners." Others boarded ships for the 17,000-mile, six- to eight-month voyage round Cape Horn or the riskier six-week traverse across the Isthmus of Panama.

By 1851, the population of San Francisco had swelled to 25,000 residents. Thousands more relocated throughout California and the western United States. Such a sudden and massive migration also increased tensions with the Plains Indians, aggravated relations with Latin American nations such as Colombia, and marked a permanent shift westward in American interests.

east at Santiago by another two American detachments out of San José.

APRIL 9, 1848. A small American unit disembarks in the Soldado River estuary of Sonora, marching 12 miles inland to spike three Mexican guns, suffering two men wounded during their retirement.

APRIL 25, 1848. With the cessation of hostilities, the American marines garrisoning San José and La Paz (Baja California) are withdrawn by the *Cyane*. However, the three companies of New York volunteer militiamen left behind will experience mutinies, numerous ringleaders being detained before these units are finally picked up in early September to be transported to Monterey.

After fitful negotiations between the American occupiers and the faction-riven rump of Mexico's

government, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is finally signed on February 2, 1848. By its terms, the United States wrests away half of Mexico's territory: the largely empty provinces of California, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. In addition, Mexico agrees to recognize the earlier U.S. acquisition of Texas.

In exchange, the American government pays Mexico \$15 million in compensation for these lands, while assuming responsibility for an additional \$3.5 million in claims by U.S. citizens. Mexicans living in the ceded territories are to be treated as American citizens. This agreement is ratified by the U.S. Congress on March 10 and by Mexico on May 19. Veracruz is restored to Mexican control by June 11, the last of 18,300 American troops departing from there by July 31.

FILIBUSTERISM (1852–1860)

In the mid-19th century, the weakness and divided nature of many Latin American countries encourage foreign adventurers to mount private campaigns into this region, much like those of their 17th-century predecessors, the “filibusters” (legally defined as individuals who wage war without a recognized government’s sanction). The first country to undergo such incursions is Mexico, still reeling from its defeat in its recent war against the United States.

In December 1850, a group of French investors headed by that nation’s ambassador in Mexico City, André Levasseur, persuades Gov. José de Aguilar and his compliant assembly, in the remote northwestern state of Sonora, to allow their company to develop the potentially rich mining region between the 31st parallel and the newly defined borders with California and New Mexico. Although this unauthorized arrangement fails to win ratification from the national Congress in Mexico City, it nonetheless furnishes an excuse for armed interventions, which the central authorities are powerless to resist.

JUNE 1, 1852. *Raousset’s Invasion.* Having failed to find any riches during California’s Gold Rush, a 34-year-old French soldier of fortune named Gaston Raoul Raousset, Comte de Boulbon, agrees to recruit and command an armed expedition into Sonora’s interior to stake out a huge new claim in this untamed Indian territory for the Franco-Mexican Restauradora del Mineral de Arizona Mining Company. Having hired 600 mercenaries at San Francisco (California)—260 of them being French—Raousset arrives at the port of Guaymas on June 1. After organizing his small army into six infantry companies, plus one each for cavalry and artillerymen, he strikes north toward Hermosillo on June 13.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1852. While encamped at Magdalena, Raousset receives a message from the new acting governor of Sonora, Fernando Cubillas, ordering that he and his French followers either adopt Mexican citizenship or leave the country. Knowing that this official and Gen. Miguel Blanco, the military commander for the state, are shareholders in a rival mining enterprise, Raousset refuses. Instead, he proclaims Sonora to be an independent country, then marches south with his 184 infantrymen, 50 dragoons, and 25 gunners for four small fieldpieces to defeat Blanco on September 30 and occupy the capital of Hermosillo.

OCTOBER 26, 1852. After almost four weeks of occupation, Raousset’s isolated garrison abandons Hermosillo, retreating south toward Guaymas, while being hounded by Mexican guerrillas under Blanco.

Falling sick with dysentery, Raousset leaves his army nine miles outside Guaymas on October 29 to sail away for Mazatlán, then for San Francisco (California). His survivors are allowed to depart undisturbed after surrendering their artillery train to the Mexican authorities in exchange for 11,000 pesos.

OCTOBER 15, 1853. *Walker’s Mexican Adventure.* The 29-year-old, self-proclaimed “Colonel” William Walker departs San Francisco with 45 followers aboard the schooner *Caroline* to carve out a new country. Disembarking in Baja California at La Paz (population 1,100) on November 3, he raises a flag with two stars—ostensibly signifying the union of Baja California and Sonora. He promulgates his newfangled “Republic of Lower California” with himself as president and a constitution modeled on the laws of Louisiana, permitting slavery.

Street fighting erupts 10 days later, though, obliging Walker and his adherents to retreat north into Ensenada, just south of Tijuana, which he designates as his new capital. Despite receiving reinforcements from nearby California, Walker’s hold soon weakens further when he comes into conflict with Ensenada’s local landowner Antonio María Meléndez. The adventurer nonetheless sets out east-northeastward in March 1854 with 100 American filibusters, hoping to push overland into northern Sonora. But after crossing the Colorado River into that state on April 4, he is obliged to turn back.

Now harassed by Mexican guerrillas, Walker is finally defeated by Lt. Col. Javier Castillo Negrete in a skirmish at La Grulla near Santo Tomás Mis-



William Walker, self-proclaimed president of Nicaragua from 1856 to 1857. (Library of Congress)

sion, southeast of Ensenada, compelling him to flee northward across the border into California with his 33 remaining followers on May 8. They surrender to U.S. military authorities, and Walker is subsequently tried in San Francisco on a charge of violating the United States's neutrality laws, although he is acquitted that October.

MARCH 1854. *Raousset's Demise.* After vainly appealing his October 1852 expulsion from Sonora before President Santa Anna in Mexico City, this young adventurer returns to San Francisco (California) and again recruits another 300 mostly French volunteers. Raousset arrives near Guaymas with this force on June 28, 1854 (after a 35-day passage), setting up temporary headquarters in a cave.

Having failed to persuade the local federal commander, Gen. José María Yáñez, to join the ongoing Ayutla Revolution against Santa Anna (see "March 1, 1854" in Ayutla Revolution), Raousset's contingent is eventually defeated by this Mexican general

in a three-hour fight on July 31, suffering 100 casualties. The French leader is captured, tried before a military tribunal, then executed in Guaymas's La Mole Square at sunrise of August 12.

APRIL 13, 1855. This evening, the Spanish artillery company holding Fort San Cristóbal in San Juan de Puerto Rico mutinies because its enlistment period has not yet been reduced by two years like sister units in Spain. The island's new royal governor, Lt. Gen. Andrés García Camba, responds by deploying the Valladolid, Cádiz, and Madrid Infantry regiments to contain this insurrection. When a contingent of mutineers sallies to also seize the San Gerónimo arsenal, they are intercepted, two rebels being wounded and eight captured.

Fears of an artillery duel create widespread panic throughout the city the next dawn, three women and a child drowning during the civilians' subsequent flight out into the countryside. However, García Camba is able to persuade the mutineers to lay down their arms, seven eventually facing execution.

MAY 4, 1855. *Walker in Nicaragua.* The adventurer again departs San Francisco (California), this time with 57 heavily armed American followers, who grandiloquently refer to themselves as "The Immortals," to partake in Nicaragua's civil war. Having been contacted the previous year by that nation's liberal opposition—the Democrat Party—with a request to raise a force of filibusters and join its struggle against the ruling conservative Legitimist Party in exchange for a promised reward of 52,000 acres of land, Walker disembarks by June. Reinforced by 100 more Americans and 170 locals, his so-called *Falange Americana* immediately plunges into action. Forming the core of the liberal army, Colonel Walker's force defeats the Nicaraguan army at La Virgen by September 1, and then seizes the national capital of Granada on October 13.

Walker has been abetted in this campaign by the American-owned Accessory Transit Company, a corporation headed by the Wall Street tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt, who wishes to secure a stable overland route from the Caribbean across Central America to the Pacific and then build a railroad. Under the peace arrangements, a coalition government is created under the puppet president Patricio Rivas, while Walker remains as commander in chief of the Nicaraguan army. He eliminates his most formidable rival, the new minister of war and former Legitimist army commander, Ponciano Corral, when

William Walker

William Walker was born on May 8, 1824, in Nashville (Tennessee), the eldest of five children. His Scottish father, James Walker, owned a 752-acre farm next to Indian Creek in Shelby County, and his mother, Mary Norvell, was a member of a well-connected political family. Her brother John was a senator for Michigan and had founded the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Raised amid comfort and privilege, young William proved so precocious that he graduated summa cum laude from the University of Nashville by the age of 14. His family was wealthy enough to send him to study medicine at the Universities of Edinburgh and Heidelberg. He returned to obtain his medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1843.

After briefly practicing medicine in Philadelphia, the restless young man moved to New Orleans in 1845 to study law. Admitted to the Louisiana bar the next year, Walker worked as a law clerk. He then co-owned and edited *The Crescent* newspaper and strongly upheld the proslavery views of the Deep South. Saddened by the death of his deaf-mute fiancée Ellen Martin and attracted by reports of the California Gold Rush, Walker sold his interest in the newspaper and moved on to make a fresh start, arriving in San Francisco by 1850. He worked for a time as a journalist, was wounded twice in three duels, then relocated to Marysville to dabble in law.

Walker then decided to put his southern convictions into action. He and many others not only believed in America's "Manifest Destiny" to expand into Mexican and Caribbean territories but they wished that these gains might be admitted into the Union as proslavery states. The Frenchman Raousset's 1852 foray into Mexico threatened this design. Walker therefore visited himself, hoping to secure Mexican permission to create his own colony before a second French attempt might be launched.

Refused, Walker returned to San Francisco to begin selling land grants in his future Mexican colony. He used these funds to raise and arm a force of like-minded southern volunteers. He also chartered the brig *Arrow* as transport, before the U.S. Army commander at San Francisco, Gen. Ethan A. Hitchcock, arrested him and impounded the vessel. Walker nonetheless slipped away with a small band in October 1853, only to be defeated in Mexico. Sentiment in favor of his filibustering spirit remained so high, though, that a San Francisco jury acquitted him after only eight minutes of deliberation.

Walker again escaped the U.S. authorities with another small force in May 1855, this time to seize power in war-torn Nicaragua. With support from the tycoon Cornelius Vanderbilt, who wished to build a railway across Central America, Walker's conquest was even recognized by Washington in May 1856. But he was driven from that country within a year and failed in two more attempts to reestablish himself. He finally died before a Honduran firing squad at 36 years of age.

compromising letters are uncovered in which Corral asks for the intervention of other Latin American countries to oust Walker; the general is therefore executed for treason.

From November 1855 to June 1856, Walker will rule Nicaragua through Rivas. He also receives more than 1,000 American volunteer reinforcements, brought in free of charge by the Accessory Transit Company in anticipation of expanding his conquest. And in a propaganda move designed to win native support, he is dubbed the Grey-eyed Man in local newspapers so as to take advantage of a Mosquito Indian legend. Washington moreover recognizes the legitimacy of Rivas's regime on May 20, 1856. (This decision, taken during the last year of Franklin Pierce's only term, will seal his fate as one of America's worst presidents.)

Walker thereupon dumps his figurehead, has himself "elected" president of Nicaragua in a rigged vote on June 29, 1856, and assumes office by July 12. He dreams of uniting all of Central America, building railroads, digging a canal, fomenting agriculture by

reintroducing African slavery, and becoming absorbed into the United States as proslavery states. However, neighboring republics such as Honduras, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Costa Rica fear such an outcome, so they combine forces to prepare a counterinvasion—covertly backed by Great Britain, with its own separate imperialist agenda for this region.

At this point, a rift erupts within the Accessory Transit Company. Walker is offered money and military supplies by Vanderbilt's chief rivals, Cornelius K. Garrison and Charles Morgan, so he revokes Vanderbilt's charter, seizes his ships and properties in Nicaragua, and turns them over to this faction. Furious, the formidable capitalist will work tirelessly toward Walker's downfall. Soon, Washington withdraws its recognition, while funds and matériel are funneled to Walker's enemies. His own flow of supplies is cut off, and most importantly, reinforcements to replace his mercenaries lost to disease or desertion are interrupted. Walker appeals to southern American sympathizers for help, but when the coalition forces finally invade Nicaragua, he is compelled to

raze and evacuate his capital of Granada. Cornered inside the town of Rivas with only a handful of surviving followers, he surrenders on May 1, 1857, to Cmdr. Charles Henry Davis of USS *St. Mary's* to be deported home. Upon disembarking at New Orleans, he will be greeted as a hero by proslavery adherents, who blame his defeat on the U.S. Navy.

APRIL 15, 1856. In Panama City, a riot erupts after months of festering animosity between its inhabitants—many of whom are impoverished blacks—and the tens of thousands of white American travelers streaming across its recently completed trans-Isthmian railway to take ship for California.

On the evening of April 15, a drunken American named Jack Oliver snatches a watermelon slice from a street vendor, contemptuously refusing to pay, then wounding a bystander with his pistol after a mob gathers. This incident quickly escalates into a city-wide rampage derisively dubbed the “Watermelon War,” in which 15 Americans are killed and 16 wounded, compared with 2 Panamanians dead and 13 injured.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1856. Both USS *Independence* and USS *St. Mary's* arrive off Panama City, disembarking a small detachment under Cmdr. William Mervine, who occupies its railway station for three days to underscore Washington's displeasure because of the Watermelon War. New Granada's government is compelled to pay more than \$412,000 in damages three years later.

MARCH 24, 1857. A band of 104 American filibusters under Henry A. Crabb crosses the border from San Diego (California), capturing Sonoíta (Sonora) two days later. In conjunction with his Mexican accomplice, Agustín Ainza, it is Crabb's intent to create a new breakaway republic in this territory.

However, two columns of Mexican troops move to contain this incursion, one from Ures under Lt. Col. José María Girón and the other under Capt. Lorenzo Gutiérrez. Starting on April 1, 1857, near Caborca, they defeat the invaders in a series of clashes lasting four days. Crabb's main contingent has meanwhile besieged the capital of Hermosillo, whose garrison resists until relieved by Hilario Gabilondo. The American commander and 57 of his followers are subsequently executed in Hermosillo's graveyard on April 7; another 33 have already been shot in isolated groups elsewhere, thus ending this invasion.

NOVEMBER 1857. Eluding the U.S. federal authorities, Walker sets sail from Mobile (Alabama) with 150 filibusters to reclaim the office of Nicaraguan president. Defying the U.S. sloop *Saratoga*, his expedition disembarks at the Caribbean port of Greytown, only to be overtaken by the American Home Squadron of 60-year-old commodore Hiram Paulding, who throws 350 men ashore and arrests Walker without bloodshed on December 8.

The adventurer is once more returned home, this action meeting with approval from the antislavery states of the North and with disapproval in the South. Nicaragua rewards Paulding with a jeweled sword, whereas the administration of President James Buchanan releases Walker shortly thereafter.

EARLY MARCH 1858. Gen. Julián Castro spearheads a revolt against the despotic Venezuelan president José Tadeo Monagas, compelling this oligarch to resign from office by March 15 and thus ending his family's stranglehold on power. Monagas is given sanctuary in the French Embassy when the triumphant revolutionaries enter Caracas, prompting enraged mobs to attack foreign legations.

MAY 8, 1858. British and French men-of-war enter Caracas's port of La Guaira, peremptorily demanding an apology from the new Venezuelan government for recent revolutionary excesses, which is refused.

DECEMBER 22, 1858. Grown weary of the megalomania of Haiti's self-proclaimed emperor Faustin I, a revolt is initiated at Gonaïves by Fabre Nicolas Geffard, Duc de Tabara and chief of staff for the Imperial Guard. He sweeps triumphantly into the capital of Port-au-Prince by January 15, 1859, while Faustin and his family flee—first into the French Consulate, then afterward sailing for Jamaica aboard the British frigate HMS *Melbourne*.

AUGUST 1860. After evading Anglo-American naval forces by zigzagging across the Caribbean via Roatán and Cozumel, Walker appears off the Honduran coast in hopes of once again seizing power in Central America. Instead, he is arrested on September 3 by Royal Navy captain Norvell Salmon and turned over to the Honduran authorities at Trujillo, who court-martial Walker and execute him at Trujillo on September 12. The short-lived era of filibusterism is effectively ended.

BUENOS AIRES VERSUS THE ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION (1852–1863)

Following Rosas's flight into exile, the triumphant Urquiza and other delegates from Argentina's interior reorganize the national government along confederate lines, thereby reducing the influence of Buenos Aires. When that city's governor, Vicente López, and other ministers resign in protest on June 23, 1852, thus allowing Gen. Manuel Guillermo Pinto to succeed into office, Urquiza voids this gesture, dissolves the legislature, and compels his most vocal critics to depart the country.

A second insurrection occurs on September 11, three days after Urquiza has quit Buenos Aires to attend the national Congress at Santa Fe. His governor within the capital—Gen. José M. Galán—retires outside it to San Nicolás with his outnumbered troops, allowing Pinto to be proclaimed president and the rebellion to take hold. Rather than plunge Argentina back into civil war, Urquiza sends emissaries into Buenos Aires on September 18, recognizing its separation from Argentina's other provinces. Eventually a rival capital is established at Paraná, with Urquiza as confederate president.

NOVEMBER 16, 1852. In an effort to install a friendlier administration in neighboring Entre Ríos Province, the Buenos Aires authorities dispatch Gen. Manuel Hornos with a small invasion force, which occupies Gualeguaychú, then defeats a confederate force at Calá. Soon, however, an army under Urquiza drives Hornos north into Corrientes Province, where his followers are disarmed.

NOVEMBER 20, 1852. Gen. Juan Madariaga leads a small Buenos Aires force in an abortive landing near Concepción del Uruguay. It reembarks and attempts to storm this place again the next day, only to be repelled by its confederate defenders. Discouraged, Madariaga returns into Buenos Aires.

DECEMBER 1, 1852. Col. Hilario Lagos—campaigning on behalf of Buenos Aires in the center of this province—mutinies against its government, feeling it should join Urquiza's confederacy.

JANUARY 22, 1853. Lagos defeats a Buenos Aires contingent sent to subdue him at Rincón de San Gregorio near the Salado River mouth.

EARLY SPRING 1853. *Siege of Buenos Aires.* After failing to reconcile with the authorities within the capital, Urquiza arrives to lay siege to the city with his 12,000 troops. The stranglehold is tightened on April 17 when Coe's confederate squadron destroys its Buenos Aires counterpart under Zurowky, then imposes a naval blockade of its port.

Coe, however, is bought off on June 20, bringing his squadron into Buenos Aires in exchange for 26,000 ounces of gold. The confederate Congress thereupon passes a resolution federalizing Buenos Aires, which prompts numerous besieging units—including Lagos's—to switch loyalties and join the defenders. By July 13, Urquiza is obliged to lift his siege and return into Entre Ríos Province, where he retires to his residence at San José and threatens to quit public life altogether.

JULY 10, 1853. Just before raising his siege of the capital, Urquiza signs a treaty with representatives from France, England, and the United States, promising free navigation up the Paraná and Uruguay rivers. This agreement causes much resentment within Buenos Aires, which has traditionally controlled all trade through the River Plate.

MARCH 5, 1854. Urquiza officially takes office as president of the Argentine Confederation.

NOVEMBER 8, 1854. After numerous raids into confederate territory, Gen. Jerónimo Costa's 500 Buenos Aires troopers are defeated at Tala by General Hornos and forced to seek sanctuary in Santa Fe.

DECEMBER 20, 1854. Buenos Aires and the Argentine Confederation sign a truce, then one month later formalize this arrangement with the so-called *Pactos de Convivencia* or "Convivial Pacts."

MARCH 30, 1855. *Indian Wars.* To avenge a raid by 5,000 Indians led by Chief Calfucurá that massacred 300 inhabitants of Azul and made off with numerous women captives, 33-year-old colonel Bartolomé Mitre leads 700 troops southward into the Chica Range, while a second 400-man column is to join him later. However, the inexperienced Mitre is defeated by Chief Catriel on May 30, suffering 16 killed and 234 wounded, before withdrawing under cover of darkness.

The next year, General Hornos suffers an even more stunning setback at the hands of Calfucurá when he quits Azul with 3,000 Argentine troops and a dozen fieldpieces to avenge the extermination of Lt. Col. Nicanor Otamendi's 124-man cavalry patrol (only 2 troopers having survived). Hornos is ambushed between the San Jacinto Range and Tapalqué Creek, suffering 270 killed and a like number of captured, along with the loss of his artillery train.

JANUARY 25, 1856. Confederate general José M. Flores violates the truce by invading Buenos Aires Province, only to be defeated at Cardozo Lagoon and driven back into Santa Fe Province. This incursion sparks a brief renewal of hostilities.

JANUARY 31, 1856. General Costa sails from Montevideo and disembarks near Zárate, only to be defeated by Col. Emilio Conesa and executed along with 125 of his followers.

JANUARY 13, 1858. Col. Emilio Mitre leads 2,000 Argentine troops into its southwestern desert to campaign against its Ranquel nomads, yet must turn back after exhausting his supplies.

MAY 29, 1859. After three years of further frictions over customs duties and free passage, the Confederation authorizes Urquiza to use any means necessary to bring Buenos Aires back into the nation.

JULY 7, 1859. Buenos Aires sends the steamers *General Pinto* and *Buenos Aires* up the Paraná River to prevent any confederate advance. However, the marines aboard this former vessel mutiny, capture their commander, Col. José Muratore, kill Capt. Alejandro Muratore, and switch loyalties to the Confederation.

OCTOBER 14, 1859. A confederate squadron under Col. Mariano Cordero fights its way past the Buenos Aires garrison on Martín García Island

Bartolomé Mitre

Bartolomé Mitre was born on June 26, 1821, in Buenos Aires. He spent his first four years at Carmen de Patagones, where his father, Ambrosio, was sent as a minor official. The family was then moved to Montevideo in 1825. At 14 years of age, the intelligent young Bartolomé was enrolled in the "Consulado" Commercial School. He was sent back into Argentina in 1836 to work on one of Rosas's rural estates. The bookish teenager, however, did not like the wealthy landowner or his own situation in the countryside, so he returned to Montevideo.

That same year, 15-year-old Bartolomé was enrolled in Uruguay's Military Academy. He also joined its Journalism Academy in 1837, starting a career as a newspaperman and author. He wrote numerous poems and articles before fighting as an artillery ensign two years later against the Rosista invasion at the Battle of Cagancha, as well as in the Uruguayan defeat at Arroyo Grande in 1842. Although he eventually was promoted as high as lieutenant colonel, it was Mitre's great erudition that sustained him during several years of exile after 1845.

An avid reader, Mitre learned Portuguese, French, English, and Italian in addition to his native Spanish, publishing many translations and other works. After living briefly in Brazil and Chile, the Bolivian president Balivián invited Mitre in 1846 to organize that nation's Military College. When the president was deposed in a coup two years later, Mitre proceeded to Peru and Chile. He published various newspapers and books there, despite being temporarily deported in April 1851.

The impending collapse of Rosas's regime drew Mitre back to Argentina. He took part in the Battle of Caseros in February 1852. As a long-time liberal exile and influential man of letters, he was offered a university chair and elected as a representative. However, the confederate leader Urquiza dissolved the legislature a few months later and expelled his critics.

Mitre returned to Montevideo. By September 1852, though, he was back in Buenos Aires as commander of its National Infantry Guard. A leading political figure, he was appointed by President Valentín Alsina as foreign minister and army chief of staff. Although wounded while defending the besieged capital in June 1853, Mitre was soon after promoted to inspector general. His meteoric rise culminated with the presidency in 1862.

to proceed up the Paraná River and aid Urquiza's advance.

OCTOBER 22, 1859. *Cepeda.* Urquiza arrives north of Pavón Creek with 10,000 confederate troopers, 3,000 infantrymen, and 1,000 gunners and auxiliaries

manning 32 fieldpieces. To the south awaits General Mitre with 4,700 Buenos Aires foot soldiers, 4,000 cavalymen, and 300 gunners for two-dozen guns. This day, a Buenos Aires cavalry force under General Hornos crosses Medio Creek and clashes near Rica Canyon with advance confederate elements, only to retire once reinforcements are rushed to this scene.

On October 23, confederate general Virasoro drives in Mitre's skirmishers from the east bank of Medio Creek, then Urquiza's main army crosses and slowly takes up position opposite the Buenos Aires lines. His attack does not actually start until 6:00 p.m., the confederate cavalry on both flanks soon defeating their outnumbered opponents. Meanwhile, the confederate infantry is split asunder trying to avoid the 16-gun battery in the Buenos Aires center; Mitre is nevertheless doomed, his infantry on the left flank being annihilated when ordered to redeploy toward the right.

By 11:00 p.m., the Buenos Aires survivors are streaming off in defeat, Mitre reaching San Nicolás (50 miles away) with only 2,000 men and 6 cannon after a 36-hour forced march. Urquiza remains in possession of 2,000 prisoners, 20 fieldpieces, and all the baggage trains.

NOVEMBER 7, 1859. Urquiza's confederate army—now swollen to 20,000 men—halts at San José de Flores, and four days later Buenos Aires agrees to become reincorporated into the Argentine union.

NOVEMBER 16, 1860. After a year of uneasy peace, the people of San Juan Province rise up against confederate rule, killing Gov. José Antonio Virasoro (brother of the general) and 14 members of his retinue. The wealthy liberal merchant, Dr. Antonio Aberastain, is installed in his place, and Col. Juan Sáa—the confederate governor of neighboring San Luis—is sent to deal with his insurrection.

JANUARY 11, 1861. At Rinconada del Pocito, Aberastain's small force is quickly dispersed by the confederate cavalry vanguard under Francisco Clavero. Stripped and compelled to march on foot back toward town among the other captives, Aberastain collapses, so is shot. Colonel Sáa's army also commits numerous excesses upon entering San Juan, allegedly murdering as many as 400 inhabitants. These brutal expedients provoke such an outcry, especially in Buenos Aires, that Clavero must even subsequently flee into Chile.

APRIL 15, 1861. Valentín Alsida and Rufino de Elizalde, duly elected Buenos Aires delegates to the national Congress, have their credentials challenged and are refused their seats. Rather than hold new elections, Mitre and his followers begin preparing for war.

JULY 5, 1861. The Argentine Confederation accuses Buenos Aires of violating the peace and preaching sedition, therefore authorizes the use of force to restore order. Two days later, Mitre proclaims martial law within Buenos Aires, and Urquiza is appointed to once more command the confederate armies.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1861. After mustering at Rojas, the main Buenos Aires army under Mitre reaches Pergamino.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1861. *Pavón.* Mitre crosses Medio Creek and camps a mile to its north with 9,000 Buenos Aires infantrymen, 6,000 cavalry troopers, and 1,000 gunners and auxiliaries to man 35 fieldpieces. North of nearby Pavón Creek, Urquiza is meanwhile attempting to organize his 11,000 confederate troopers, 5,000 ill-disciplined foot soldiers, and 42 cannon.

In spite of such difficulties, the latter chooses to assume the offensive the next day, crossing the Pavón to take up position near Villa Constitución, opposite his Buenos Aires enemy. Around noon of September 17, Mitre launches a concentric attack with his infantry, charging through an artillery barrage to break the smaller confederate line. Meanwhile, the more numerous confederate cavalry disperse the Buenos Aires troopers, yet are unable to follow up their advantage due to the large formations of well-trained infantry guarding Mitre's baggage train in the rear. Seeing his infantry and artillery succumb, while his riders are scattering beyond his control, a demoralized Urquiza orders a general confederate retreat toward Rosario, leaving behind 1,650 prisoners, 37 guns, 5,000 mounts, 3,000 rifles, and his supply train, vowing never more to fight in Argentina's civil wars.

OCTOBER 4, 1861. *Arroyo Manantial.* Confederate general Octaviano Navarro's 4,000 troops—marching upon Santiago del Estero Province to re-install its governor after a liberal uprising led by the Taboadas—defeat 2,000 Tucumán rebels under Gen. José María del Campo at Manantial Creek. Despite

this victory and the subsequent occupation of Santiago del Estero, Navarro proves unable to reimpose confederate rule, so he retires to Catamarca.

OCTOBER 11, 1861. Mitre's triumphant Buenos Aires army occupies Rosario.

NOVEMBER 5, 1861. Confederate president Santiago Derqui resigns.

NOVEMBER 13, 1861. Confederate governor Allende is deposed at Córdoba, and when generals Sáa and Juan de Dios Videla march to reinstall him, they are dispersed and compelled to flee into Chile by the approach of 3,000 Buenos Aires troops under Gen. Wenceslao Paunero.

NOVEMBER 22, 1861. *Cañada de Gómez.* A Buenos Aires cavalry column under Gen. Venancio Flores surprises 1,300 confederate troopers under Virasoro in Gómez Canyon. The latter launches an immediate charge, only to be lured into a trap and to suffer 300 killed, 150 captured, and the dispersal of his survivors. This defeat marks the end of effective confederate resistance.

DECEMBER 13, 1861. The confederate vice president, General Pedernera, dissolves his government, leaving Buenos Aires's Mitre as de facto president over all of Argentina.

DECEMBER 17, 1861. Liberal generals Antonio and Manuel Taboada easily disperse 2,400 confederates gathered under Gen. Celedonio Gutiérrez at Seibal in Tucumán Province, slaying 40.

JANUARY 1862. Mendoza and San Juan are occupied without resistance by Buenos Aires colonel Ignacio Rivas.

FEBRUARY 10, 1862. Confederate generals Peñaloza and Gutiérrez are defeated at Monte Grande (also called Río Colorado, 20 miles south of Tucumán) by José María del Campo.

MARCH 4, 1862. Confederate general Peñaloza enters the city of Rioja unopposed, its 600-man Buenos Aires garrison under Colonel Echegaray having withdrawn earlier (as well as deserting afterward). One week later at Salinas de Moreno, however, Peñaloza is overtaken and defeated by Col. Ambrosio Sandes.

APRIL 3, 1862. At Chañaral Negro, on the Quinto River banks in San Luis Province, Col. José Iseas defeats 300 confederate partisans under Fructuoso Ontiveros.

APRIL 12, 1862. Confederate general Peñaloza attacks Iseas's forces at Casas Viejas on the western edge of Córdoba Province, only to be bloodily repulsed and obliged to withdraw toward San Luis. His 1,600 confederates arrive five days later and lay siege to the 300 defenders within the city of San Luis. By April 21, the latter are willing to capitulate, but before Peñaloza can consummate this occupation, he is compelled to flee because of the approach of *bonarense* colonel Iseas.

JUNE 20, 1862. Peñaloza signs a truce with the Buenos Aires government.

OCTOBER 12, 1862. Mitre is officially installed as president of Argentina.

LATE DECEMBER 1862. Col. Julio de Vedia departs Bragado with 1,000 troopers to pursue the elusive Ranquel nomads of Argentina's southwestern deserts.

MARCH 31, 1863. Peñaloza rises up against Mitre's rule, and a series of skirmishes are fought by government troops against confederate guerrillas during the next month and a half: at Callecita on March 31, at Punta de Agua on April 2, at Villaprima 19 days afterward, at Chumbicha on April 22, at Mal Paso on May 3, at Santa Rosa four days later, and at Lomas Blancas on May 20.

JUNE 1863. Confederate exiles, led out of Chile by Colonel Clavero, invade southern Mendoza Province and briefly occupy Fort San Rafael before being defeated by government commander Juan Manuel Puebla.

JUNE 10, 1863. *Las Playas.* Gov. Justiniano Pose is deposed at Córdoba and replaced by Simón Luengo, who summons Peñaloza to take over office, arriving three days later with 100 followers to set about organizing the city defenses.

Some time later, Peñaloza sorties four miles south to Las Playas with 3,500 men to confront 4,000 government troops—the 1st, 2nd, and 7th Cavalry regiments, plus a force of National Guards—which are

approaching from San Luis under General Paunero. The latter defeats the defenders and drives them into Rioja Province.

AUGUST 21, 1863. Ontiveros's 200 confederate partisans are defeated at San Francisco in San Luis Province, then again four days later at Río Seco.

AUGUST 25, 1863. Confederate guerrilla leader Puebla is defeated on the banks of the Sauces River in San Luis Province, losing 100 of 150 men.

OCTOBER 30, 1863. Some 1,000 confederate partisans under Puebla are scattered from Caucete (San Juan Province) by 150 government troopers

and 80 foot soldiers under Mayor Pablo Irrazábal. The next day, the retreating guerrillas are attacked again at Bajo de los Gigantes by another government force under Colonel Arredondo and routed.

NOVEMBER 12, 1863. Accompanied by only 50 followers, Peñaloza is surprised at the town of Olta in Rioja Province and captured by a flying column of government cavalry under Capt. Ricardo Vera. Upon Irrazábal's arrival, the confederate chieftain is executed and his head exhibited upon a spike.

Although soon distracted by the larger Paraguayan conflict (*see* "War of the Triple Alliance"), Argentina's politics continues to be riven by this Buenos Aires–hinterland split.

AYUTLA REVOLUTION (1853–1855)

On February 6, 1853, the exiled Santa Anna is elected president of Mexico for the fifth and final time. His last two years in office are to be marked by increasing internal strife, exploding into the "Revolution of Ayutla," which in turn will culminate a few years later with the "War of the Reform" and "French Intervention in Mexico" (*see* "War of the Reform" and "French Intervention in Mexico").

FEBRUARY 7, 1853. The 51-year-old general Manuel María Lombardini leads a coup against Juan Bautista Ceballos, who is temporarily occupying the presidency until Santa Anna can arrive from his exile at Turbaco outside Cartagena (Colombia) to assume office.

APRIL 20, 1853. Santa Anna reaches Mexico City and becomes president.

SUMMER TO AUTUMN 1853. Santa Anna negotiates numerous territorial disputes with U.S. ambassador James Gadsen, creating unease in Mexico because of the nature of these claims.

DECEMBER 16, 1853. Santa Anna seizes dictatorial powers by abolishing all political parties, dispensing with the legislature and demanding to be addressed as "Most Serene Highness."

DECEMBER 30, 1853. Santa Anna signs the Gadsden Treaty, whereby Mexico cedes to the United States freedom of transit for mails, merchandise, and

troops across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, plus readjusting the boundaries of the earlier Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo so as to give the Americans almost 30,000 more square miles in New Mexico and Arizona, in exchange for \$10 million. Mexican public sentiment is outraged.

MARCH 1, 1854. *Uprising.* Col. Florencio Villareal leads the garrison of Ayutla (Guerrero) in a mutiny against Santa Anna's rule. What makes this uprising unusual among the numerous other insurrections then breaking out is that Villareal proclaims the *Plan de Ayutla*—a liberal program drawn up by his 63-year-old superior, the ex-governor Juan Nepomuceno Álvarez, and the illiterate, 54-year-old brigadier general Tomás Moreno to reform Mexico's government by deposing its dictator, then convening a national Congress to draft a new constitution. The reformers' democratic appeal will gradually attract many adherents.

MARCH 11, 1854. The Acapulco garrison embraces the *Plan de Ayutla*, led by its 41-year-old ex-customs

collector Ignacio Comonfort, who furthermore calls upon Álvarez to assume command over the grandly named *Restaurador de la Libertad* or “Restorer of Liberty” army. This offer is accepted on March 13, Moreno agreeing to act as its second-in-command.

MARCH 16, 1854. Having ordered Gen. Luis Noriega and Col. Francisco Cosío Bahamonde to close in upon Guerrero from different directions, Santa Anna marches out of Mexico City at the head of 5,000 troops to help put down the uprisings on the Pacific coast.

MARCH 30, 1854. Having shot numerous persons suspected of disloyalty, and twice been attacked by Faustino Villalba’s guerrillas on both banks of the Balsas River near Mezcala (state of Guerrero), Santa Anna’s army finally reaches the mountain pass at Chilpancingo to head down from the Sierra Madre Mountains into coastal lands.

APRIL 13, 1854. Santa Anna’s army fights a skirmish against rebel forces at El Coquillo (state of Guerrero).

APRIL 20, 1854. *Siege of Acapulco.* Santa Anna’s army arrives and attempts to surprise Comonfort’s rebel garrison within Fort San Diego. After six days of fruitless bombardment and siege, the attackers are compelled to retire because of outbreaks of disease and lack of provisions, torching numerous dwellings during their retreat.

APRIL 30, 1854. Guerrilla partisans hound Santa Anna’s retreat, so he eventually fights a rearguard action at Peregrino Hill, which sufficiently bloodies his pursuers under Diego and Encarnación Álvarez and allows his crippled army to proceed. This ignominious withdrawal from the coast, however, greatly inspires other rebellions. Comonfort, meanwhile,

sets sail from Acapulco to San Francisco to raise financing in the United States.

JULY 12, 1854. The 41-year-old brigadier general Félix María Zuloaga—loyal to Santa Anna—defeats the guerrilla chief Villalba at Iguala, killing him.

DECEMBER 7, 1854. Comonfort returns to Acapulco, from where he advances northwest shortly thereafter into Michoacán to spread the revolt.

JANUARY 1855. Zuloaga’s 1,000 men and five field-pieces are besieged within Nuxco Hacienda (Guerrero) by rebel forces under General Álvarez. The former eventually agree to switch sides and take up arms against Santa Anna. The same happens with the garrison at Ajuchitlán under Colonel Vélez once these rebels capture nearby Huétamo.

FEBRUARY 25, 1855. Liberal general Álvarez marches toward Chilpancingo (Guerrero) but halts two miles short of this city at Mazatlán Hacienda, deciding not to subject its populace to a siege.

FEBRUARY 26, 1855. Liberal forces take the garrison at Chilapa (Guerrero).

AUGUST 4, 1855. Santa Anna resigns from office and, five days later, flees Mexico City for Veracruz, where the ship *Iturbide* carries him off toward Cuba and back into exile at Turbaco (Colombia).

After triumphantly entering Mexico City, General Álvarez is provisionally elected president that October and convenes a constitutional congress to commence the year-long process of reforming Mexico’s institutions. Although the liberals may have defeated Santa Anna, they will soon encounter much more serious opposition from the country’s conservatives (see “War of the Reform” and “French Intervention in Mexico”).

WAR OF THE REFORM (1858–1860)

The united victory over Santa Anna in August 1855 only masks the fact that, ever since Mexico’s independence from Spain, the country has become increasingly polarized between conservative, centrist forces who wish to maintain its old colonial institutions largely intact—especially with respect to social status and privilege as well as the predominance of the Catholic Church—against liberal, federalist forces who feel that the break with the mother country should also have been accompanied by a loosening of all such entrenched practices. Both sides are diametrically opposed,

conservatives arguing for a return to a constitutional monarchy and hierarchical social order to avoid the weakness and anarchy of republican rule, while liberals insist upon ever-greater reforms so that more Mexicans are able to participate and thus have a vested interest in their country's affairs.

The liberal Congress rewriting Mexico's constitution uncovers these fissures with its very first pronouncement on November 23, 1855, when the 49-year-old justice minister Benito P. Juárez (a former political prisoner and exile) orders the exclusive tribunals for members of the military and clergy abolished. Conservative protests quickly erupt throughout the nation under the cry of *¡Religión y fueros!* or "Religion and privileges."

DECEMBER 12, 1855.

An antiliberal revolt breaks out in the mountain village of Zacapoaxtla (Puebla), led by the local priest Francisco Ortega y García, who is joined one week later by the conservative colonels Luis Gonzaga Osollo and Juan Olloqui. The newly installed, liberal interim president Ignacio Comonfort responds by ordering on December 14 that a small army converge upon this region under the overall command of a political appointee, 37-year-old acting governor Ignacio de la Llave y Segura Zevallos of Veracruz.

However, when the first regiment from Mexico City reaches Tatlaquitepec on Christmas Day, its second-in-command—24-year-old lieutenant colonel Miguel Miramón—arrests his superior Col. Rafael Benavides, and this whole force joins the rebellion. De la Llave is lucky to return alive into the capital a few days later, with only a handful of loyal officers. A second liberal brigade sent under Brig. Gen. Severo del Castillo also joins the rebel ranks. The 45-year-old conservative general Antonio Haro y Tamariz escapes from confinement at Veracruz the next month to assume military leadership over this rebellion.

JANUARY 23, 1856. The conservative rebel army of Haro, del Castillo, Osollo, and Miramón fights its way into the city of Puebla, assisted by Bishop Pelagio Antonio de Labastida y Dávalos, to expel its liberal National Guard defenders under 34-year-old militia colonel Juan Nepomuceno Méndez.

MARCH 1, 1856. *Ocotlán.* Comonfort arrives at San Martín Texmelucan, personally commanding 12,000 liberal troops. The president halts his advance to offer amnesty to Haro's rebel forces, ensconced inside nearby Puebla. When no answer is received within six days, Comonfort orders his brigadier generals Moreno and Italian-born Luigi Ghilardi to close upon the city at dawn of March 8.

Haro (a lifelong friend and colleague of the president) sallies to meet this liberal attack from atop Ocotlán Hill. Fighting rages until 10:00 a.m., when a truce is arranged to gather up the wounded and dead. The conservative commander also requests an interview with Comonfort, so they meet beneath a tree at noon. The president renews his amnesty offer, and Haro requests three hours to discuss the matter with his colleagues.

He fails to return at the appointed hour, though, and when Comonfort sends a rider to investigate, he reports that the outnumbered and demoralized conservatives are in full retreat back into Puebla. The liberal army therefore follows and bottles them inside, until the rebels agree to capitulate by March 23. Haro is carried off to prison in Mexico City, where he dies shortly thereafter; Osollo and del Castillo succeed in escaping, while Miramón hides within Puebla. All other rebel officers are stripped of their rank two days afterward and incorporated into the liberal army as privates. Many church properties are moreover expropriated to defray the costs of this campaign, while Bishop Lamadrid is deported from Mexico, actions that fuel resentment among the faithful.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1856. Uncovering a Franciscan conspiracy in Mexico City, President Comonfort abolishes this order throughout Mexico, expels its clergymen, nationalizes its properties, and begins tearing down sections of its huge convent in the capital.

OCTOBER 19, 1856. At 1:00 a.m., Capt. Leónides Campo awakens the liberal governor of Puebla, requesting that two captives—the fugitive conservative commanders Miramón and Francisco Vélez—be incarcerated in the same cell as Lt. Col. Luis Reyes. When the governor tries to comply, though, he is suddenly disarmed by Campo, and the four conser-

vatives allow their fellow-conspirator Col. Joaquín Francisco Orihuela to enter the palace and assume command over the city garrison.

Learning of this reversal, liberal general Moreno arrives outside Puebla six days later with 4,000 troops and 30 artillery pieces, laying siege to the city. He is superseded the next month by the 23-year-old brigadier general Leandro Valle Martínez, before all resistance finally collapses on December 15. The conservatives scatter, Orihuela being captured and executed some days later at San Andrés Chalchicomula, while Miramón (an academy classmate of Valle), Vélez, and Manuel Ramírez Arrellano are apparently allowed to escape with 100 men toward Toluca.

FEBRUARY 5, 1857. Mexico's rewritten or "reformed" liberal constitution is unveiled, setting off an even greater wave of resentment among conservative elements, as well as dismay among some moderate liberals. Even Comonfort, who has now

been duly elected president, hesitates to assume office on December 1 under its aegis.

DECEMBER 17, 1857. Brigadier General Zuloaga—now one of Comonfort's proteges (*see* "July 12, 1854" entry in "Ayutla Revolution")—leads a mutiny by the Mexico City garrison, proclaiming the "Tacubaya Plan." This plan proposes that the liberal constitution be voided, that Comonfort be recognized as president, and that a new Congress be convened to draft a more moderate document. The president accepts these conditions two days later, dissolving the liberal Congress, while Justice Minister Juárez—legally next in line of succession to the presidency and author of many of the constitution's changes—is jailed.

JANUARY 11, 1858. After three weeks of confused indecision, conservative general José de la Parra, with the Tacubaya garrison on the capital's outskirts, mutinies against Comonfort's rule. After a brief spate of fighting around Mexico City's *Ciudadela* or "Citadel," the president—now out of favor with conservatives and liberals alike—agrees to resign from office, fleeing the capital by January 21 and taking ship from Veracruz for New Orleans on February 7.

Before departing, Comonfort has released Juárez from prison, who proclaims himself president and travels clandestinely to the city of Guanajuato to begin organizing liberal resistance against the conservative coup. Meanwhile, Zuloaga is proclaimed as a rival conservative president in Mexico City on January 22, abolishing all liberal reforms.

JANUARY 19, 1858. Juárez reaches Guanajuato and is recognized as the legitimate president of Mexico by its liberal governor, Manuel Doblado. The states of Querétaro, Michoacán, Colima, Zacatecas, and Aguascalientes will soon follow suit, followed later by Veracruz, Oaxaca, Nuevo León, and Guerrero.

FEBRUARY 14, 1858. Threatened by the approach of 5,400 conservative regulars under General Osollo, Juárez transfers his liberal headquarters from Guanajuato to Guadalajara, arriving there by the next day.

MARCH 10, 1858. *Salamanca.* The War of the Reform officially erupts when conservative general Osollo—seconded by brigadier generals Miguel Miramón, Tomás Mejía, Francisco García Casanova, and José María Blancarte—leads 5,400 soldiers into



Typical Mexican uniform. (Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico)

battle against a liberal militia throng gathered at Salamanca in the state of Guanajuato under liberal general Anastasio Parrodi, as well as brigadier generals Leandro Valle, Doblado, Mariano Moret, and others. The former emerge victorious by March 11, forcing the vanquished liberals to fall back upon Guadalajara.

MARCH 13, 1858. Upon learning this morning of the liberal defeat at Salamanca, Guadalajara's 5th Battalion under Col. Antonio Landa mutinies against Juárez, parading him and his cabinet before a firing squad the next day, only to be saved at the last moment by the eloquence of Minister Guillermo Prieto, who persuades the soldiers to lower their weapons and spare their lives. Landa's mutineers nonetheless ransack the palace before decamping on March 15, the day before Parrodi enters Guadalajara with his surviving troops.

MARCH 20, 1858. Juárez is forced to flee Guadalajara for the Pacific coast with 90 liberal troopers, leaving General Parrodi to surrender the city to the approaching conservative army under Osollo the next day.

MARCH 23, 1858. Osollo's victorious conservative army occupies Guadalajara without resistance, in accordance with the terms of Parrodi's capitulation agreement of two days previously.

APRIL 11, 1858. After a close pursuit by conservative riders, Juárez is able to depart Manzanillo (Colima) aboard the American steamer *John L. Stephens*, accompanied by four cabinet ministers.

APRIL 17, 1858. At Carretas Pass near Ahualulco de los Pinos in the state of San Luis Potosí, the 36-year-old conservative brigadier general Miramón wins a victory over a liberal concentration under 36-year-old general Juan Zuazua, Brig. Gen. José Silvestre Aramberri, and Col. Francisco Naranjo.

APRIL 27, 1858. While Miramón is distracted elsewhere, liberal general Zuazua captures the conservative garrison holding the city of Zacatecas.

LATE APRIL 1858. *First Siege of Guadalajara.* Bespectacled generals Santos Degollado and Pedro Ogazón Rubio arrive to besiege Guadalajara with the 1st Liberal Division, which is defended by conservative generals Casanova and Blancarte. This

Struggles of the Young Republics (1812–1860)

operation lasts until June 13, when the attackers are obliged to raise their siege.

MAY 4, 1858. After passing through Panama, Havana, and New Orleans, Juárez and his fugitive liberal cabinet reach Veracruz aboard the American steamer *Tennessee*; they are greeted and installed in office by Gov. Manuel Gutiérrez Zamora.

JUNE 18, 1858. Following the demise of General Osollo from typhoid fever in San Luis Potosí, the 26-year-old Miramón—who is at Guadalajara—and his 38-year-old rival Leonardo Márquez Araujo at San Luis Potosí vie to succeed Osollo as commander in chief of the conservatives' main *Ejército del Norte* or "Northern Army." Their strategies are to drive off Degollado's forces, which are threatening Guadalajara, defeat the liberal army advancing southward from Nuevo León and Coahuila under Gen. Santiago Vidaurri, then shift southeastward to expel Juárez's government from Veracruz.

JUNE 30, 1858. Vidaurri's liberal subordinate Zuazua drives Márquez's conservative garrison out of



Miguel Miramón. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

the city of San Luis Potosí and occupies it. Bishop Pedro Barajas is expelled along with most of the clergy, while buildings are ransacked. When Vidaurri arrives in mid-August, he imposes forced loans and expels all Spanish citizens.

JULY 2, 1858. *Atenquique.* Liberal generals Degollado, Miguel Blanco, and Valle are overtaken by conservative generals Miramón, Vélez, and Ruelas, advancing southward from Sayula. They fight a heavy but indecisive battle at the bottom of Atenquique Ravine (near modern Ciudad Guzmán, Jalisco).

The next day, other liberal forces reimpose a siege upon Guadalajara, which they maintain until they are compelled to lift it on July 21—despite having fought in as far as the Hospicio—when Miramón returns from his southern foray.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1858. *Second Siege of Guadalajara.* When Miramón is obliged to forsake the state of Jalisco to bolster Márquez's hard-pressed conservative forces in central Mexico, liberal general Degollado is able to defeat Casanova at Cuevitas near Techaluta, then six days later begin to once again besiege Guadalajara, seconded by Ogazón, Núñez, Sánchez Román, and Antonio Corona.

After repeated assaults, its conservative garrison commander Blancarte finally capitulates on October 28, the victors entering the next day amid great disorder (during which Blancarte and numerous other conservatives are summarily executed). The ensuing occupation lasts two months before the liberals evacuate the city.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1858. *Ahualulco de los Pinos.* After recuperating the state capital of San Luis Potosí in central Mexico and installing a conservative garrison under Juan Othón, generals Miramón, Márquez, Mejía, and Cobos overtake the liberal forces of generals Vidaurri, Zuazua, Aramberri, and Naranjo entrenched at nearby Ahualulco de los Pinos. Márquez leads a flanking maneuver that shakes the liberals' line, then Miramón finishes them off with a charge against their center. This victory—leaving 672 liberals dead and 91 captured—greatly elevates the youthful Miramón's prestige, at Márquez's expense, but his conservative army emerges so low on ammunition and supplies that it cannot march to Guadalajara's relief.

OCTOBER 15, 1858. Liberal general Blanco leads a small army from Morelia through the Valley of

Miguel Miramón

Miguel Gregorio de la Luz Atenógenes Miramón y Tarelo was born in Mexico City on November 17, 1831, 1 of 10 children of Lt. Col. Bernardo Miramón. As a child, Miguel studied at the prestigious San Gregorio College, until his father was assigned to a tour of duty in Tlaxcala. He enrolled his son in the Military Academy at Chapultepec Castle, just outside the capital, on February 10, 1846. The teenage cadet took part in its unsuccessful defense against the American invasion of September 1847, being slightly wounded and captured. Released after hostilities ended in June 1848, Miramón finished his military studies at the academy by November 1851. The next year, he was posted as a sublieutenant of artillery to the 2nd Division at Perote (Veracruz).

Smart and dashing, Miramón won promotion to captain, then rejoined the academy as an infantry tactics instructor on April 13, 1853. Staunchly conservative, he supported Santa Anna against the liberal "Ayutla Revolution," which erupted in March 1854. Put in command of a Baja Californian company at Toluca, Miramón wounded a man in a duel and was detained until his opponent recovered. He then joined Santa Anna's campaign in the state of Guerrero.

Miramón won a field promotion to lieutenant colonel in the Battle of Tepehuajalco, but Santa Anna was eventually exiled by August 1855. The new liberal government nonetheless confirmed Miramón's promotion by that same December 10. But when his regiment was sent four days later to help put down a conservative uprising at Zacapoaxtla, Miramón instead arrested his superior and joined the revolt. He helped defend the conservative stronghold of Puebla in 1856, before escaping with the help of his former academy classmate Leandro Valle, now a liberal brigadier general.

When the War of the Reform exploded the next year, the 26-year-old Miramón soon began to distinguish himself as a brilliant and energetic brigadier general. On the death of conservative general Luis Osollo in June 1858, Miramón's bravery and skill gained him promotion to full general by December. Then the next month, President Zuloaga was toppled by a coup in the capital, and the office was offered to Miramón. He was sworn in on February 2, 1859; at 27 years of age, he was Mexico's youngest-ever president. A little more than eight years later, he was shot dead.

Toluca to assault the very outskirts of Mexico City. Brig. Gen. Leandro Valle fights in as far as San Antonio Abad before being wounded and replaced by Brig. Gen. José Justo Álvarez. The liberal attackers are beaten off and retreat toward Michoacán.

OCTOBER 26, 1858. The conservative garrison within Villahermosa de Tabasco is besieged by liberal forces out of Tabasco and Chiapas, surrendering on November 7.

DECEMBER 8, 1858. *Jalisco Counteroffensive.* In a series of encounters along the banks of the Santiago River—from Puente Grande near Toluatlán as far as Atequiza—conservative generals Miramón, Márquez, and Cobos defeat liberal generals Degollado, Ogazón, and Contreras Medellín, the final battle occurring on December 14 at San Miguel Ranch, three miles from Poncitlán, which allows the conservative troops to reoccupy Guadalajara that same day. On December 20, Miramón again defeats Degollado in a skirmish at San Joaquín Ranch, 15 miles outside the state line of Colima, hastening the liberals' retirement six days afterward.

DECEMBER 20, 1858. Gen. Miguel María Echegaray revolts at Ayotla (state of Mexico), seconded three days later in the capital by Manuel Robles Pezuela, who deposes conservative President Zuloaga. Both commanders therefore briefly control Mexico City, during which time they issue the so-called *Plan de Navidad* or "Christmas Plan," in hopes of ending the civil war.

Instead, they must submit because of lack of support, and the conservative presidency is offered to the victorious Miramón in Jalisco by early January 1859, who refuses. The now thoroughly discredited Zuloaga is consequently reinstalled on January 24, but resigns in favor of Miramón one week later, who reaches Mexico City by February 2 to accept the mantle.

JANUARY 10, 1859. An ammunition dump in Guadalajara explodes, causing extensive damage to its municipal palace.

FEBRUARY 16, 1859. *First Siege of Veracruz.* Miramón departs Mexico City at the head of his army, marching down from the central highlands to besiege Juárez's liberal government within Veracruz. Slowed by numerous guerrilla attacks, the conservatives do not install their siege works until March 17. Moreover, this operation is soon interrupted by news that Degollado is driving upon Mexico City with a large liberal army, prompting Miramón to withdraw his forces by month's end.

FEBRUARY 18, 1859. Liberal general Degollado subdues the conservative garrison at León (state of Guanajuato).

MARCH 1, 1859. Degollado seizes the city of Guanajuato, advancing through Querétaro toward Mexico City. At Calamanda Hacienda, south of the city of Querétaro, one of his liberal divisions under Gen. José María Arteaga chances upon conservative general Mejía's lancer corps and is badly cut up. Mejía and Callejo are both hastening toward the capital with their contingents to bolster its conservative garrison before the liberals can arrive.

MARCH 22, 1859. *Tacubaya.* Degollado appears outside Mexico City with more than 6,000 liberal troops, occupying its suburbs of Tacubaya and Chapultepec. However, General Corona's 4,000 defenders are well entrenched and heartened by news that Márquez is hastening from Guadalajara to their relief.

Degollado defers attacking until April 2, when he probes the Tlaxpana and San Cosme defenses without success. A few days later, Márquez arrives with his conservative relief column and, on March 10, goes over to the offensive. This day and the next, Degollado's liberals suffer a crushing defeat at the hands of the conservatives around Tacubaya, which sends their survivors streaming southwestward from the capital, back toward Jalisco and Michoacán. Márquez mars this triumph by ordering every liberal captive executed—including medical personnel and civilians—thus earning the sobriquet "Tiger of Tacubaya."

Once this battle is concluded, Miramón belatedly regains the Valley of Mexico, annoyed to discover that his old rival Márquez has won all the accolades for defeating Degollado.

APRIL 1, 1859. Immediately after Miramón has lifted his siege of Veracruz, the American representative Robert H. MacLane reaches that port and, five days later, recognizes the legitimacy of Juárez's government. This provokes violent conservative criticism, knowing that Washington will expect territorial and commercial concessions from Mexico in exchange for their assistance.

JULY 12, 1859. To finance American aid and maintain his government, Juárez issues the first *Leyes de Reforma* or "Reform Laws" at Veracruz, confiscat-

ing most church properties. Conservatives violently oppose these measures.

SEPTEMBER 1859. At San Leonel (Nayarit), the 31-year-old conservative brigand Manuel Lozada—born Manuel García González—disperses a liberal cavalry troop under Colonel Valenzuela.

NOVEMBER 2, 1859. After a week's skirmishing, Lozada assaults Tepic.

NOVEMBER 13, 1859. *Estancia de Vacas.* After meeting at Calera Hacienda to attempt to resolve their differences, Miramón attacks liberal generals Degollado, Arteaga, and Doblado's 7,000 troops six miles outside the city of Querétaro, at the Estancia de Vacas Ranch. At first, the battle goes well for the liberals, but Degollado is eventually obliged to retreat into prearranged defenses, at which point Miramón launches a devastating assault, which collapses liberal morale. His enemies stream off in defeat, leaving Miramón master of the field. Shortly thereafter, he marches into Guadalajara, arresting his rival Márquez on a charge of theft and sending him as prisoner to Mexico City.

DECEMBER 14, 1859. MacLane signs a treaty with Juárez's foreign minister Melchor Ocampo at Veracruz, whereby the United States will provide the liberal government with \$4 million in exchange for free passage for rail lines across both the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and northwestern Mexico, to be guarded by American troops. (Conservatives are outraged, but the MacLane-Ocampo Treaty eventually fails to win ratification in the U.S. Senate.)

DECEMBER 24, 1859. After a long pursuit during which Miramón has defeated liberal general Ogazón at Beltrán (Jalisco), the conservative general also beats Juan Rocha at Tonila (also called Albarrada, state of Colima).

FEBRUARY 8, 1860. *Second Siege of Veracruz.* Miramón marches out of Mexico City with a large army to proceed down to the Gulf coast and once more besiege Juárez within Veracruz. Despite repeated guerrilla assaults, the conservative general establishes his headquarters southeast of his objective at Antón Lizardo by March 6, when secret help appears; thanks to covert financing from the Spanish government, conservative rear admiral Tomás Marín

has been able to hire the vessels *General Miramón* and *Marqués de la Habana* at Havana to blockade Veracruz in support of Miramón's army.

However, when these ships sail menacingly past the liberals' island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa without displaying any ensign, representatives of the Juárez government ashore declare them piratical craft, thereby subjecting them to capture by any vessel, either domestic or foreign. Availing himself of this excuse, Commander Turner of USS *Saratoga*—stationed in Veracruz as part of Washington's ongoing support for the liberal regime against French, Spanish, and British backing of the conservative cause—immediately sorties and captures both vessels that same night, after a brisk exchange. In addition to depriving Miramón of his blockaders, this action costs the conservatives two mortars, 1,000 shells, and 4,000 rifles being brought from Cuba, although the ships themselves are eventually returned to Cuba after adjudication by the U.S. federal court in New Orleans.

On March 15, Miramón begins his bombardment of Veracruz but soon runs out of heavy ammunition and is compelled to withdraw toward Mexico City six days later.

APRIL 1860. The sidelined conservative president Zuloaga issues a pamphlet in Mexico City criticizing Miramón's performance, who arrests his predecessor and takes him on his subsequent northwestern campaign in May to "show him how the presidency is won."

APRIL 7, 1860. Liberal "Colonel"—and former brigand—Antonio Rojas defeats Lozada at Barranca Blanca (Jalisco).

MAY 24, 1860. Liberal general José López Uraga arrives before Guadalajara with 8,000 followers and calls upon its conservative garrison commander—the French-born veteran Adrián Woll—to surrender. When the latter refuses, López Uraga proceeds with his assault, during which he is wounded and captured. His bespectacled, 31-year-old brigadier general Ignacio Zaragoza assumes overall command and withdraws upon news of Miramón's approach with the main conservative army.

JUNE 8, 1860. Having relieved Guadalajara, Miramón sorties with 6,000 soldiers in pursuit of Zaragoza, Valle, Plácido Vega, Rojas, and Col. Ramón Corona's 5,000 liberals. The latter dig in along



Adrián Woll. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

Zapotlán Crest between Ciudad Guzmán and Sayula (Jalisco), which the conservative general hesitates to assault.

JUNE 15, 1860. The 38-year-old, self-taught liberal general and governor Jesús González Ortega leads 10,000 followers in a victory over Silverio Ramírez's 3,000-man army at Peñuelas Hacienda (state of Aguascalientes) while the latter is marching southwest toward Guadalajara to join forces with Miramón.

This victory allows the liberals to seize control over all this crucial state, prompting the conservative commander in chief to leave a 5,000-man garrison in Guadalajara on June 27 under Gen. Severo del Castillo, then to hasten northeastward into Lagos

de Moreno (Jalisco) three days later to begin concentrating his forces and to bar the road into Mexico City.

JULY 1860. Miramón shifts his conservative army southeast from Lagos into León (state of Guanajuato) after receiving news from his southwestern flank of an approaching liberal division under Zaragoza, that is coming to reinforce González Ortega. The two liberal contingents meet at vacated Lagos and continue to press back Miramón.

AUGUST 10, 1860. *Silao.* Now in full-blown retreat southeastward from León toward Querétaro before a 10,000-man liberal buildup under generals González Ortega, Zaragoza, Doblado, and Felipe Berriozábal, Miramón's demoralized conservative army is overtaken at Silao (Guanajuato) and brought to battle. In a sharp, three-hour engagement, Mejía's conservative lancers are dispersed by Gen. Antonio Carbajal's cavalry, after which Miramón's infantry are pulverized.

Conservative morale collapses, leading to a wholesale flight toward Querétaro, during which all the artillery and baggage trains are abandoned. Miramón reaches safety with a handful of riders, while González Ortega treats his prisoners magnanimously, releasing most. Zuloaga, who has still been accompanying Miramón as a captive, escapes on August 13 and regains the capital, attempting to have himself restored into office as president, only to fail because of lack of support. The liberal commander then reverses his army from in front of Querétaro and marches westward—at Degollado's order—to subdue Guadalajara, before commencing the final push toward Mexico City.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1860. *Fall of Guadalajara.* González Ortega's liberal army arrives to besiege the garrison within this conservative stronghold after a wearying and rain-sodden march through central Mexico. Four days later, he is joined at San Pedro Tlaquepaque by Ogazón's corps, bringing their total strength to 20,000 men and 125 fieldpieces, the first of which open fire by September 27. The 5,000 defenders under Severo del Castillo put up a stout resistance until October 29, when the starving civilian populace is allowed to evacuate.

The last conservative hope of relief is extinguished when Márquez is defeated at nearby Zapotlanejo on November 1, surrendering his 3,000 men and 18 cannon to the encircling army. Del Castillo there-

fore capitulates to González Ortega's subordinate Zaragoza two days later, on generous terms (the liberal commander in chief having been ill throughout most of these operations).

DECEMBER 8, 1860. Miramón surprises Degollado and Berriozábal at Toluca (state of Mexico), capturing both liberal generals.

DECEMBER 21, 1860. *Calpulalpan.* All liberal armies close in upon Mexico City for a final confrontation with their 11,000 men and 14 fieldpieces combined under the command of González Ortega. Miramón—who is so desperately short of cash that his chief of police Lagarde breaks into the British Legation and commandeers 630,000 pesos, over the objections of Ambassador Barton—prepares to give battle with his 8,000 troops and 30 guns at San Miguel Calpulalpan, on the outskirts of the capital. Liberal brigadier generals Valle and Álvarez suggest a tactic to González Ortega upon the eve of battle, whereby Miramón's main thrust will be drawn out by a feigned retreat by some liberal units, only to then become engulfed by flanking attacks, allowing the liberals' superior numbers to tell.

The commander in chief approves, and when Miramón leads a charge against the liberal left wing at 8:00 a.m. the next morning, December 22, the conservatives are struck on both flanks by Zaragoza and Régules. While thus checked, González Ortega leads Valle and Francisco Alatorre in a wide encircling march, routing the conservatives by unexpectedly charging into them from the rear. Miramón

staggers back into Mexico City with only 1,500 soldiers still under his command, pausing long enough to release his prisoner Berriozábal before fleeing and being secretly whisked down to Veracruz through the intervention of the French ambassador Alphonse Dubois de Saligny. He sets sail for Europe aboard a Spanish warship by January 1861. A few conservative diehards such as Márquez, Cobos, and Mejía withdraw into the hills to continue the struggle, but their cause is essentially lost.

DECEMBER 25, 1860. González Ortega's victorious army makes its triumphal entry into Mexico City.

JANUARY 5, 1861. Juárez departs Veracruz and six days later officially assumes his duties as president in Mexico City, thereby marking an end to the War of the Reform (also called the Three Years' War). Although Mexico's conservatives have been temporarily subdued, they will quickly make a resurgence with foreign support (*see* "French Intervention in Mexico").

A particular case in point is offered by the brigand Lozada, who in early 1861 is cornered in Alica Pass (Nayarit) by 3,000 liberal troops converging from three directions under colonels Rojas, Corona, and Anacleto Herrera y Cairo. They disperse his followers after nine days of hard fighting, which earn Lozada the nickname *Tigre de Alica*. By May, however, he resumes his depredations, capturing both Tepic and San Pedro Lagunillas before being checked by Ogazón.

Nationhood (1861–1897)



Our hearts so stout have got us fame,
For soon 'tis known from whence we came,
Where'er we go they dread the name
Of Garryowen in glory.

—Irish ballad, regimental song of the U.S. 7th Cavalry

AMERICAN CIVIL WAR (1861–1865)

In the United States, as in many other emergent republics throughout the Western Hemisphere, the evolution from colonial monarchy to electoral democracy gradually comes to include a contest between rival factions, some professing that each individual state is virtually independent within a loose confederation, and others feeling that a federal government—representing the entire nation—must be paramount over any single member or region. Specifically for U.S. citizens, this question will center on the North’s desire to enact antislavery measures into federal law (their superior population and industrial productivity giving them a majority in Washington), contrasted against the deep-seated opposition from the agriculture-based interests of the South.

By the late 1850s, feelings are running so high within the polarized country that disputes over whether the new Kansas Territory should be admitted into the Union as a “free” or “slave” state spark cross-border raids between armed groups. On the night of October 16, 1859, the fanatical abolitionist John Brown further inflames tensions by seizing the arsenal at Harpers Ferry (Virginia) with 18 followers, in hopes of fomenting a slave uprising. Instead, he is overpowered two days later by a contingent of marines and local militiamen led by Col. Robert E. Lee, and hanged after a month-long trial.

Passions continue to escalate, though, until armed secessionist units surround the Federal garrison at Fort Sumter—a pentagonal island fortress guarding the sea entrance into Charleston, South Carolina—during the winter of 1860–1861, threatening to occupy this U.S. stronghold in the name of the breakaway “Confederate States of America”: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas (soon to be joined by Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia). When the recently inaugurated administration of President Abraham Lincoln proposes on April 8, 1861, to resupply this isolated outpost, the encircling Southerners react belligerently.

Because of the overall wealth and manufacturing might of the nation, as well as the throngs of volunteers willing to fight for their beliefs upon native soil, the resultant hostilities will be conducted on a scale never before witnessed in the Americas. During the Civil War’s first year alone, the federal government raises and arms 600,000 regulars and militiamen from its population of 23 million people, and the Confederates, 250,000 from their 9 million (of whom 3.5 million are slaves).

APRIL 7, 1861. All intercourse between Fort Sumter and the secessionist city of Charleston is stopped by order of Confederate general Pierre G. T. Beauregard. The next day, the Lincoln administration in Washington informs the South Carolina authorities that provisions will be sent to this beleaguered outpost, by force if necessary.

APRIL 11, 1861. U.S. troops are stationed in Washington, as the Confederate commissioners depart. That same evening, General Beauregard demands the surrender of Fort Sumter, which Maj. Robert Anderson refuses.

APRIL 12, 1861. *Fort Sumter.* Confederate batteries at Fort Moultrie open fire against this sur-

rounded outpost at 4:00 a.m.; the Union artillery does not reply until three hours later. After enduring 30 hours of bombardment, Anderson’s 111-man garrison finally surrenders on the afternoon of April 13 and are allowed to evacuate with their side arms and accoutrements for New York the next day.

APRIL 15, 1861. Lincoln calls for troops to help put down the secessionist movement, but this request is refused by North Carolina, Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. Fort Macon (North Carolina) is also occupied by Confederate troops.

APRIL 17, 1861. Virginia secedes from the Union, and Jefferson Davis issues commissions to Confederate privateers.

Abolitionism

A movement to abolish slavery began when the Thirteen Colonies were still part of the British empire. The few thousand blacks held in England were household servants, and a verdict in June 1772 against sending one to serve on a Jamaican plantation effectively ended slavery's legal standing there. But this lone common-law verdict had no effect on the millions toiling as laborers in British North America or on West Indian islands. A group of Quakers in London were therefore moved to found an organization in June 1783 to abolish the Atlantic slave trade.

An American "Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage" had also been formed by Quakers in Philadelphia in April 1775, then resurrected nine years later once the Revolutionary War ended. Benjamin Franklin was elected its first president. All northern states were won over to emancipation within the next 20 years, and when Parliament in London moved to end slave traffic aboard British vessels in 1807, the U.S. federal government followed suit.

Although the transportation of new slaves out of Africa was curtailed, slavery still persisted on a vast scale in the American South. Plantation owners maintained that their charges were private property, governed humanely according to state laws, and that a few northern abolitionists could not impose their views through federal acts. A majority of Northerners preferred to see slavery gradually phased out, with owners being compensated. A vocal minority among certain immigrant groups even upheld the southern viewpoint.

Antislavery activists in the North grew increasingly frustrated by the slow pace of reform, while proslavery advocates bridled against any threatened interference. The passion of their dispute engulfed the larger question of national versus states' rights, until finally the South moved to secede from the Union by military force, and both sides braced for war.

APRIL 18, 1861. The U.S. arsenal at Harpers Ferry (Virginia) is destroyed by Lieutenant Jones to prevent it falling into Confederate hands.

APRIL 19, 1861. Lincoln orders a U.S. naval blockade of southern ports and calls for the recruitment of 82,000 long-term Union servicemen. This same day, the 6th Massachusetts Volunteers are attacked by a mob while passing through Baltimore, resulting in the deaths of 3 soldiers and 11 civilians.

APRIL 20, 1861. Several bridges on the Northern Pennsylvania Railroad are destroyed by Confeder-

ates in Maryland to prevent the passage of troops into Washington.

This same day, the Gosport Navy Yard at Norfolk (Virginia) is ordered destroyed and several vessels scuttled by 68-year-old commodore Charles S. McCauley to prevent their falling into Confederate hands. Only the 1,726-ton sloop of war USS *Cumberland* is towed out, while the burned remnants of the screw frigate *Merrimack* (or *Merrimac*) are left behind—this despite the last-minute arrival of 1,000 marine reinforcements under Commo. Hiram Paulding. Also, the arsenal at Liberty (Missouri) is seized by Confederates.

APRIL 21, 1861. Starting at 4:20 a.m., Norfolk Navy Yard is partially destroyed by U.S. Navy personnel, before they evacuate aboard the Federal steam sloop *Pawnee*. The Confederates occupy this base and have it operating again within a few weeks.

APRIL 22, 1861. The U.S. arsenal at Fayetteville (North Carolina) is seized by Confederate troops.

APRIL 23, 1861. Confederates seize Fort Smith (Arkansas), as well as the U.S. garrison officers at San Antonio (Texas). This same day, Robert E. Lee is promoted to major general in his home state of Virginia and offered command of its mobilizing forces.

APRIL 25, 1861. At Saluria (Texas), Maj. C. C. Sibley surrenders 420 U.S. troops to Confederate colonel Earl Van Dorn.

APRIL 26, 1861. Maj. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston is given command of the defense of Richmond (Virginia), which becomes the Confederate capital as of May 6.

MAY 4, 1861. U.S. ordnance stores are seized at Kansas City (Missouri).

MAY 10, 1861. Some 800 Confederates surrender to Capt. Nathaniel Lyon at St. Louis (Missouri).

MAY 11, 1861. The U.S. steamer *Niagara* arrives to establish a naval blockade of Charleston (South Carolina).

MAY 13, 1861. Gen. George B. McClellan is given command of the Department of the Ohio. Baltimore is reoccupied by U.S. troops.

Robert E. Lee

Robert Edward Lee was born at Stratford Hall Plantation in Virginia's Westmoreland County on January 19, 1807, the fifth son of the Revolutionary War hero "Light Horse" Harry Lee. After his father died heavily indebted 11 years after Robert's birth, the family was obliged to move often around Alexandria. A top student, Lee enrolled at the age of 18 in the United States Military Academy at West Point, distinguishing himself by never incurring a single demerit during his four-year tenure. He rose to cadet corps adjutant and graduated second in his class in 1829. Because of his intellect, he was posted as a second lieutenant in the Army Corps of Engineers, serving on projects in Georgia, Virginia, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, and New York until the Mexican-American War began in 1846.

By now a captain, Lee was attached to the staffs of generals John Wool and Winfield Scott and proved himself an able scout leader. He won a temporary promotion to lieutenant colonel and was slightly wounded in the assault against Chapultepec Castle. At the war's end, he resumed his engineering duties at Baltimore and then became superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy in 1852. Hoping for better career opportunities, he became lieutenant colonel of the newly created U.S. 2nd Cavalry Regiment three years later, serving as second-in-command under Col. Albert S. Johnston. The regiment was ordered to West Texas in 1856, but upon the death of his father-in-law, George Washington Parke Custis, the next October, Lee requested leave to return and manage Arlington Plantation and its 63 slaves for the next two years. He was therefore available to help smother John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry in October 1859, before he resumed his Texan duties.

Lee did not favor secession as the nation proceeded to dissolve early in 1861. When the senior U.S. Army commander in Texas, Gen. David E. Twiggs, resigned and offered his 4,000 troops to the Confederate authorities that February, Lee instead traveled to Washington. General Scott offered him a top command in the Union forces, but Lee reluctantly declined on April 18, the day after his home state seceded; he felt that he must serve Virginia. Virginia's Gov. John Letcher promoted him five days later to militia major general, charged with organizing that state's military effort. Lee was also made a Confederate brigadier general as of May 14, and one of its five full generals a month afterward. His first field command was a failure, though, his campaign around Cheat Mountain in western Virginia fizzling amid much bickering. Lee was even nicknamed "Granny" for the public fuss that it entailed.

The Confederate president Jefferson Davis nonetheless valued his intellect, therefore Lee was recalled to Richmond early in 1862 to act as military advisor. When the Union commander McClellan closed upon the Confederate capital later that same spring, Davis and Lee were surprised when the defending general Joseph E. Johnston launched a counterattack on May 31 at Seven Pines. Riding out to view the battlefield, they found the Confederate commander badly wounded, therefore the southern president appointed Lee this same night to command what became known as the Army of Northern Virginia.

Nothing could have predicted Lee's daring and genius as a commander. Within a few weeks, he left a token force before Richmond and led his main army across the Chickahominy River to strike the Union corps that was moving down from the north, driving it away in the Seven Days' Battle. Over the next couple of years, he bested larger armies through fearless maneuvers, winning admiration from friends and foes alike.

MAY 24, 1861. Some 13,000 Union troops cross the Potomac into Virginia, occupying Alexandria and Arlington Heights to help secure Washington. The next day, they destroy seven bridges and miles of railroad lines between Alexandria and Leesburg.

MAY 26, 1861. The U.S. sloop *Brooklyn* arrives to blockade the Mississippi River mouth and New Orleans.

MAY 28, 1861. Brig. Gen. Irwin McDowell assumes command of the Department of Northeastern Virginia.

MAY 31, 1861. The Union steamers *Freeborn* and *Anacosta* bombard the Confederate batteries at Aquia Creek (Virginia).

JUNE 2, 1861. Beauregard assumes command of the Confederate forces at Manassas Junction (Virginia).

JUNE 4, 1861. The brig USS *Perry* captures the Confederate privateer *Savannah*, carrying it into New York 11 days later.

JUNE 15, 1861. The Confederates under Joseph Johnston—threatened by Patterson's approach—evacuate Harpers Ferry, transferring its armory machinery into Richmond.

JUNE 17, 1861. The Wheeling Convention unanimously declares West Virginia independent from the Confederate portion of the state, temporarily assuming the name "Kanawha."

JUNE 20, 1861. McClellan personally assumes command of the Union army in West Virginia.

JUNE 29, 1861. A Confederate column makes a dash toward Harpers Ferry, destroying several boats and its railway bridge.

JULY 8, 1861. Confederate brigadier general Henry H. Sibley is ordered to Texas to expel the Union forces in neighboring New Mexico. He eventually reaches Santa Fe in March 1862, only to be maneuvered into a disastrous retreat by Edward R. S. Canby, which ends all Confederate designs upon this territory.

JULY 13, 1861. After crossing the Ohio, McClellan defeats at Rich Mountain and Carrick's Ford (West Virginia) the small army sent across the Alleghenies to restore Confederate rule.

JULY 16, 1861. Union general McDowell advances from Alexandria with approximately 30,000 troops to drive Beauregard's 20,000 behind the Rappahannock.

JULY 21, 1861. *Bull Run (First Battle).* After skirmishing three days previously at Blackburn's Ford (Virginia) with Beauregard, McDowell's Union army prepares to smash the Confederate defensive line at Bull Run River by a direct frontal assault against its stone bridge with one division, while two others circle right to cross two miles farther northwest at Sudley Ford. The evening of the 20th, however, Gen. Joseph Johnston arrives with Confederate reinforcements and prepares for his own surprise counterattack.

The Federal troops strike first at 6:00 the next morning, storming the stone bridge, although their flanking movement at Sudley develops very slowly. Both armies being untried, many Confederates abandon Matthews Hill in confusion when the Union right finally attacks at 9:30, only to be steadied by the sight of Brig. Gen. Thomas J. Jackson's brigade standing "like a stone wall" atop neighboring Henry House Hill.

After a day of confused fighting, the 18,500 Union troops break and retreat, having suffered 2,900 casualties as compared to 2,000 among the 18,000 Confederates. Their retirement turns into a panic-stricken flight to the far side of the Potomac, although the Confederates are too exhausted and disorganized to pursue—choosing instead to establish themselves at Centreville.

JULY 22, 1861. The three-month enlistment terms of the earliest Union volunteers come due, prompting many to return home.

JULY 25, 1861. Frémont is appointed to command the Union's Western Department, headquartered at St. Louis.

JULY 26, 1861. Fort Fillmore (New Mexico) is surrendered to Confederate forces by Major Lynde.

AUGUST 7, 1861. Hampton (Virginia) is burned by Confederate forces.

AUGUST 8, 1861. The 39-year-old brigadier general Ulysses Simpson Grant assumes command of the Union district at Ironton (Missouri).

AUGUST 10, 1861. *Wilson's Creek.* After chasing Missouri's Confederate governor Claiborne Jackson out of office, Union general Lyon advances with 5,800 troops. Ten miles from Springfield, he confronts 12,000 Confederates drawn up at Wilson's Creek under Gen. Sterling "Pap" Price and the Mexican War veteran Ben McCulloch (*see* "February 20, 1847" entry in Mexican-American War).

Lyon's German-born subordinate, Brig. Gen. Franz Sigel, leads three volunteer St. Louis regiments in a flanking maneuver around the Federal left, which catches the Confederates from the rear but fails to break their line. Sigel's detachment is then repelled by a counterattack, the main Union body being defeated and obliged to retreat toward Rolla, while Lyon is slain.

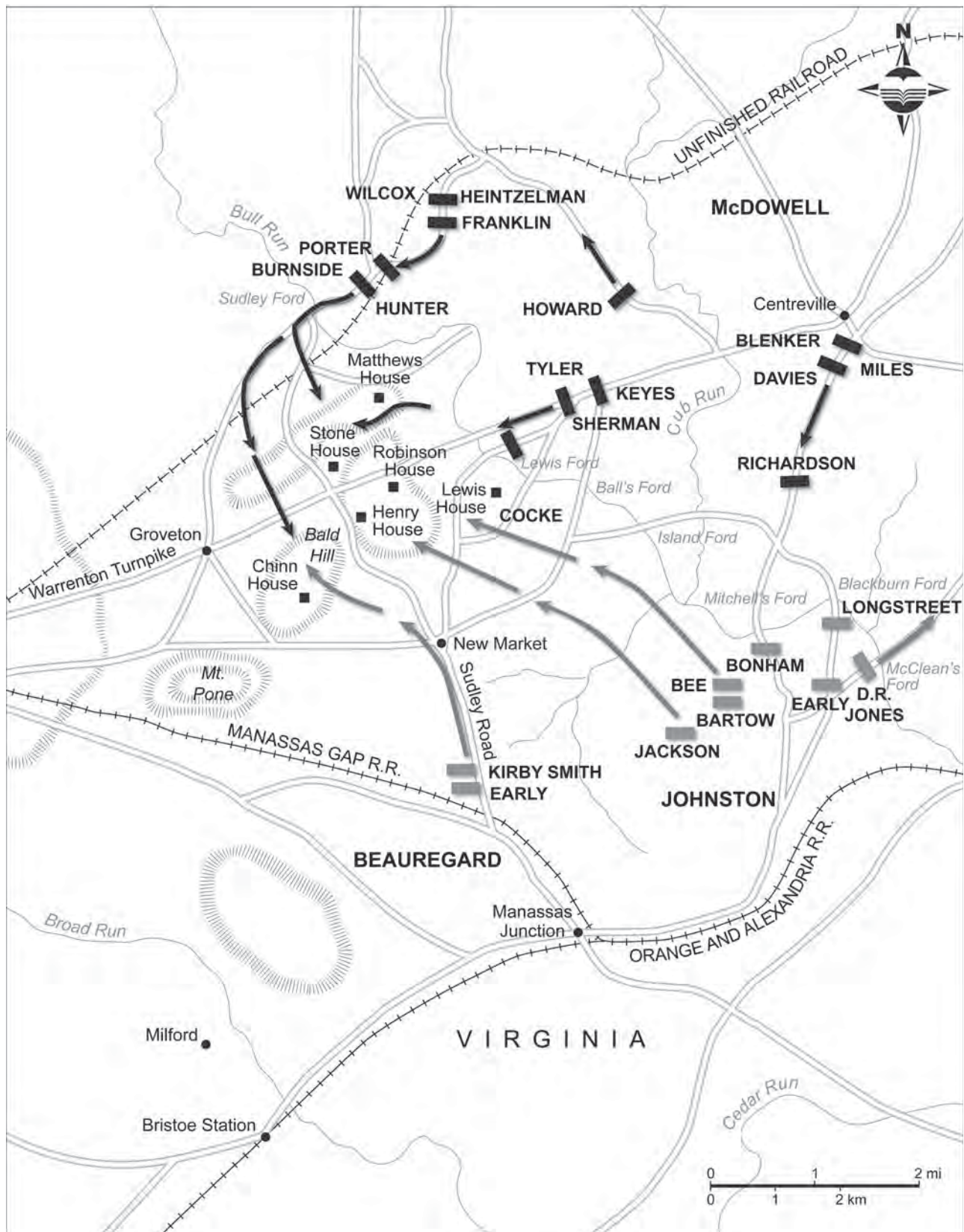
AUGUST 14, 1861. Frémont declares martial law at St. Louis.

AUGUST 15, 1861. Jefferson Davis orders all northern men to leave the South within 40 days. The next day, Lincoln officially proclaims all seceding states to be in a state of insurrection, forbidding all intercourse with them.

AUGUST 17, 1861. Gen. John E. Wool assumes command at Fortress Monroe, at the tip of the Yorktown Peninsula (Virginia).

AUGUST 20, 1861. McClellan assumes command of the Army of the Potomac.

AUGUST 27, 1861. Seven Union warships and two transports under Commo. Silas H. Stringham



First Battle of Bull Run (Manassas).

drop anchor off Hatteras Inlet (North Carolina), bombarding Confederate forts Hatteras and Clark the next dawn and prompting their garrisons to evacuate; 900 Union soldiers under Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler come ashore to occupy these coastal keeps.

AUGUST 30, 1861. Frémont issues an emancipation proclamation, which is revoked by Lincoln 12 days later.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1861. Grant assumes command in southern Missouri.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1861. The floating dry dock at Pensacola, which the Confederate defenders have grounded while attempting to scuttle it across the harbor mouth, is destroyed by a raid of the Union forces holding Fort Pickens at the channel entrance.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1861. Kentucky—until now a neutral state—is invaded by Confederate troops under militia general (and bishop) Leonidas Polk, who begins constructing fortifications at Hickman, Chalk Cliffs, and Columbus.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1861. To counter Polk's incursion, Paducah and Smithland (Kentucky) are occupied by Union troops under Brigadier General Grant of the Illinois state militia.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1861. A descent is made upon the Pensacola Navy Yard by U.S. gunboats.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1861. Bowling Green (Kentucky) is occupied by Confederate forces under newly appointed general Albert S. Johnston.

SEPTEMBER 20, 1861. Confederate governor Price captures Lexington, although soon forced to retreat toward Springfield by the approach of 40,000 Union troops under Frémont.

OCTOBER 7, 1861. The Confederate ironclad *Virginia*—built atop the charred hull of the screw frigate *Merrimack*—makes its first appearance off Fortress Monroe (Hampton Roads, Virginia).

OCTOBER 8, 1861. The 41-year-old brigadier general William Tecumseh Sherman supersedes Gen. Robert Anderson in command of the Department of the Cumberland.

OCTOBER 11, 1861. The Confederate steamer *Theodore* escapes from Charleston (South Carolina), bearing the diplomatic commissioners James M. Mason and John Slidell.

OCTOBER 15, 1861. The 35-year-old Confederate brigadier general Meriwether Jeff Thompson leads a cavalry raid, which burns the Iron Mountain Railway bridge over Big River near Blackwell in southeastern Missouri. Returning into Fredericktown, he rejoins the infantry of his 1st Division, Missouri State Guards.

Six days afterward, two large Union columns under colonels J. B. Plummer and William P. Carlin begin converging upon Fredericktown, so Thompson retires 12 miles southward with his 3,000 men. Leaving his supply wagons in a secure position, the Confederate commander circles back to engage the Union occupiers around noon of October 21; he is defeated by their superior numbers after a two-hour struggle and chased out of southeastern Missouri.

OCTOBER 21, 1861. After four Federal regiments under Col. Edward D. Baker have been ferried across the Potomac to make a reconnaissance in strength toward Leesburg (Virginia), they are confronted on the fringe of a wood atop Balls Bluff by a superior Confederate force and driven back, with the loss of 900 Union dead, wounded, or captured—more than half their total number.

OCTOBER 29, 1861. *Port Royal.* Commo. Samuel F. Du Pont sets sail from Fortress Monroe with 30 warships, escorting 50 transports bearing 13,000 troops under Gen. Thomas W. Sherman, to attempt to capture Port Royal Sound (South Carolina) as an advance Union naval base. Although his fleet is scattered by a storm, Du Pont's flagship *Wabash* nonetheless leads two columns of 14 warships in past Fort Beauregard on northernmost St. Helena Island at 9:00 a.m. on November 7, shelling its batteries. He then reverses course two miles into the sound to visit a like treatment upon Fort Walker on Hilton Head Island farther south. By nightfall, both Confederate garrisons have evacuated, leaving the strongholds to be occupied and held by Union troops until the end of the war.

NOVEMBER 1, 1861. Winfield Scott resigns as commander in chief of all Union forces and is replaced by McClellan.

NOVEMBER 2, 1861. Maj. Gen. David Hunter supersedes Frémont in command of the Western Department.

NOVEMBER 7, 1861. Grant descends the Missouri River with 3,000 men to attack Confederate general Polk's positions 15 miles downstream of Cairo at Belmont (Illinois), eventually being obliged to re-embark his troops and withdraw.

NOVEMBER 15, 1861. The screw loop USS *San Jacinto* of Capt. Charles Wilkes (a former Antarctic explorer) arrives at Fortress Monroe, having removed the Confederate commissioners Mason and Slidell from the English mail steamer *Trent*. Britain protests against this boarding of a neutral vessel.

NOVEMBER 20, 1861. McClellan holds a review with 70,000 Union troops near Washington.

DECEMBER 4, 1861. Gen. Henry W. Halleck issues a series of punitive measures at St. Louis, aimed against secessionist supporters.

DECEMBER 18, 1861. Union brigadier general John Pope captures 1,300 Confederates, a number of horses and wagons, plus 1,000 firearms at Milford (Missouri).

DECEMBER 27, 1861. Having been illegally detained, the Confederate commissioners Mason and Slidell are surrendered to the British ambassador, leaving Fort Warren for England five days later aboard the British steamer *Rinaldo*.

JANUARY 17, 1862. *Mill Springs.* After pushing through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, Brig. Gen. Felix Zollicoffer's slightly fewer than 4,000 Confederates are attacked at Mill Springs—otherwise known as Logan's Crossroads, near Somerset—by a similar-sized Union army moving out of Lebanon under the 45-year-old brigadier general George Henry Thomas. In the confusion, Zollicoffer blunders into the Federal line and is shot, after which his army disintegrates and flees, leaving behind 11 field guns, their supply train, plus more than 1,000 horses and mules.

FEBRUARY 6, 1862. *Fort Henry.* After 15,000 Union troops under Grant disembark two miles below Confederate Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and become bogged down in its marshlands, Commo.

Andrew H. Foote bombards this flooded fort with his four Union “turtles”—flat-bottomed, stern-wheeled ironclads—and compels its defenders to evacuate toward nearby Fort Donelson an hour later.

This capture also prompts Johnston to abandon Bowling Green with half his 24,000-man army for Nashville, while directing his other half toward Fort Donelson.

FEBRUARY 8, 1862. *Roanoke Island.* Union brigadier general Ambrose E. Burnside takes six Confederate forts and 2,500 prisoners on Roanoke Island (North Carolina), as well as destroying all their gunboats, except for two vessels.

FEBRUARY 13, 1862. Brig. Gen. Samuel R. Curtis takes possession of Springfield (Missouri).

FEBRUARY 14, 1862. *Fort Donelson.* After occupying Fort Henry, Grant's army has marched 10 miles across difficult terrain to invest 17,000–18,000 Confederates under brigadier generals Gideon Pillow and John B. Floyd inside Fort Donelson at Dover (Tennessee). During the afternoon of February 14, Foote appears on the Cumberland River with a convoy of Union reinforcements and attempts to bombard the Confederate stronghold—located on a bluff 150 feet high—with four of his stern-wheel ironclads. This attack is repelled, and Foote is compelled to retire after being wounded, with two of his vessels disabled and the others damaged.

Grant therefore institutes a siege with his 27,000 troops and the next morning contains an attempted breakout, driving the defenders back into their last line of trenches. Pillow, Floyd, and the Confederate cavalry commander Nathan Bedford Forrest escape on the night of February 15–16 with a few of their men, leaving Brig. Gen. Simon Bolivar Buckner to request terms from the Union commander. The latter calls for “immediate and unconditional surrender”—thus earning the nickname “Unconditional Surrender” Grant throughout the North—and accepts the capitulation of its remaining 15,000 Confederates. Fort Donelson's capture prompts Johnston to abandon Nashville farther downriver.

FEBRUARY 16, 1862. The Tennessee ironworks near Dover are destroyed by the Union gunboat *St. Louis*.

FEBRUARY 17, 1862. Two regiments of Confederate Tennesseans, unaware of the capture of Fort

Donelson, approach it to reinforce Floyd and Pillow, only to be captured.

FEBRUARY 22, 1862. Jefferson Davis is officially inaugurated as president of the Confederacy, with Alexander H. Stephens as his vice president.

FEBRUARY 24, 1862. Nashville is occupied by Union troops under Buell.

MARCH 5, 1862. Beauregard assumes command of the Confederate Army of the Mississippi, three days after evacuating Columbus (Kentucky) and removing its armament to New Madrid and Island No. 10.

MARCH 8, 1862. Confederate generals van Dorn and Price attack Curtis at Pea Ridge (or Elk Horn, Arkansas), only to be routed.

MARCH 8, 1862. *Hampton Roads.* At 12:45 p.m., after lengthy trials and with workmen still aboard, the Confederate ironclad *Virginia* (built from the burned hull of the U.S. steam frigate *Merrimack*) stands out of Norfolk under Capt. Franklin Buchanan to attack the Union naval squadron stationed in nearby Hampton Roads. Guns aboard the Union vessels are powerless to penetrate the low, sloped, greased plating of their 320-man, 3,200-ton opponent, which measures two to four inches in thickness. The *Virginia* therefore plows through a hail of fire to ram the 24-gun, 1,726-ton sloop USS *Cumberland*, sending it to the bottom, then pounds the 50-gun, 1,867-ton frigate USS *Congress* into submission, leaving it ablaze when the ironclad must retire into Norfolk for the night.

The next morning at 7:00 a.m., the *Virginia* re-emerges to finish off its panic-stricken prey, this time commanded by Lt. Catesby ap Roger “Car” Jones (nephew of Commo. Thomas ap Catesby “Tac” Jones; see “September 16, 1814” in “War of 1812,” and “October 19, 1842” entry in “Simmering Confrontations”), because Buchanan has been wounded in a leg the day before by a shell fragment. Upon approaching the grounded steam frigate USS *Minnesota*, however, the *Virginia* finds it accompanied by the low-slung, 987-ton, turreted ironclad USS *Monitor* of Capt. John L. Worden, which has arrived from New York only that previous evening. Designed by the Swedish inventor John Ericsson, the *Monitor* is faster and more maneuverable than the *Virginia*, firing heavy solid shots from its two 11-inch Dahlgren guns.

Ironclads

Scientific advancement during the Industrial Revolution made artillery shells more explosive and accurate, as well as iron more plentiful. World navies therefore tried to improve their traditional wooden warships by encasing vital spots with thick plates. Early examples were the floating batteries draped or “clad” in iron, which the French used in 1855 against the Russian defenses at Kinburn on the Black Sea during the Crimean War. Their British allies also intended to deploy similar vessels against Kronstadt the next year, but hostilities ceased.

France then launched a revolutionary 36-gun, 5,600-ton frigate called the *La Gloire* at Toulon in late November 1859. It was an ocean-going vessel whose wooden hull was sheathed in massive plates, propelled by three masts and a small steam engine. Point-blank cannon blasts failed to breach its sides, although the ship was dark, uncomfortable, and difficult to sail. Britain’s Royal Navy launched HMS *Warrior* at the end of December 1860, a 9,200-ton, three-masted, propeller-driven frigate with 40 guns and a hull made entirely of wrought iron 4.5-inches thick. Both nations immediately laid down dozens more iron-hulled warships, many being bought by foreign navies.

In America, the Confederacy created its own unique version of ironclad river warships. Because the Union retained control over most sea-going naval resources since early in the Civil War, southern commanders had to devise alternatives. At the Algiers yards opposite New Orleans, Capt. John A. Stevenson cut down the steam tug *Enoch Train* and created a low-slung, 390-ton, single-gun privateer with a “turtleback” top covered in 1.5-inch plating. Commissioned on September 12, 1861, this “hellish machine” (according to Union officers) attacked the Federal squadron at Head of the Passes in the Mississippi Delta a month afterward. It rammed and damaged the 2,600-ton U.S. sloop *Richmond* before limping away under fire.

The *Virginia* and the *Monitor* continued this evolution in ironclad design, and although not the first such vessels to enter service, they shared the distinction of being the first to engage one another in battle. Many more Confederate “rams” and Union “monitors” were produced during the Civil War, excelling at river warfare, although their low profiles proved ill-suited for the open ocean.

Although the *Virginia* initially fires upon the *Minnesota* from a mile away, it cannot close through the shallows and is soon challenged by the *Monitor*. The two ironclads pound each other over the next four hours, circling as close as 50 yards before the

Confederate vessel finally breaks off the action and withdraws behind Sewell's Point in Norfolk. The *Monitor's* presence will prevent it from being a threat ever again.

MARCH 11, 1862. McClellan is relieved as commander in chief of all Union armies, although retaining command over the Army of the Potomac.

MARCH 12, 1862. Winchester (Virginia) is abandoned by its Confederate garrison and occupied by Union forces.

MARCH 13, 1862. Lee is appointed commander in chief of all Confederate armies.

MARCH 14, 1862. Union brigadier general William S. ("Old Rosy") Rosencrans assumes command of the Mountain Department.

MARCH 16, 1862. Union general Garfield, with 600 Ohio and Kentucky volunteers, surprises a Confederate camp at Pound Gap (Tennessee) and destroys it before withdrawing.

MARCH 17, 1862. *Peninsula Campaign.* The first regiments of McClellan's Army of the Potomac begin embarking at Alexandria (Virginia) to transfer into Fortress Monroe by April 2, then launch a drive toward the Confederate capital of Richmond—the long-anticipated Peninsula campaign—two days later.

After investing Yorktown on April 5, McClellan settles down to patiently construct siege works, allowing the outnumbered, ill-equipped Confederate forces throughout this region to regroup. Gen. Joseph Johnston's garrison slips away on May 3, just as McClellan's batteries are about to open fire, then fights a sharp rearguard action at Williamsburg two days later. McClellan slowly resumes his progression toward Richmond, his army now numbering over 100,000 men in five corps.

He reaches the Chickahominy River on May 20 and splits his army onto both banks, waiting to be joined by McDowell, who is being delayed in the Shenandoah Valley by Stonewall Jackson. On May 31, Johnston attacks McClellan's two corps on the right bank of the Chickahominy in a battle known as Seven Pines; because Johnston is severely wounded early on, his army is obliged to retire the next day.

The Confederate commander is succeeded by Lee, who on June 15 directs Jackson to march swiftly to join him and crush McClellan before McDowell

can intervene. On June 25, McClellan is only four miles outside Richmond, but he is struck full force the next day by Lee. In the Seven Days' Battle, one of McClellan's corps on the left bank of the Chickahominy is defeated by June 27, prompting the Union commander to attempt a flank march south through White Oak Swamp toward the safety of the James River. To cover the passage of his trains, McClellan is compelled to stand and fight, while the Confederates fall upon his rear and right flank. The critical day is June 30, when Lee fails to break through the Federal center. After repulsing a final assault at Malvern Hill on July 1, McClellan reaches the James the next day and entrenches at Harrison's Landing, refusing to budge again—despite his superior strength and Lee's more extensive losses. The Army of the Potomac is eventually evacuated on August 16, thus concluding its Peninsula campaign.

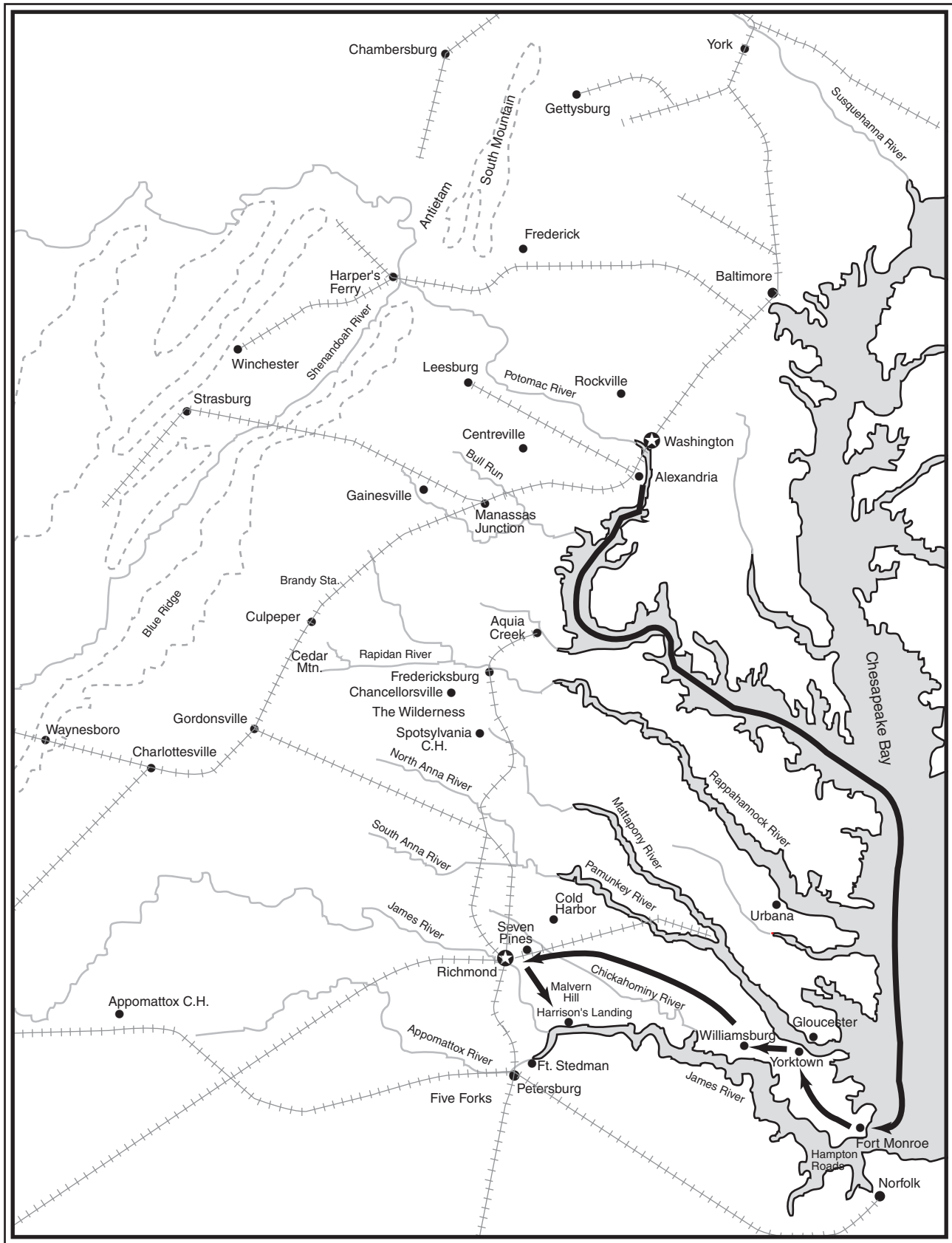
APRIL 6, 1862. *Shiloh.* After confidently ascending the Tennessee River and disembarking at Pittsburgh Landing to await Buell—who is advancing cross-country from Nashville—Grant's 45,000-man Union army is surprised by 40,000 Confederates stealthily approaching out of Corinth (Mississippi) under Albert Johnston and Beauregard.

Their first attack erupts at 6:00 a.m. near Shiloh Church, two miles inland, smashing the forward-most Union division under Brig. Gen. Benjamin Prentiss. However, the Confederate attacks become increasingly uncoordinated as they penetrate deeper into Grant's encampments, and Johnston himself is killed assaulting a strongpoint dubbed the "Hornet's Nest." By 5:30 p.m., Grant is able to stiffen his shortened lines a few hundred yards from the landing, supported by artillery fire from his gunboats offshore.

Overnight, Grant is reinforced by 25,000 fresh troops from Buell's corps, plus a detached division under Gen. Lew Wallace (later to become the author of *Ben Hur*). At 5:00 a.m. on April 7, therefore, the Union army goes over to the offensive, driving Beauregard from the field after hard fighting. Both sides suffer some 10,000 casualties apiece thus require a few weeks to recuperate.

APRIL 9, 1862. Jacksonville (Florida) is evacuated by Union forces.

APRIL 18, 1862. *New Orleans.* Union commodore David Glasgow Farragut arrives off Louisiana with a squadron of men-of-war led by his flagship *Hartford*,



The Peninsula Campaign.



Gen. Ulysses S. Grant poses, standing at center, with members of his staff. (U.S. National Archives)

plus 21 mortar boats under his subordinate David Dixon Porter and a fleet of transports bearing 13,000 soldiers under General Butler, to jointly attempt to capture New Orleans. Porter's mortar boats—with branches tied in their tops as camouflage—are towed into position below forts Saint Philip and Jackson to begin dropping a steady rain of 13-inch shells into these strongholds.

Before sunrise of April 24, Farragut dashes through a gap in the Confederate boom with 17 warships, suffering mostly minor damage despite enduring a ferocious bombardment. His squadron also defeats Commodore Mitchell's Confederate ram, the *Manassas*, and some armed steamers before reaching New Orleans (35 miles farther upstream) on the morning of April 25, extinguishing the many fires that have been deliberately set and occupying the city three days later.

APRIL 21, 1862. Pope, after capturing the 7,000-man Confederate garrison on the Missouri River's Island No. 10, joins Halleck and Grant.

MAY 10–11, 1862. Having withdrawn everything of value, Confederate forces evacuate blockaded Pensacola, torching its navy yard as they withdraw. Union brigadier general L. G. Arnold brings 1,000 troops ashore to occupy all the bay's abandoned fortifications and parades triumphantly into Pensacola on May 12.

MAY 10, 1862. Union forces retake Norfolk, which has been evacuated by the Confederates after destroying their ironclad *Merrimack* and much other matériel.

MAY 30, 1862. Under pressure from Halleck's slowly advancing Union army, Beauregard evacuates Corinth for Tupelo (Mississippi).

JUNE 3, 1862. Confederate forces evacuate Fort Pillow below Island No. 10 and Memphis.

JUNE 6, 1862. Union commodore Charles H. Davis's ironclads defeat a Confederate flotilla before

Memphis, sinking or capturing all but one of its vessels after a sharp fight and wild pursuit.

JUNE 18, 1862. Union troops occupy the Cumberland Gap (Tennessee).

JULY 11, 1862. Confederate general John Hunt Morgan enters Glasgow (Kentucky).

JULY 18, 1862. A band of Confederate raiders assails Newburg (Indiana), causing widespread destruction.

AUGUST 3, 1862. Confederate general Jeff Thompson is defeated near Memphis.

AUGUST 9, 1862. With the threat against the Confederate capital of Richmond receding as McClellan prepares to evacuate the Peninsula (*see* “March 17, 1862” entry), Lee shifts his operations against

the recently promoted major general Pope’s army in northwestern Virginia. The first major clash occurs on August 9, when Jackson’s corps strikes Union major general Nathaniel P. Banks’s corps at Cedar Mountain. Although heavily outnumbered, the Federal troops resist gamely for more than an hour before being routed and driven from the field at nightfall. Pope’s main body comes up the next day, at which point Jackson draws off to await Lee’s Army of Northern Virginia.

AUGUST 19, 1862. Pope retires from the Rapidan with 45,000 Union troops to take up position behind the Rappahannock and await the arrival of McClellan’s army, which three days earlier has begun its withdrawal from the Peninsula. Pope is shadowed from Gordonsville (Virginia) by 55,000 Confederates under Lee, who probes the new Rappahannock defense lines until the 25th, then detaches Jackson on a long march around the Union right flank.

Confederate Commerce Raiders

Washington controlled 90 percent of America’s naval resources at the start of the Civil War. Therefore, the Confederate States Navy—created on February 21, 1861, two months before hostilities began—resorted to unconventional means. Jefferson Davis invited privateers to apply for licenses as early as April 17, two days before Lincoln announced a blockade of southern ports. This blockade quickly proved to be crippling. A few fast blockade-runners eluded patrols, yet bulk exports of cotton and tobacco were halted, strangling the Confederate economy.

Lacking heavy warships, the South’s best countermeasure was its privateers. Most initially operated out of New Orleans, then later along the Atlantic Seaboard. Their harassment of Union merchantmen was boosted when the 38-year-old Confederate commander James D. Bulloch reached Britain in June 1861 to act as a naval agent. In addition to purchasing arms and arranging cotton sales, he also secretly hired English shipbuilders (in violation of neutrality laws) to launch large vessels, which could then be sailed unarmed to a remote island and commissioned as Confederate warships.

The first such raider was named the *Oreto*, because it was supposedly intended for Italian service. After being launched at Liverpool and putting to sea on March 22, 1862, this swift 700-ton bark sailed for the Bahamas. John N. Maffitt assumed command and renamed it *CSS Florida*. Nine guns were installed, but as the raider still needed more equipment, it departed on August 17 to fight its way past the Union blockaders into Mobile (Alabama). The *Florida* reemerged on its first commerce raid on January 16, 1863, claiming 47 prizes before putting into the French port of Brest on August 23.

Bulloch meanwhile arranged the launch of a 1,100-ton English sloop named the *Erica* on July 29, 1862. Less than one month later, it was commissioned as the 8-gun *CSS Alabama* under Capt. Raphael Semmes. He conducted a spectacular two-year cruise that claimed more than 60 prizes before being sunk by the U.S. sloop *Kearsarge* outside Cherbourg (France). Insurance rates for Union merchantmen soared, and blockading warships were diverted to pursue the elusive raiders. Finally, angry protests from Washington compelled the English and French governments to seize 6 more ships and 4 ironclads being privately built for Confederate agents.

The last raider acquired in England was the 1,200-ton, iron-framed *Sea King*, which was purchased in September 1864. It was met the next month at Madeira by the tender *Laurel* and was converted into *CSS Shenandoah* under Capt. James I. Waddell. Prowling into the North Pacific, Waddell netted 38 prizes and circumnavigated the globe before surrendering to the Liverpool authorities in November 1865. The Civil War had ended seven months previously. Washington sued London for hundreds of millions in compensation for the losses inflicted by English-built commerce raiders. An arbitration commission finally decided in September 1872 that Britain should pay the U.S. government \$15.5 million to settle these so-called *Alabama* claims.

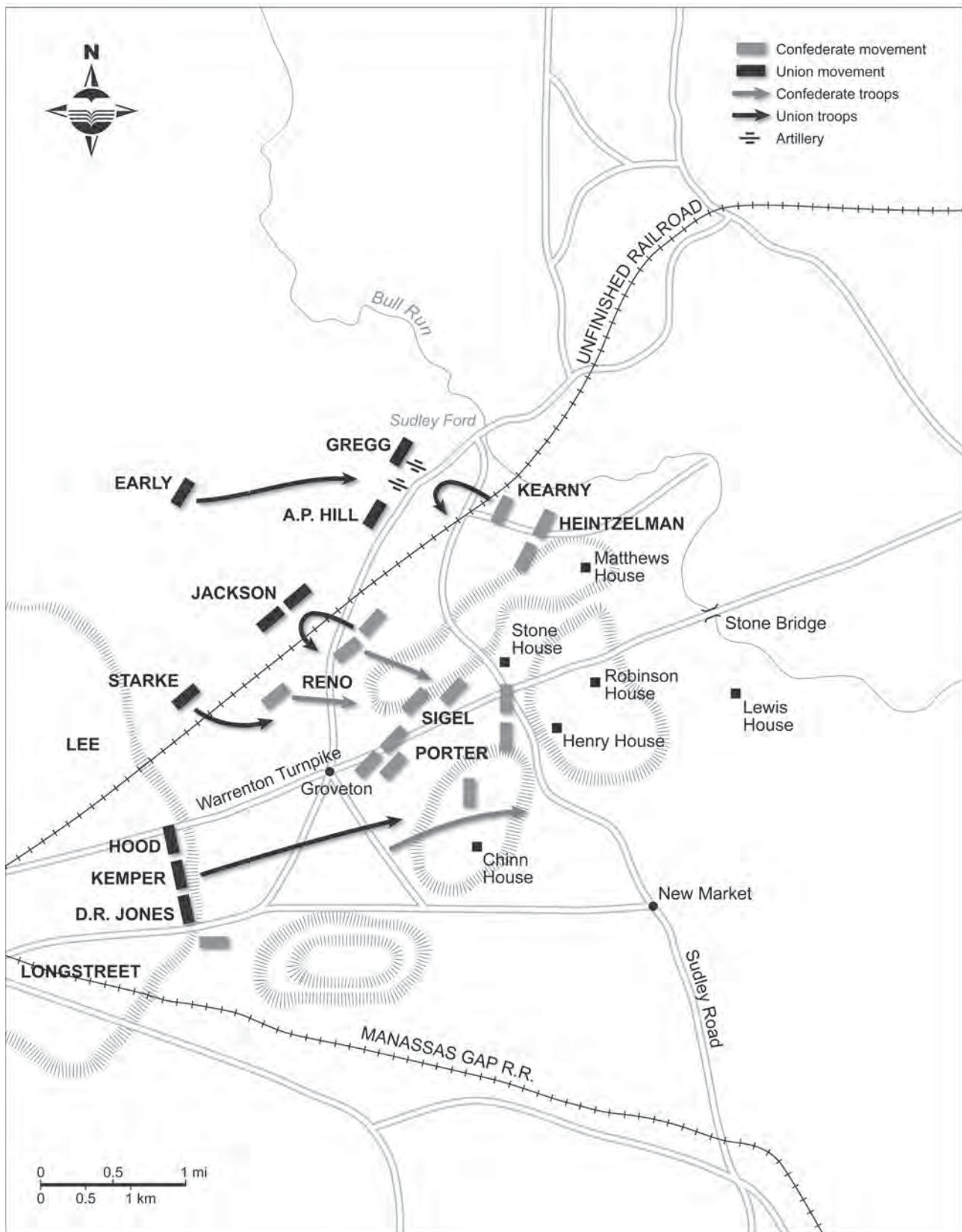


The Confederate raider Shenandoah undergoing repairs in Melbourne, Australia. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

The latter covers 50 miles in two days, reaching the railway at Bristoe before sunset of August 26 and capturing Manassas Junction—Pope's supply depot—by midnight. Jackson's three divisions then hide in some woods 12 miles from Thoroughfare Gap, while Pope—his strength now increased to 70,000 troops because of the arrival of two of McClellan's corps—orders a concentration at Manassas. Failing to find Jackson, the Union army then presses on toward Centreville, while Lee begins arriving through Thoroughfare Gap on the evening of the 28th, with James Longstreet's troops. Not wanting Pope to withdraw behind the protection of Bull Run River, Jackson deliberately reveals his position at 5:30 p.m. this same day by attacking King's division of McDowell's corps near Groveton, thus luring the larger—but fragmented—Union army prematurely into battle.

AUGUST 29, 1862. *Second Battle of Bull Run.* Having at last located Jackson, Pope attacks the Confederate general's strong defensive position with only Sigel's corps and Brig. Gen. John Reynolds's division, the rest of his Union contingents being scattered. Four Federal divisions arrive from Centreville by noon and are thrown into the fight but are repeatedly repelled by Gen. Ambrose P. Hill's division on the Confederate left. Lee meanwhile appears with Longstreet's corps to reinforce Jackson, while Porter and McDowell—unaware of the growing rebel strength—arrive from Manassas with their various Union corps, which have been making toward Gainesville.

The next morning, Pope orders McDowell to pursue the Confederates, still mistakenly assuming he has encountered Jackson's contingent only, which is attempting to escape from this Federal encirclement.



Second Battle of Bull Run (Manassas).

McDowell soon discovers the truth, and although unleashing a heavy attack against the Confederate lines, also secures Bald and Henry House hills to secure his flank. After heavy fighting, Lee sends Longstreet's five divisions against the Federal left at 4:00 p.m., crumpling Union resistance and starting a full-scale retreat. It is too late in the day for the Confederates to achieve a complete victory, however, and Pope is able to extricate most of his forces across Bull Run into Centreville, joining Franklin's corps from Alexandria.

On September 1, Lee sends Jackson on another flanking march; the latter fights a sharp but indecisive engagement at Chantilly with the confused Union forces. Despite being further reinforced by Gen. Edwin "Old Bull" Sumner's corps and thus considerably outnumbering Lee, a demoralized Pope nevertheless decides on September 2 to retire all the way into the Federal fortifications around Washington, having suffered 14,000 casualties during the previous five days of fighting, as opposed to 9,000–10,000 Confederate losses.

AUGUST 30, 1862. Confederate general Edmund Kirby Smith's 15,000 troops brush aside an extemporized Federal force under Gen. William Nelson at Richmond (Kentucky), occupying Lexington three days later.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1862. Union colonel Lowe recaptures Clarksville (Tennessee).

SEPTEMBER 7, 1862. After being reinforced from Richmond, Lee's army crosses the Potomac at Leesburg and occupies Frederick (Maryland).

SEPTEMBER 10, 1862. Lee divides his 40,000-man army, sending Jackson with six divisions to seize Harpers Ferry while he retires behind South Mountain with only three.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1862. *Harpers Ferry.* Jackson appears out of the west, then other Confederate divisions occupy the heights north and east of Harpers Ferry on the opposite banks of the Potomac and Shenandoah, compelling its isolated, 12,500-man Union garrison to capitulate two days later.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1862. Buell's Union army confronts Gen. Braxton Bragg's Confederates at Bowling Green (Kentucky). Both sides circle around each other one week later without clashing.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1862. Being chased by McClellan, Lee retreats behind Antietam Creek into Sharpsburg (Pennsylvania) to reunite with Jackson.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1862. *Antietam.* Jackson rejoins Lee this morning at Sharpsburg with two Confederate divisions, followed by a third that same afternoon. By evening, 48-year-old Joseph ("Fighting Joe") Hooker's I Corps—the vanguard of McClellan's slowly approaching, 70,000-man Federal army—collides with 31-year-old John Bell Hood's two brigades on the Confederate left, and both sides brace for battle the next day.

At 5:30 a.m. on September 17, Union forces assault the Confederate left under Jackson, ceasing their efforts five hours later after negligible gains. The 10:00 a.m. Federal attack upon Lee's center fares somewhat better, D. H. Hill's Confederate division being enfiladed and driven out of the sunken road nicknamed "Bloody Lane" after heavy fighting. Farther south, the Union attackers fare even better, Burnside's IX Corps fighting its way across Antietam's stone bridge by 1:00 p.m., then driving upon Sharpsburg two hours later, threatening to roll up Lee's entire army.

At this crucial moment, Gen. A. P. Hill's Confederate division arrives after a forced march from Harpers Ferry and at 4:00 p.m. takes Burnside's corps in its unprotected left flank, thus sending the Union column reeling back across the Antietam. McClellan has suffered approximately 12,000 casualties, as opposed to Lee's 9,000—although with only 40,000 men to begin with and deep in enemy territory, the Confederate general can ill afford to lose many more. Nevertheless, Lee offers to renew the action the next day, but McClellan demurs, despite being reinforced by two more Union divisions. Instead, he allows the Confederates to retreat west across the Potomac on the night of the 18th, uncontested.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1862. Rosencrans defeats the Confederate general Price at Iuka.

OCTOBER 1, 1862. Buell sallies from Louisville to drive Bragg's Confederate invaders out of Kentucky.

OCTOBER 3, 1862. *Corinth.* Confederate general van Dorn appears outside Corinth (Mississippi) with 22,000 men, hoping to recapture this key strategic town and rupture Grant's line of communications. Its 20,000 Federal defenders under Rosencrans brace for an assault, which is launched the next day.

and eventually halted after heavy fighting around a strongpoint called Battery Robinet. By evening, van Horn is in retreat.

OCTOBER 7, 1862. *Perryville.* This evening, advance elements of Buell's Union army begin encamping west of Perryville (Kentucky), along a stream known as Doctor's Creek. Rearguard units of the Confederate army of General Bragg, which the Federals have been pushing back from Louisville, are also in the vicinity, and soldiers on both sides start fighting over waterholes.

The next day, a heavy battle erupts when the Confederates attack the left end of Buell's line and rout the greater part of a corps, without either general planning on such an engagement. The Union commander—whose headquarters is several miles away—only learns of the action at dusk, after losing 4,000 men. Confederate casualties are comparable, and the disheartened Bragg resumes his retirement shortly thereafter, abandoning the state altogether by retreating through the Cumberland Gap into Tennessee.

OCTOBER 30, 1862. Buell is replaced as Union commander by Rosencrans.

NOVEMBER 7, 1862. Because of his continuing reluctance to commit the Army of the Potomac to a renewed offensive against Lee, McClellan is relieved of his command and replaced by Burnside.

DECEMBER 11, 1862. *Fredericksburg.* After establishing the Army of the Potomac's new base at Aquia Creek, Burnside's 122,000 men have spent two weeks circling southeastward of Lee's main body into the vicinity of Falmouth (Virginia), hoping to slip across the Rappahannock River at or below nearby Fredericksburg and drive directly upon the Confederate capital of Richmond, 54 miles away. However, a delay in forwarding pontoons from Washington has prevented the Union army's immediate traverse, affording Lee's 79,000 troops time to arrive and take up position in the heights just west of the town.

Despite having lost the element of surprise, Burnside persists with his original plan, eventually ordering pontoon bridges erected on the morning of December 12. The Army of the Potomac pushes across in the face of considerable opposition, disgorging through Fredericksburg into a shallow open plain to the west of the town. On December 13, Burnside orders twin columns to press on and en-

gage Lee's waiting lines in the hills beyond, being repulsed with 12,500 losses, compared to 4,200 rebel casualties. Two days after this lopsided slaughter, Burnside retreats, and both armies settle in for the winter on opposite banks of the Rappahannock.

DECEMBER 12, 1862. The Federal gunboat *Cairo* sinks after striking a Confederate "torpedo" in a Mississippi tributary, thus becoming the first victim of mine warfare.

DECEMBER 20, 1862. A Confederate cavalry raid by van Dorn on Grant's supply depot at Holly Springs compels him to defer his advance against Jackson (Mississippi).

DECEMBER 29, 1862. Sherman's 30,000-man army is defeated by Confederate general John C. Pemberton at Chickasaw Bluffs, six miles north of Vicksburg (Mississippi). Sherman is obliged to retreat after losing 2,000 troops.

DECEMBER 30, 1862. *Murfreesboro.* Four days after advancing out of Nashville, Rosencrans deploys his 43,000 Union troops along the banks of the Stone's River facing Murfreesboro (Tennessee), which is defended by a slightly smaller Confederate army under Bragg. The next dawn, four rebel brigades launch a devastating flank attack against Gen. Alexander McD. McCook's corps on the Federal right, causing it to disintegrate. However, Thomas's two divisions hold the Union center, reinforced by Gen. Thomas L. Crittenden on the left.

The day seemingly ends with a Confederate victory, but Rosencrans refuses to retire. Instead, after a couple of days of long-range skirmishing, Bragg drives against the Union left on January 2, 1863, only to see his attacking columns smashed by Federal artillery. The rebels then abandon Murfreesboro and fall back upon Tullahoma, leaving Rosencrans triumphant despite his 13,000 casualties.

JANUARY 10, 1863. *Arkansas Post.* To clear Confederate concentrations from their rearguard, generals John A. McClernand and Sherman lead 32,000 troops against Fort Hindman at Arkansas Post, 40 miles from the confluence of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers, being supported by Porter's river squadron. After a preliminary naval bombardment, the Union army invests this stronghold the next day, suffering about 1,000 casualties before compelling its 5,000-man garrison to surrender.

JANUARY 26, 1863. Hooker replaces Burnside in command of the Army of the Potomac.

JANUARY 31, 1863. The Confederate ironclads *Palmetto State* and *Chicora* attack Du Pont's blockading squadron outside Charleston, capturing the converted merchantman *Mercedita* and crippling the *Keystone State*.

MARCH 14, 1863. Farragut's fleet attempts to push past the Confederate batteries at Port Hudson (Louisiana), but only some of his vessels succeed. The *Mississippi* runs aground and is destroyed.

APRIL 7, 1863. Shortly after noon, Du Pont reluctantly leads his nine Union ironclads in to give battle against Charleston's Confederate batteries. Despite their invulnerability, the cumbersome vessels are only able to fire off 139 heavy rounds by evening, compared to 2,200 by the shore batteries, thus retiring quite badly mauled (the *Keokuk* sinks the next day).

Shortly thereafter, Du Pont is replaced by Rear Adm. John A. Dahlgren, inventor of the gun of this same name, who gradually strangles the Confederate defenses.

APRIL 15, 1863. After two and a half months assembling 45,000 Union troops 10 miles above Vicksburg at Milliken's Bend under his corps commanders Sherman, McClelland, and Scottish-born James B. McPherson, Grant strikes south toward New Carthage with the latter two units along the western bank of the Mississippi to circumvent Vicksburg and eventually invest this Confederate stronghold from the rear. Sherman's corps in the meantime feints toward Chickasaw Bluffs, while Porter's seven ironclads, assorted gunboats, and three store ships slip past the Vicksburg batteries the next night to support Grant's main body along the river.

After reaching Hard Times Plantation on April 24, Grant crosses to the eastern bank of the Mississippi at Bruinsburg, defeats a small Confederate force a few miles inland, then occupies Grand Gulf. He then orders Sherman to rejoin before pressing east toward the town of Jackson on May 7.

APRIL 17, 1863. In a coordinated move designed by Grant to further confuse the Confederate defenders of Mississippi, Col. Benjamin H. Grierson departs Lagrange (near Memphis, Tennessee) with 900 troopers of the 6th and 7th Illinois Cavalry

regiments, plus six field guns, to fight his way 600 miles down toward the Gulf of Mexico—giving the impression of being the spearhead of a much larger Union army following behind. After wreaking great material damage, Grierson emerges at Baton Rouge by the evening of May 2.

APRIL 18, 1863. The 2,000-man Union garrison holding Fayetteville (Arkansas) repulses an attack by 3,000 Confederate troops with four cannons.

APRIL 30, 1863. *Chancellorsville.* Eager to launch a spring offensive against Lee, Hooker masses 60,000 Union troops near Chancellorsville (west of Fredericksburg, Virginia), while Gen. John Sedgwick pushes across the Rappahannock farther east with another 40,000. Despite being outnumbered two to one, Lee outfights both contingents; he leaves 10,000 men to check Sedgwick, while his main body swings around under Jackson to confront Hooker on May 1.

Lee's initial attack throws the main Union army over to the defensive. The next day he outflanks and rolls up Hooker's right wing with Jackson's corps. The Army of the Potomac then falls back to a fresh defensive position, at which time (May 3) Lee turns upon Sedgwick, who in the meantime has captured Fredericksburg's commanding heights. On the 4th, the Confederates drive Sedgwick back across the river, then countermarch to strike another blow against Hooker at Chancellorsville. Thoroughly outmaneuvered and having suffered 17,000 casualties compared to 12,000 Confederate losses, Hooker retires across the Rappahannock by nightfall of the 5th, the only success coming when Jackson—Lee's ablest subordinate—is mortally wounded by a chance round from his own troops.

MAY 12, 1863. Grant defeats a Confederate concentration at Raymond (Mississippi), then captures nearby Jackson two days later, preventing the passage of 6,000 Confederate reinforcements under Gen. Joseph E. Johnston into Vicksburg.

MAY 16, 1863. *Siege of Vicksburg.* After sallying 25 miles eastward out of Vicksburg, its garrison commander, General Pemberton, challenges Grant's approaching army at Champion Hill, suffering 2,500 Confederate casualties in a seesaw battle before retreating. The next day, the rebels fight a rearguard action at a crossing of the Big Black River and are defeated again, being driven back inside their trenches at Vicksburg.

Grant arrives outside the city on May 18, his troops storming Vicksburg's defenses the next day. A second assault on May 22 results in 3,000 Union casualties, after which the Federal army settles down to a protracted siege. Confederate relief columns are kept at bay over the next several weeks, while Grant's strength swells to 75,000 men. Eventually, Pemberton requests terms on July 3, and 31,000 defenders capitulate the next day, along with 172 cannon and 60,000 small arms.

MAY 23, 1863. *Capture of Port Hudson.* Five weeks after departing northward from Baton Rouge, 14,000 Union troops under Banks besiege 7,000 Confederates inside Port Hudson, located 200 miles below Vicksburg on the Mississippi River. When news arrives of the fall of Vicksburg, Port Hudson's half-starved Confederate garrison also capitulates on July 9.

JUNE 3, 1863. Lee strikes north from Virginia with three corps under Longstreet, Gen. Richard S. Ewell, and A. P. Hill to invade Pennsylvania.

JUNE 9, 1863. Lee's cavalry clashes with Union troops at Brandy Station (Virginia), revealing to

Hooker that the Army of Northern Virginia is moving over to the offensive.

JUNE 13, 1863. Refused permission to advance against the Confederate capital of Richmond during Lee's absence, Hooker must instead fall back toward Manassas in the hope of intercepting the Army of Northern Virginia before it can threaten Washington.

JUNE 15, 1863. Confederate general Ewell captures Winchester in northern Virginia and crosses over into Maryland, while pushing his cavalry forward into Pennsylvania.

JUNE 23, 1863. After six months of inactivity near Murfreesboro, Rosencrans's 60,000-man Army of the Cumberland breaks camp and pushes south to drive Bragg's 45,000 Confederates out of central Tennessee. By sliding east around the rebel flank, Rosencrans compels Bragg to pull back into Chattanooga by July 4.

JUNE 28, 1863. Lee—whose flamboyant cavalry commander J. E. B. Stuart has left him without

Recruitment of African American Soldiers

When the Civil War began, many free blacks in the North wanted to fight for the Union. Although blacks had served in other countries for decades, these first African American volunteers were refused because of ingrained prejudice. Even leaders such as Lincoln believed that they could not make effective soldiers and that their inclusion might push border states like Missouri into the Confederacy. The legal status of escaped slaves was also considered problematical. When Maj. Gen. David Hunter raised a black regiment in March 1862 from runaways congregated around the Federal base at Port Royal (near modern Hilton Head, South Carolina), he was obliged to disband this unit by August 9.

Ironically, after a Federal expedition seized New Orleans in late April 1862, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Butler was approached by militia officers of its 1st Regiment of Native Louisiana Guards. This all-black unit existed under the Confederate government and now wished to switch sides. With the passing of a law by Congress in July permitting free blacks to enlist (although for less pay or privileges than whites), Butler decided to accept the Louisianans' offer. The 1st Regiment was sworn into Federal service on September 27, followed by the 2nd and 3rd regiments in October and November.

A manpower shortage was now developing in Union ranks; therefore, when Lincoln finally issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, it not only declared all slaves in rebel states to be freed but it also added that blacks "will be received into the armed services." The existing 1st Regiment of Kansas Colored Volunteers therefore became the fourth African American regiment in the U.S. Army 12 days afterward, followed by Hunter's resurrected 1st South Carolina Volunteers on January 31.

Needing still more troops, Congress passed the first conscription act in U.S. history on March 3, authorizing a selection by lottery from among all males between the ages of 18 and 35. A separate "Bureau of Colored Troops" was also created by the War Department in the spring of 1863. Black regiments fought well in their first major battles in May and June at Port Hudson and Milliken's Bend on the Mississippi River. Despite being often assigned inferior equipment, heavy manual labor, and no chance of promotion, nearly 180,000 African Americans swelled Union ranks throughout the remainder of this conflict, one-third giving their lives.

reconnaissance capabilities because he prefers to raid deep into Union territory alone—learns that Hooker is concentrating at Frederick (Maryland), thus threatening the Confederates' rear.

This same day, Hooker is replaced by George Gordon Meade as Union commander in chief.

JUNE 30, 1863. *Gettysburg.* A Confederate brigade—part of A. P. Hill's and Longstreet's two corps—bears down upon Gettysburg out of the west in hopes of looting its shoe factory, only to find the small Pennsylvania town held by a Union cavalry contingent. Rather than scatter, these Federal troopers—detached from Meade's much larger concentration at Pipe Creek, farther southeast—make a stand, provoking Hill into mounting a full-scale assault the next morning.

The Confederates encounter unexpectedly stiff resistance from Gen. John Buford's Federal cavalry division, plus I Corps infantry units under Gen. John F. Reynolds, until the defenders are finally compelled to retreat when Ewell's Confederate corps also appears out of the north and sends in an assault column under Brig. Gen. Jubal Early. Nevertheless, the Federal forces retire no farther than Cemetery Hill and brace for another battle, while awaiting reinforcements.

Arriving upon the scene, Lee wishes to destroy this portion of the Army of the Potomac before it can be built up to full strength; however, through poor communications, he is unable to commit Longstreet's corps to battle until late afternoon of July 2, by which time the Federals are well dug in and increasing in numbers (eventually reaching 82,000 men, compared to 75,000 Confederates). Desperate fighting swirls around the "Peach Orchard" and "Devil's Den," with neither side gaining a decisive advantage, until Lee finally decides upon an all-out assault against the Union center the next day.

It is Meade, though, who strikes first at dawn of July 3, sending a division from XII Corps to reoccupy Culp's Hill from the Confederates, which it achieves after four hours of intense fighting. Despite this setback, Lee allows his main attack to go forward, preceded by an extensive bombardment of the Union center, which commences at 1:00 p.m. by 140 Confederate guns under Col. E. P. Alexander. When the 77 Union artillery pieces fall silent near 3:00—having been ordered by Gen. H. J. Hunt to preserve ammunition—38-year-old general George Edward Pickett's fresh Confederate division emerges from the trees three-quarters of a mile

away and charges the Union lines atop Cemetery Hill in the belief that the defenders' guns are out of action. Instead, his regiments endure a merciless pounding from both renewed artillery fire and massed musket volleys, losing 3,400 of 4,800 men before retreating.

Having lost a total of about 30,000 men killed, wounded, or missing during the four days of fighting, a defeated Lee retires toward Virginia by July 5. Union casualties total 23,000, leaving Meade too drained to do much except follow.

JULY 5, 1863. Confederate general Morgan captures 400 Union prisoners at Lebanon (Kentucky), and then three days later crosses the Ohio River into Harrison County (Indiana) with 2,500 troopers and four artillery pieces, apparently in hopes of fomenting a local insurrection by anti-Federalist sympathizers called Copperheads. After proceeding into Ohio, he is cornered and defeated near Pomeroy on July 18, surrendering the remnants of his command two days later in Columbiana County.

JULY 13, 1863. During the second drawing of draft numbers in New York City, a furious mob attacks the assistant provost marshal's office, and a vicious anti-conscription riot ensues, resulting in some 150 deaths and 300 injuries before being put down four days later by the arrival of several thousand Federal troops.

JULY 17, 1863. Having quit occupied Vicksburg 12 days earlier with elements of three Union Army corps, Sherman drives the outnumbered Johnston out of Jackson (Mississippi). Natchez is also seized by another Federal detachment, while the rebel supply depot at Grenada is destroyed one month later.

AUGUST 20, 1863. At dawn, Lawrence (Kansas) is surprised by 300 irregulars under William C. Quantrill of Cass County (Missouri), who slay 191 residents and wound another 581 before burning the town to the ground. Local militia general James H. Lane retaliates by raiding Grand River (Missouri), claiming 80 lives.

SEPTEMBER 2, 1863. Burnside occupies Knoxville with 15,000 Union troops.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1863. Bragg evacuates Chattanooga, and Rosencrans occupies it the next day.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1863. Learning that Bragg is not in full retreat into Rome (Georgia) as expected but, rather, is holding his position, Rosencrans hastily reconcentrates his three corps near Chickamauga Creek, 12 miles south of Chattanooga.

The next day, Bragg begins advancing upon the Union left under Crittenden at Lee and Gordon's Mills, being reinforced en route by three freshly arrived Confederate brigades under Hood.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1863. *Chickamauga.* Bragg's army approaches through dense woods, hoping to envelop Rosencrans's left, then drive the 60,000 Union troops back upon Lookout Mountain, without any possibility of escape. However, the Federal general has already begun shifting his army to the left, and on the morning of September 19, Gen. George H. Thomas sends a division forward to reconnoiter near Chickamauga Creek, discovering dismounted Confederate cavalrymen. A confused series of clashes erupts, most units being unable to see any great distance because of the terrain, hence fighting independently wherever they chance upon their enemy.

Bragg is reinforced overnight and the next morning launches a two-pronged assault, most of which hits Thomas's corps. He calls for support, and Rosencrans shifts three Union divisions to the left, before a fourth is mistakenly pulled out of the Union line, allowing Longstreet's recently arrived Confederate reinforcements to pour through at noon. The Federal right—now reduced to fewer than 7,000 men—is swept from the field, although managing to make a stand in McFarland's Gap. Rosencrans and Crittenden are carried off in the Union flight toward Chattanooga, only Thomas hanging on with five divisions against the entire 60,000-man Confederate army. He mounts a desperate defense along Missionary Ridge, earning the nickname "Rock of Chickamauga." Eventually the Union survivors are pressed back around 4:00 p.m. and withdraw northward, the victorious Confederates giving up their pursuit at sunset. Both sides have suffered approximately 16,000 casualties apiece; Thomas retires unmolested toward Chattanooga on September 21.

OCTOBER 5, 1863. The four-man Confederate submersible *David* under Lt. William T. Glassell slips out of Charleston (South Carolina) after nightfall and badly damages the 4,120-ton ironclad USS *New Ironsides* with a "torpedo" (a spar tipped with an explosive charge), although it also sinks from this same blast.

OCTOBER 23, 1863. Grant reaches Chattanooga to assume command over the remnants of Rosencrans's army, now beleaguered within this city under Thomas after its defeat at Chickamauga. To extricate the Army of the Cumberland from its difficulties, it has already been reinforced by 12,000 men of the XI and XII corps under Hooker from the Army of the Potomac in Virginia and is awaiting the arrival of the XV Corps under Sherman from the Army of the Tennessee in Mississippi before attempting a breakout.

NOVEMBER 17, 1863. Having been detached with 15,000 troops from Bragg's victorious army, Confederate general Longstreet arrives to invest Burnside within Knoxville. After a nocturnal assault is repulsed with heavy losses, the Southerners institute a siege.

NOVEMBER 23, 1863. *Chattanooga.* After a month's preparation, Grant's 60,000 Union troops begin to push southeastward out of Chattanooga to break the siege by Bragg's 34,000 Confederates, dug in along the nearby heights. In the center, Thomas's corps moves out onto the open plain and pushes back the rebel picket lines around Orchard Knob, in anticipation of a two-pronged envelopment by other Federal contingents: Hooker, who is to storm Lookout Mountain on the right, and Sherman who is to outflank the Confederates on the left.

The next midday, the Union offensive is at last launched, as Hooker easily carries his objective, although without threatening Bragg's main army. Sherman's corps meanwhile encounters greater resistance among the broken hills at the northeastern tip of Missionary Ridge from the Confederate division of Irish-born general Pat Cleburne, and the Union drive bogs down by nightfall.

When fighting resumes on November 25, Grant directs Thomas's corps to pressure Bragg's center with a frontal assault during the afternoon to relieve his wings. Against all expectations, 18,000 Union infantrymen surge through the lower rebel trenches at 3:30 p.m., then—without orders—scale the 500-foot heights of Missionary Ridge in an irresistible tide led by 32-year-old major general Philip Henry Sheridan. Bragg's army is broken and retreats in disorder, having suffered 8,700 killed, wounded, or captured. Grant's losses are approximately 6,000 men.

DECEMBER 4, 1863. After helping defeat Bragg outside Chattanooga, Sherman's corps raises the Confederate siege of Burnside's army inside Knoxville.

FEBRUARY 3, 1864. Sherman departs Vicksburg with the XVI and the XVII Army corps, launching a devastating sweep through Confederate-held Mississippi. On February 5, his Union columns pass through Jackson, then level Meridian on February 14–15, before returning into their original cantonments on February 27.

FEBRUARY 17, 1864. The eight-man Confederate submersible *H.L. Hunley* (named for its dead inventor, Horace L. Hunley) slips out of Charleston under Lt. George E. Dixon and sinks the 1,930-ton Union steam screw sloop *Housatonic* by ramming it with a torpedo—which also claims the luckless submarine.

MARCH 8, 1864. Grant is promoted to lieutenant general by Lincoln and the next day is made commander in chief of all Union armies.

MARCH 14, 1864. Federal forces under Gen. A. J. Smith capture 325 Confederates and 12 guns at Fort DeRussey on the Red River (Louisiana).

MARCH 25, 1864. A cavalry raid by Confederate general Forrest levels Paducah (Kentucky).

APRIL 12, 1864. Forrest surprises and destroys the Union garrison at Fort Pillow (Tennessee).

MAY 3, 1864. *The Wilderness.* After reorganizing the Army of the Potomac and appointing Sheridan as his cavalry commander, Grant this evening departs Culpeper (Virginia) and heads southward with 120,000 men, subdivided into five corps, to cross the Rapidan River at Germanna and Ely's fords in search of Lee. The next evening, the Union vanguard camps in the middle of a large forest dubbed The Wilderness in Spotsylvania County, where advance Confederate units surprise it on the morning of May 5.

With scarcely 70,000 troops and less artillery than the Union host, Lee has opted to push his own army into this wooded area from the opposite direction and fight blind, wherever his troops become engaged; in this manner, Grant's superior numbers and guns cannot easily be brought to bear. The left wing of the Confederate army therefore collides with the left center of the Army of the Potomac shortly after daybreak, and isolated skirmishes gradually evolve into a pitched battle as reinforcements are hastened toward the sounds of gunfire by both sides. Unable to see more than 100 yards because of

Ulysses S. Grant

Hiram Ulysses Grant was born on April 27, 1822, at Point Pleasant (Ohio), 25 miles east of Cincinnati. He was the eldest of six children of the tanner Jesse Grant and his wife, Hannah Simpson. His family moved to the village of Georgetown the next year, and Grant grew up there until the age of 17. At that time, he was nominated for the U.S. Military Academy at West Point by Congressman Thomas L. Harmer—who erroneously listed his name as “Ulysses Simpson Grant,” which the academy insisted on retaining. Short of stature, Grant excelled at horsemanship as a cadet and graduated 21st in his class in 1843.

Three years later, he campaigned with distinction as a junior officer during the Mexican-American War, twice given field promotions for bravery. Upon the war's conclusion, he married Julia B. Dent, with whom he had four children. Grant pined for his young wife and family, though, when assigned in 1853 as quartermaster of the 4th U.S. Infantry Regiment at Fort Vancouver in the remote Washington Territory. After being promoted to captain the next year at Fort Humboldt in California, he grew so depressed that he started drinking and, consequently, was given the choice of resigning his commission or being court-martialed.

Grant left the U.S. Army on July 31, 1854, but he enjoyed little success in civilian life—working as a farmer, a real-estate agent in St. Louis (Missouri), and even a bill collector before finally accepting work as an assistant in the leather shop owned by his father and brother in Galena (Illinois). Such repeated failures seemed to show little promise, yet when the Civil War erupted in April 1861, Grant helped raise a volunteer company. He accompanied it to the state capital of Springfield to petition Gov. Richard Yates for a field command.

Being a West Point graduate, Grant eventually was appointed colonel of the undisciplined 21st Illinois Infantry Regiment on June 17, 1861. It was sent into Missouri to help secure that state for the Union, and Grant quickly became a militia brigadier general by August 7. Then began the unexpected string of victories at Paducah, Fort Henry, and Fort Donelson—the first significant Union successes of the war—which propelled him to the very top echelons of command. Unpretentious and inured to setbacks, Grant was cool and fearless in maneuver, qualities that eventually carried him to the presidency.

the dense undergrowth, many formations and batteries fire wildly throughout the night, until the brush itself catches fire.

The next day, the battle regains intensity, a threatened breakthrough by Gen. Winfield Scott Han-

cock's II Union Army Corps being contained by the timely arrival of Longstreet's division, although Longstreet is then accidentally shot by his own troops. Long-range exchanges characterize the fighting on May 7, after which Grant—undaunted despite having suffered almost 18,000 casualties to Lee's 11,500—resumes his advance southeastward toward Spotsylvania Court House.

MAY 8, 1864. *Spotsylvania.* A Union column under Sheridan hastens to seize the crossroads at Spotsylvania Court House to get between Lee's army and the Confederate capital of Richmond, but a rebel contingent bars its path. Both armies then collide again and another ferocious, confused battle erupts over the next 10 days as Grant and Lee slowly circle around each other.

On May 12, a fierce contest is fought in pelting rain from dawn to dusk over a horseshoe-shaped arc of Confederate trenches called the Bloody Angle, which guard the principal road crossing. Union casualties this day total 7,000, compared to 4,500 for the rebels (plus another 4,000 captured). The Army of the Potomac nevertheless persists in sliding eastward, all the while maintaining contact with the Army of Northern Virginia. By May 20, total Federal losses since the beginning of this campaign stand at 35,000; Confederate losses total 26,000.

MAY 13, 1864. *Drive on Atlanta.* Less than a week after departing Chattanooga southeastward with 90,000 Union troops, Sherman encounters Johnston's 60,000 Confederates dug in behind Buzzard's Roost on Rocky Face Ridge, with his headquarters in nearby Dalton (Georgia). Rather than storm these heights, two Federal corps pin down the Southerners, while Union general McPherson leads the 30,000-man Army of the Tennessee on a wide flanking movement to the right, passing through Snake Creek Gap to threaten Johnston's line of communications two days later at Resaca.

The Confederates fight their way free, but Sherman continues to press Johnston back toward Atlanta, outflanking the rebels whenever they make a stand. Eventually, the Confederates retire into prepared positions on Kenesaw Mountain, which Sherman assaults on June 27, suffering 3,000 casualties. Resuming their former tactic, the Federal columns again outflank Johnston, obliging him to withdraw beyond the Chattahoochee River by July 9, and into trenches around Atlanta (population 13,000) one week later.

At this juncture, President Davis replaces Johnston with Hood, who attacks General Thomas's Union corps on July 20 as it is crossing Peachtree Creek just a few miles outside Atlanta. This assault is beaten off with considerable difficulty, and two days later Hood also mauls McPherson's detached force as it approaches out of the east, after having secured Decatur. Sherman nevertheless continues to encircle Atlanta, despite another sally by Hood westward against the Union positions at Ezra Church on July 28. Eventually, a lengthy siege results, culminating in the escape northwestward of Hood's army and the capitulation of the battered city by September 2.

MAY 23, 1864. Six months after escaping from imprisonment in Ohio, General Morgan (*see* "July 5, 1863" entry) enters Kentucky with a body of mounted Confederate raiders. On June 11, he threatens Frankfort, but otherwise exerts little effect on Union dispositions.

JUNE 3, 1864. *Cold Harbor.* Three days after Sheridan's cavalry has occupied the village of Cold Harbor close to the Chickahominy River (Virginia), Grant mistakenly assumes Lee's forces are overextended, so he orders a direct frontal assault on the nearby Confederate trenches for 4:30 a.m. on June 3 in the hope of achieving a breakthrough. Instead, he discovers this sector has been heavily reinforced by Lee, consequently the Union storm columns suffer 8,000 casualties in half an hour.

Such brutal slaughter checks the Federal offensive, resulting in 10 days of long-range exchanges. Union casualties for the preceding month total 50,000 men, compared to Lee's 32,000; yet Grant is able to quickly replenish his lost troops and equipment, whereas Confederate resources are almost exhausted. Grant nonetheless decides to alter strategy in mid-June, leaving a holding force outside Richmond while slipping the bulk of the seven corps of his huge Army of the Potomac southeastward again to obliquely approach the Confederate capital through its vital supply point at Petersburg.

JUNE 15, 1864. *Petersburg Siege.* After stealthily crossing both the Chickahominy and James rivers aboard transports and a 2,200-foot-long pontoon bridge at Windmill Point, the Army of the Potomac's 15,000-man vanguard under Maj. Gen. William F. "Baldy" Smith of the XVIII Corps surprises the 5,400 Confederates under Beauregard who are holding Petersburg, a small but vital city of 18,000



Part of the elaborate Confederate works outside Petersburg, after their evacuation in April 1865; such trenches extended for many miles in both directions. (Author's Collection)

inhabitants lying south of Richmond. This satellite serves as a hub for five railways, numerous roads, and much river traffic, and the Confederate capital cannot be held should it fall.

Despite quickly building their numbers up to 67,000 men and having ample opportunity over the next five days to overwhelm the now 20,000 defenders, Federal forces fail to carry Petersburg and are even deceived by Beauregard's feints—which include using logs to simulate additional cannon and lighting excessive campfires at night, all giving a false impression of strength. These tactics nevertheless buy sufficient time for Lee to hasten his main Army of Northern Virginia down to bolster Peters-

burg's defenses. Having suffered almost 11,400 casualties in the previous, vain assaults, compared to roughly 4,000 among the defenders, Grant is willing to settle down to protracted trench warfare, pinning the outnumbered Confederates in place.

Coal miners serving in the 48th Pennsylvania Infantry Regiment under Lt. Col. Henry Pleasants attempt to break this stalemate by digging a 511-foot tunnel and detonating an eight-ton charge beneath a Confederate strongpoint known as Elliott's Salient at dawn of July 30. Although the blast vaporizes some 280–350 defenders and blows a 135-foot-wide crater, the ensuing Union assault is botched because the specially prepared African American

Trench Warfare at Petersburg

Although referred to as the “siege” of Petersburg, the Union attack against this small southern city was not a full encirclement; rather, it was 10 months of gruelling trench warfare. Two huge armies dug works that eventually snaked for over 30 miles around the city’s eastern and southern fringes, probing for any advantage.

Both Federal and rebel commanders realized early in the Civil War that the more accurate and lethal weaponry available could have a shattering effect upon massed troops. Battles might still be decided by a climactic charge, yet armies routinely dug in whenever in an enemy presence—for protection from an unexpected artillery barrage, if nothing worse. Such tactics were especially true in mid-June 1864 when the Army of the Potomac pressed in upon Petersburg, which was desperately defended by the Army of Northern Virginia. As some 125,000 Union troops crowded into their entrenchments, 55,000 Confederates created such elaborate defenses opposite them that northern newspapers derided Lee as “the Ace of Spades.”

Throughout the winter and spring of 1864–1865, both armies slept in bombproof bunkers. Mortar rounds soared back and forth, snipers killed the unwary, and disease spread amid the cold squalor. Federal regiments attempted breakthroughs at vulnerable spots, almost invariably thrown back with heavy losses. Finally, Petersburg’s defenders collapsed through sheer exhaustion and lack of supplies. Remarkably, almost identical conditions were experienced a half-century later in the fields of Flanders and northern France during the First World War.

troops from Brig. Gen. Edward Ferrero’s division are replaced at the last minute, for political considerations, by Brig. Gen. James Ledlie’s unrehearsed division. The latter unwittingly blunder into the crater’s soft bottom rather than circle its rim, becoming bogged down, and are easily shot from above when Confederate brigadier general William Mahone’s division recuperates and moves over to plug the gap. A golden opportunity is lost, and some 5,300 Union casualties are suffered through the incompetence of the corps commander, Burnside, who is cashiered. The siege of Petersburg will persist for another eight months until the very final days of the war.

JULY 5, 1864. *Alarm at Washington.* After defeating small Union forces in the Shenandoah Valley, Confederate general Early moves into Maryland to threaten Washington, D.C., in the hope of relieving

pressure on Lee’s hard-pressed army in Virginia. Gen. Bradley T. Johnson crosses the Potomac River this day with the 3,000-man Rebel vanguard, followed shortly thereafter by Early’s 10,000-man main body.

By July 10, the Confederates have passed through Rockville, and the next morning they encounter the Union fortifications at Fort Stevens (Brightwood, D.C.). They are held by the 1st and 2nd divisions of the VI Corps under Gen. Horatio G. Wright—hastily withdrawn from Grant’s army around Petersburg—plus a scratch force of rear echelon troops and convalescents. Without a siege train, Early can only probe the defenses, suffering 500 casualties before retiring on July 13 toward the Shenandoah Valley via Leesburg, Snickers Gap, and Winchester. Federal losses are 54 killed and 319 wounded.

AUGUST 5, 1864. *Mobile Bay.* At 5:30 a.m., Farragut—his flag flying aboard USS *Hartford*—stands in toward the Confederate defenses at Mobile Bay, his squadron consisting of the monitors *Tecumseh*, *Manhattan*, *Winnebago*, and *Chickasaw*, plus 14 wooden warships lashed together in pairs for greater protection. An hour and a half later, they begin exchanging salvos with Fort Morgan, while the *Tecumseh* presses on close inshore to engage the waiting Confederate ironclad *Tennessee* under Rear Adm. Franklin Buchanan.

Instead, the lead Union monitor suddenly strikes a mine or “torpedo,” capsizing within minutes, with Cmdr. T. A. M. Craven and 91 of its 113-man crew being drowned. The next Union ship in line—the steam sloop USS *Brooklyn*—hesitates to follow, until Farragut bellows across the water to its captain: “Damn the torpedoes! Full speed ahead!” The Union vessels clear the Confederate minefield without further incident, and some of their number dispose of the three Confederate gunboats supporting the *Tennessee*. The entire squadron then gives its full attention to this formidable opponent. The *Monongahela*, the *Lackawanna*, and the *Hartford* all unsuccessfully attempt to ram the ironclad, which is eventually checked by the 440-pound solid shots fired by the 15-inch guns aboard the *Manhattan*. Surrounded, its gunports battered shut, steering gear shot away, and commander seriously wounded, the *Tennessee* finally surrenders to its tormentors at 10:00 a.m.

Despite having captured this vessel, plus both forts Morgan and Gaines ashore, the Union forces are unable to subdue the city of Mobile 30 miles farther north, although it ceases to serve as a viable seaport for importing desperately needed goods from abroad.

AUGUST 7, 1864. To establish Union control in the Shenandoah Valley, Sheridan is given command of all its Federal forces. Three days later, he advances out of Harpers Ferry, driving Early's Confederates back toward Strasburg.

AUGUST 21, 1864. Forrest makes a hit-and-run raid into Memphis with a body of Confederate cavalry.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1864. *Winchester.* With 8,000 Union cavalymen and 23,000 infantrymen, Sheridan confronts Early's smaller Confederate army two miles east of Winchester (Virginia). Despite some initial confusion and a bloody repulse, the Federal commander rallies his troops, brings up reinforcements around noon, then launches an entire cavalry division in a charge behind the rebel flank that secures 1,200 captives and drives Early in retreat toward Strasburg.

The Confederates regroup at Fisher's Hill between the Shenandoah River and Little North Mountain, only to be routed again three days later when they are once more outflanked. Early then retires into Port Republic on September 25 with his surviving units.

OCTOBER 19, 1864. At dawn, Early's Confederate army—having been reinforced by Longstreet—surprises Sheridan's unprepared corps at Cedar Creek (Virginia), capturing 1,300 prisoners and 18 guns. The Union commander rides 20 miles from Winchester to rally his troops and rout Early by nightfall, seizing 23 rebel guns.

NOVEMBER 11, 1864. *March to the Sea.* Having detached Thomas's corps back into Tennessee to keep an eye on Hood, Sherman orders his 60,000 remaining troops to burn empty Atlanta to the ground, then the next day begins striking out in four parallel columns toward the Atlantic on an uncontested sweep designed to underscore the South's prostrate condition. On November 23, a few thousand raw Confederate militiamen are brushed aside outside Milledgeville (then Georgia's capital), being mostly boys and old men, but otherwise no armed resistance is encountered.

After cutting a swathe of destruction 60 miles wide and 250 miles long, Sherman's army reaches Savannah on December 10, circling around to the right to gain the Ogeechee River, overwhelm the Confederate garrison at Fort McAllister, and re-

Presidential Reelection

Early in 1864, the 26 northern states were confronted with the difficulty of conducting a presidential election amid the carnage of civil war. Such a test of democracy had few precedents, certainly none in the Western Hemisphere. The Republican Party was uneasy because they believed Lincoln could not possibly win; some even suggested that General Grant be nominated instead. Grant angrily rebuffed such a notion, declaring that he considered "it as important to the cause that [the President] should be elected, as that the army should be successful in the field."

Worried party members nonetheless forged an alliance with those Democrats who had originally favored the federal government's recourse to arms. They formed the so-called National Union ticket with Lincoln at its head and Gov. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee as his "War Democrat" running mate for vice president. Their campaign slogan was: "Don't change horses in the middle of the stream." A breakaway faction known as the "Radical Republicans," who felt that the president was being too soft on the South, held a separate convention in Cleveland on May 31, 1864, which nominated Frémont and John Cochrane of New York. The Democrats chose McClellan, once the commanding general of the Army of the Potomac, whom Lincoln had twice relieved and who now had to run on an anti-war platform, which he personally opposed.

Still, as late as the end of August 1864, the president was so convinced that he would lose that he made members of his cabinet blindly sign a pledge to cooperate with his successor. However, shortly thereafter, Sherman took Atlanta, Grant began making inroads at the Siege of Petersburg, and Sheridan defeated Jubal Early in the Shenandoah Valley. Because of these victories, Frémont withdrew from the race on September 21, throwing his support behind Lincoln.

The election, which was held on November 8, returned the president to office in a landslide, for he won 2.2 million votes to McClellan's 1.8 million, the latter only carrying his home state of New Jersey plus Delaware and Kentucky. Several states allowed their soldiers serving in the field to vote, a first in U.S. history, and most of them cast their ballots for Lincoln. Yet more noteworthy still was the very fact that an election was held at all under such strained circumstances.

establish contact with Union warships in Ossabaw Sound. Reprovisioned from supply ships, the Federal troops then return to occupy Savannah by December 21, its 10,000-man garrison under Gen.

William J. Hardee having withdrawn north into the Carolinas.

NOVEMBER 30, 1864. *Franklin.* Schofield's re-treating army entrenches just south of the town of Franklin (Tennessee), while his engineers rebuild the burned bridge across to the north bank of the Harpeth River in a plan to regain Thomas's main defenses 18 miles away at Nashville.

Shortly after noon, Hood comes up, furious at having let the Federal army escape him at Spring Hill. A mass of 18,000 Confederate infantry charges the strongest portion of the Union line and is greeted by artillery salvos and rifle volleys. Although a few fight their way through, their frontal assault is shattered, and they flee after enduring 6,000 killed or wounded. Schofield, who has suffered 2,000 casualties of his own, completes the bridge overnight and continues his retirement into Nashville.

LATE NOVEMBER 1864. In a last-ditch effort to discomfit the North, Hood crosses the Tennessee River from northern Alabama with 40,000 Confederates, driving toward Nashville. Thomas responds by detaching Gen. John Schofield with 22,000 Union troops to check this invasion, hoping to buy time to assemble even greater strength.

Hood emerges behind Schofield at Spring Hill on November 29, compelling the startled Union column to make an abrupt about-face and hurriedly retrace their route to march out of danger. Poor Confederate communications prevent any attack until the next morning, when Forrest's cavalry alone overtakes Schofield's rearguard, only to be repelled by its artillery.

DECEMBER 15, 1864. *Nashville.* Two weeks after Hood's smaller army has instituted a loose siege, Thomas emerges from behind his Nashville fortifications in full force, pinning the Confederate right with two brigades of African American troops, while a solid corps of infantry and Gen. James H. Wilson's cavalry punches through the left. The outnumbered Southerners cannot man their entire line, so are driven two miles back in heavy fighting.

The next morning, Hood stands and fights again, only to see his line once more shattered. This time, the rebel army reels away in disarray, leaving behind its artillery, while Forrest's cavalry covers the retirement with difficulty. Eventually, Wilson's carbine-toting Union troopers hound the defeated Confed-

erates out of Tennessee. Upon regaining Muscle Shoals (Alabama) on December 29, Hood has only 21,000 men left.

DECEMBER 24, 1864. Porter has the ex-blockade runner *Louisiana* towed stealthily up to the seaward face of Fort Fisher outside Wilmington (North Carolina) and detonates 215 tons of powder onboard at 1:40 a.m. This is to be followed by an immediate amphibious assault by 2,100 troops under General Butler, but they take almost 10 hours to appear, only to reembark when the weather turns foul. Butler is relieved shortly thereafter of his command and replaced by Maj. Gen. Alfred H. Terry.

JANUARY 13, 1865. *Fort Fisher.* Porter's ironclads bombard the Confederate stronghold of Fort Fisher before Wilmington (North Carolina), allowing Terry's 8,000 soldiers to disembark nearby and storm its landward face. The garrison hangs on desperately, so two days later Porter disembarks an additional 400 marines and 1,600 sailors to attack from the opposite direction. They suffer heavy casualties—80 Union killed and 270 wounded—yet nonetheless permit Terry's troops to scramble in through a breach, exterminating all resistance after seven hours of hand-to-hand combat. The loss of Fort Fisher closes the South's last major seaport.

JANUARY 20, 1865. Confederate forces evacuate Corinth (Mississippi).

FEBRUARY 12, 1865. Three and a half weeks after departing Savannah and heading northeastward along the Atlantic Seaboard with 60,000 Union troops, Sherman breaks the South Carolina border and occupies Branchville. Confederate general Johnston is powerless to halt this Federal advance, and the northern soldiers—convinced South Carolina is the cradle of secessionism—cruelly ravage the countryside during their march, burning Columbia to the ground five days later. Charlotte is evacuated by the Confederates the next day.

FEBRUARY 22, 1865. Having advanced east out of Tennessee with another Union army, Schofield occupies Wilmington (North Carolina) in anticipation of uniting with Sherman.

MARCH 2, 1865. At the head of 10,000 cavalrymen, Sheridan runs down Early's depleted Confederate force at Waynesboro, between Staunton and

Charlottesville (Virginia), extinguishing the last rebel army in the Shenandoah Valley by capturing 1,600 prisoners, plus all its baggage and artillery trains.

MARCH 22, 1865. Union general James H. Wilson crosses the Tennessee River into Alabama with 12,500 cavalry troopers armed with carbines to seize the last rebel munitions center at Selma.

MARCH 23, 1865. Sherman and Schofield combine at Golsboro (North Carolina).

MARCH 25, 1865. Desperate, Lee attempts to break the eight-month Union stranglehold on Petersburg (Virginia) (see “June 15, 1864” entry) by making a dawn attack against a strongpoint in the Federal siege lines called Fort Stedman. Although this objective is carried, the Confederate sally is beaten back within a few hours at a cost of 5,000 rebels killed, wounded, or captured.

MARCH 31, 1865. *Appomattox.* Outside Petersburg, Sheridan circles beyond the Union left with a large body of cavalry, seizing the Five Forks crossroads until driven south into Dinwiddie Court House by three counterattacking Confederate cavalry divisions and Pickett’s five infantry brigades. However, Federal infantry hold nearby White Oak Ridge, despite suffering 2,000 casualties. The next afternoon Union reinforcements pulverize Pickett’s corps.

This collapse on the Confederate flank prompts Grant to bombard all of Lee’s lines overnight and launch a general assault on April 2. Despite inflicting 1,100 casualties in 15 minutes, A. P. Hill’s rebel corps is broken, and 10 miles of the defenders’ 37-mile perimeter eventually have to be abandoned. At 3:00 p.m., Lee gives the order for his 50,000 surviving troops to evacuate both Petersburg and Richmond at nightfall in the forlorn hope of marching southwest and uniting with Johnston’s beleaguered army in North Carolina.

While Grant sets off in pursuit of the retreating Army of Northern Virginia on April 3, Lincoln visits the burning city of Richmond. On April 7, Sheridan’s cavalry and two of Meade’s corps crush a fleeing Rebel column at Saylor’s Creek, capturing General Ewell and many prisoners. Sheridan and both the V and the XXIV corps then get ahead of Lee’s retreating army, compelling the Confederate commander in chief to surrender his remaining 28,300 troops at Appomattox Court House by April 9 (Palm Sunday).

APRIL 2, 1865. Union general Wilson occupies Selma (Alabama).

APRIL 10, 1865. Sherman advances from Golsboro (North Carolina) against Johnston’s tattered 27,500-man army, occupying Raleigh three days later and compelling the Confederate commander to request terms by April 14. Because Lincoln is assassinated this same evening while attending Ford’s Theater in Washington, Johnston’s capitulation cannot be consummated until April 26 at Greensboro.

APRIL 12, 1865. A Union expedition headed by Gen. Edward R. S. Canby captures Mobile (Alabama).

MAY 4, 1865. The last Confederate forces in Alabama and Mississippi surrender to Canby.

MAY 9, 1865. The newly installed president, Andrew Johnson, issues a proclamation declaring the Civil War to be at an end, although the Union naval blockade is maintained until May 22 to impede the escape of renegade Confederates. Jefferson Davis is arrested on the morning of May 10 near Abbeville (Georgia) by the 1st Wisconsin and 4th Michigan Volunteer Cavalry, after which the last holdout Rebel contingents gradually give themselves up: Jeff Thompson at Chalk Bluff (Arkansas) on May 11, Kirby Smith in Texas on May 26, and Hood by May 31.

FRENCH INTERVENTION IN MEXICO (1861–1867)

On July 17, 1861, the bankrupt, six-month-old government of liberal president Benito Juárez suspends all payments on Mexico’s 82.2 million-peso foreign debt for two years—70 million of which is owed to British interests, 9.4 million to Spanish, and 2.8 million to French. Both the English and French ambassadors sever diplomatic relations in protest eight days later, while their home govern-

ments begin casting about for additional means of punishing this default. The most direct method is armed intervention, therefore London, Paris, and Madrid sign a pact by October 31 to send an expedition to occupy Veracruz to garnish customs dues until the country's obligations are met.

However, since the earliest days of Mexico's independence from Spain, the republic's conservatives have been proposing the adoption of a constitutional monarchy as a means of stabilizing the country's administration. Consequently, José Manuel Hidalgo—a Mexican conservative who in September 1861 is living at the French empress Eugénie's court at Biarritz—suggests that the intervention be used to implement just such a scheme, furthermore proposing the 29-year-old archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria as an ideal neutral candidate. Napoleon III agrees, and the archduke in turn is persuaded to assume the mantle of Mexican emperor, should it ever be offered.

NOVEMBER 29, 1861. *Occupation of Veracruz.* A Spanish squadron under Adm. Joaquín Gutiérrez de Rubalcava begins departing Havana, consisting of 13 warships, 5 hired merchantmen, and 5 horse transports to convey 5,800 soldiers under Gen. Manuel Gasset y Mercader across the Gulf of Mexico. They anchor southeast of Veracruz off Antón

Lizardo by December 10, then contact the French and British representatives aboard the anchored frigates *Foudre* and HMS *Ariadne*, proposing a joint seizure of Veracruz. The latter demur.

On December 14, the Spaniards deliver a unilateral ultimatum, calling upon Veracruz's republican governor Ignacio de la Llave to surrender. Under

Napoleon III

France's last great military venture in the Western Hemisphere was launched by Bonaparte's nephew. Born Charles Louis Napoléon Bonaparte in Paris on April 20, 1808, he was the second son of the famed emperor's younger brother, King Louis of Holland. The young prince's privileged childhood ended when Napoleon I was defeated at Waterloo. All the Bonapartes fled into exile, thus Louis Napoléon was raised in Switzerland and Bavaria. He settled in Italy as a young man and became involved in liberal causes.

Upon his elder brother's death in 1831, Louis Napoléon became the main Bonapartist heir. Traveling secretly to Strasbourg in France, he attempted a coup in October 1836. A second attempt, by sailing into Boulogne with some hired soldiers in August 1840, resulted in his imprisonment. He escaped to England in May 1846 by trading clothes with a mason. Less than two years later, economic woes led to the fall of the last Bourbon king and the ensuing proclamation of a French Republic. The 40-year-old prince therefore was free to return.

Louis Napoléon's very name helped him win a landslide victory in the presidential elections of December 10, 1848. He promised strong government and a return to national glory. When the Bourbon monarchists who dominated the Assembly refused to amend the constitution so that Louis Napoléon might run for a second, four-year term, he seized power on December 2, 1851, the 47th anniversary of his famous uncle's self-coronation.

Exactly one year later, he annulled the Republic and proclaimed himself Napoleon III. An imperial regime was imposed that sidelined the Assembly, muzzled the press, and banished political prisoners to Devil's Island or New Caledonia. Modernization and industrialization were also encouraged, along with public works, social reforms, and military science. Determined to restore France's prestige, his aggressive foreign policy included taking part in the Crimean War of 1854, the conquest of Vietnam four years afterward, the expulsion of Austria from northern Italy in 1859, as well as the Second Opium War in China the next year.

By the time he moved against Mexico, France was considered the strongest military power in Europe. The emperor hoped to reclaim a position in North America, while the United States was distracted by its Civil War. He even toyed with recognizing the Confederacy, but the final Union triumph dashed all his hopes. Discredited in Europe for abandoning his Mexican puppet Maximilian, Napoleon III suffered a humiliating defeat at Prussian hands in September 1870 before dying in exile in England.

orders from Mexico City not to offer resistance, the garrison evacuates the port, allowing the Spaniards to occupy both the town and its off-lying island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa by December 17.

JANUARY 3, 1862. English and French contingents having reached Havana, they continue toward Mexico under the overall command of Spanish general Juan Prim. The British fleet consists of two warships, a pair of frigates, and two gunboats under Commo. Hugh Dunlop, bearing the plenipotentiary Sir Charles Lennox Wyke. The 900-man, 90-gun, 5,100-ton French flagship *Masséna* and the 530-man, 58-gun, 3,800-ton frigates *Ardente*, the 545-man, 38-gun, 3,600-ton *Guerrière*, and the 410-man, 16-gun, 3,400-ton *Astrée*, plus the 267-man, 4-gun, 2,600-ton, paddle-steamer packet *Montezuma*, all under the 49-year-old, recently promoted vice admiral Jean-Pierre Edmond Jurien de la Gravière, not only convey their representative Du bois de Saligny but also carry 1,800 troops.

JANUARY 7, 1862. The allied fleet reaches Veracruz, its diplomats sending a joint offer inland to Mexico City one week later, hinting at a resolution to the crisis. The Mexican foreign minister Manuel Doblado responds in kind, but excessive demands by the French delegation hamper progress.

From their beachhead, the French also secretly allow Mexican conservatives—driven out of the country following their defeat during the “War of the Reform” (see “War of the Reform”)—to return from exile and begin contacting sympathizers, calling upon them to foment uprisings against Juárez’s republican regime.

JANUARY 25, 1862. Seditious propaganda emanating out of Veracruz leads the Mexican government to declare this foreign incursion a piratical act, proclaiming the death penalty for any citizens found collaborating with the invaders.

JANUARY 27, 1862. The Mexican monarchist ideologue, Fr. Francisco Javier Miranda, reaches Veracruz and calls upon conservatives to rally around Almonte when he arrives, thus paving the way for the emperor Maximilian.

FEBRUARY 2, 1862. Disease having already compelled Prim to send 800 convalescents back to Havana, while another 300 Frenchmen remain hospitalized at Veracruz, the Spanish general informs the

Zouaves

When France initiated its struggle in 1830 to subdue Algeria in North Africa, Berber natives of the Zouaoua mountain tribe in its Jurjura Range—who previously served the Turkish Ottoman rulers—shifted their allegiance. By October, two battalions were formed as French auxiliaries, uniformed in their traditional garb of bright baggy trousers, short jacket, and a fez. The exceptional courage and daring displayed by these colorful Berber warriors led to the raising of an additional battalion in 1837, so as to constitute a full “1st Zouave Infantry Regiment” five years later. When all Muslim troops in Algeria were regrouped shortly thereafter into the *Tirailleurs Algériens*, the Zouaves were transformed into a purely French body.

Troops who volunteered for the lengthy tours in this elite regiment not only retained its distinctive uniform but also displayed a conspicuous fearlessness and dash in battle. There were four Zouave regiments in the French Army by 1854, who served with great gallantry during the Crimean War, as well as in the Franco-Austrian War of five years later. Their stylish appearance and bravery attracted much attention among reporters, making the Zouaves world famous.

Britain, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and even the Papal States created their own Zouave units, yet perhaps no country embraced the “Zouave craze” as fully as did the United States. Both before and during the Civil War, more than 50 Zouave regiments were formed by American volunteers, mostly in the Union states of the Northeast.

Mexican authorities that the joint expedition will have to advance inland to healthier cantonments. Foreign Minister Doblado responds by reopening negotiations, and on February 19, a preliminary accord is signed at Orizaba. Admiral Jurien de la Gravière sails for France to obtain Napoleon III’s approval, which will not be given.

FEBRUARY 25, 1862. Without waiting for the Orizaba accord to be ratified, the French contingent moves inland from Veracruz.

MARCH 1, 1862. The Mexican conservative exile Almonte reaches Veracruz, along with 4,500 more French troops five days later under 47-year-old general Charles Ferdinand Latrille, Comte de Lorencez. Almonte—with plenary powers from Maximilian to act on his behalf—is escorted inland to Córdoba along with other returning Mexican monarchists by

a French *chasseur* battalion, all the while calling for an uprising against Juárez.

APRIL 9, 1862. After a lengthy consultation among the allied commissioners at Orizaba, the British and Spaniards dissolve their association with the French, who are now openly pursuing their own separate agenda for the installation of a puppet regime in Mexico. Wyke and Prim therefore agree to withdraw their forces from Veracruz nine days later, leaving the situation entirely in French hands.

APRIL 19, 1862. At dawn, Lorencez strikes inland from Córdoba with Lt. Col. Léon Mangin's 1st Battalion of *Chasseurs à Pied*; Col. Edmond-Aimable l'Heriller's two battalions of the 99th Line Regiment; Col. Pierre Guillaume Eugène Gambier's two battalions of the 2nd Zouave Regiment; Foucault's 3rd and 4th squadrons of the 2nd *Chasseurs d'Afrique* Regiment; Col. Agathon Hennique's Marine Regiment; plus Allègre's Marine Fusiliers. They are supported by 16 artillery pieces of Bernard's 9th Artillery Regiment, Mallat's Marine Battery, and Bruat's Field Battery, plus a company of 2nd Engineers under Barrillon and the 3rd Supply Train Squadron under Torracinta. Five miles inland, these 6,600 troops skirmish at El Fortín against Mexican cavalry under Col. Félix Díaz, who in turn warns 33-year-old republican general Ignacio Zaragoza to begin evacuating Orizaba.

This same day, in a coordinated move, Gen. Antonio Taboada revolts against Juárez outside Córdoba, his example soon being imitated by other conservative commanders: Márquez, Mejía, and Juan Vicario all bringing Mexican units in to join Lorencez, while Ignacio Buitrón, Lamadrid, Gutiérrez, Ordóñez, López Herrán, Tovar, and Lozada rise up in the interior. Their combined strength represents 8,000 Mexican soldiers.

APRIL 20, 1862. The French army occupies Orizaba.

APRIL 27, 1862. Lorencez continues marching inland from Orizaba with 6,000 troops, occupying the town of Acultzingo by 9:00 the next morning, then finding 2,000 Mexican infantrymen, 200 dragoons, and 18 artillery pieces entrenched atop its nearby heights under the 29-year-old general José María Arteaga. In a three-hour engagement starting early this afternoon, the French drive the defenders back toward El Palmar, minimal casualties being in-

flicted on either side—although one is the corpulent Arteaga, who is wounded in a leg.

MAY 4, 1862. *Cinco de Mayo.* After passing uncontested through El Palmar, Quecholac, and Acatzingo, the French army enters Amozoc to await Mexican conservative reinforcements under Márquez. When they fail to appear, Lorencez resumes his advance the next dawn, May 5 (in Spanish, *Cinco de Mayo*), his vanguard reaching Los Álamos Hacienda by 9:00 a.m. and clearing the way for his main body to assault the nearby city of Puebla. It is defended from atop Loreto and Guadalupe hills by Zaragoza with 1,200 regulars of the Negrete Division; 3,100 from the Berriozábal, Díaz, and Lamadrid brigades; plus 500 cavalrymen of Álvarez's division (two cavalry brigades having been detached earlier under generals Tomás O'Horan and Carvajal to check the approaching conservatives). Puebla also boasts small artillery and engineering companies, plus militia contingents stationed in strongpoints within the city proper, while noncombatants have largely been withdrawn.



Repulse of the French assault on Puebla. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

At 11:30 a.m., Lorencez orders a long-range bombardment of Loreto and Guadalupe hills northeast of the city—recently fortified by the Mexican engineer colonel Joaquín Colombres by digging trenches and strengthening their few standing edifices—then shifts two Zouave battalions and a marine fusilier battalion over to his right wing, for an assault supported by field guns of the 9th Artillery Regiment. Forewarned by this movement, Zaragoza counters by dispatching a cavalry regiment and two squadrons from Álvarez's division via a hidden route, to lie in reserve behind the Mexican left. After 45 minutes of ineffectual shooting at a range of one and one-third miles, the French artillery falls silent to move nearer to Lorencez's headquarters at Oropeza Ranch and resume its shelling. Despite expending 1,000 rounds, almost half their supply, they are too poorly placed to weaken the Mexican defenses, thereby compelling Lorencez to launch a direct assault against Guadalupe Hill by midafternoon.

Two columns of French Zouaves advance through heavy fire, led by their commanders Morand and Cousin, the right-hand thrust being followed by the marine fusiliers and the left-hand one by a battalion from the 99th Line Regiment. Berriozábal reinforces Negrete's division at the most threatened section atop Guadalupe Hill, the Mexicans checking the French assault waves three times and killing the few invaders who succeed in reaching its summit. When Lorencez finally commits two more Zouave companies, a sudden rainstorm makes it impossible for them to ascend the slippery slope of Guadalupe Hill, after which they are hit in the right flank by Álvarez's cavalry and a bayonet charge by Berriozábal. The defeated attackers are thereupon allowed to make an orderly retreat into Los Álamos, having suffered 117 killed and 305 wounded. Mexican losses total 83 dead and 232 injured.

MAY 8, 1862. Lorencez retires eastward from Los Álamos back through Amozoc Canyon, regaining the town of Amozoc the next day, then retreating into Acultzingo by May 11. The Mexican conservatives Almonte and Miranda dissuade him from withdrawing all the way back to Veracruz.

MAY 17, 1862. The 210-man, 2,300-ton French frigate *Dryade* and the *Marceau* shell the port city of Campeche.

Also this same day, the first of 2,500 conservative Mexican troopers under Márquez begin reaching Lorencez at Tecamalucan, their main body still wend-

Significance of Cinco de Mayo

This republican victory was so unexpected that it became memorable. For decades, Mexico's conservatives maintained that only aristocrats were capable of directing national fortunes, not members of the lower classes. The propertied elites of colonial times still dominated economic and social life. Their children had access to the best schools, military or Church appointments, as well as political circles. The poor were deemed incapable of intellectual achievement or leadership roles, so they were excluded from advancement. Commoners such as Benito Juárez or Ignacio Zaragoza could only rise under a liberal regime.

Conservatives attributed their previous defeats to being outnumbered. Now aided by thousands of French troops, judged to be the finest and most modern in the world, they expected to win easily. Yet upon closing against Puebla on May 5, 1862, the invaders were confronted by a well-entrenched host, led by a youthful peasant general. The defenders' resounding triumph elated republican spirits throughout Mexico, while embarrassing the conservatives and their foreign allies.

Although the French regrouped and returned the next spring to take Puebla, then sweep unchecked throughout most of the country, republicans still treasured their lone victory. Popular celebrations of Cinco de Mayo kept hope alive throughout this difficult period, reminding common people that the invaders could be beaten. Finally, the tide turned, and they were expelled in 1867. Annual commemorations have continued to this day, proving to be especially popular among Hispanic communities in the United States.

ing their way through the Sierra Madre Range from Tehuacán.

MAY 18, 1862. *Barranca Seca.* Around noon, republican general Santiago Tapia's 500 dragoons intercept the remainder of Márquez's cavalry reinforcements arriving from El Potrero by interposing themselves around Acultzingo Heights near Tecamalucan. After a brief standoff, the liberals are joined by a further 1,500 infantrymen, so storm across the stone Barranca Seca Bridge to attack the conservatives early this same afternoon.

However, while thus engaged, the republicans are suddenly surprised by two relief columns of the 2nd Battalion of the French 99th Line Regiment, who have marched the 12 miles from El Ingenio de Nogales in three hours to rescue Márquez's men. The

99th promptly drive in Tapia's left, killing 100 republicans, wounding 200, and capturing 1,200. Allied casualties total 214 men, among them 2 French dead and 26 injured.

MAY 30, 1862. Lozada's conservative irregulars clash with some of Corona's forces at the base of Ceboruco Hill in the state of Nayarit.

JUNE 10, 1862. After being reinforced by 6,000 conscripted troops under republican general Jesús González Ortega, Zaragoza's 14,000-man army marches out of Acultzingo to attack the French in Orizaba.

JUNE 13, 1862. *Borrego.* After stealing upon Lorencez's army in two columns, Zaragoza and González Ortega arrive outside Orizaba, the latter quietly occupying Borrego (or Tlalchichilco) Hill. Learning of this deployment, the French commander sends a 150-man company under the recently promoted captain Paul Alexandre Detric of the 99th Line Regiment to reconnoiter. He ascends this height before sunup on June 14 and discovers sleeping sentinels from the 4th Zacatecas Battalion.



Ignacio Zaragoza. (Library of Congress)

Ignacio Zaragoza

Ignacio Zaragoza Seguín was born on March 24, 1829, the second son of a Mexican foot soldier stationed at the Presidio de la Bahía del Espíritu Santo (modern Goliad, Texas). When the American settlers won their independence from Mexico seven years later, Zaragoza's father and family were transferred farther south into the border city of Matamoros. Young Ignacio attended its San Juan School, and upon his father being reassigned to Monterrey in 1844, the 15-year-old entered its seminary to study for the priesthood.

When the Mexican-American War erupted two years later, though, Zaragoza attempted to enroll as a cadet—only to be rejected because of his low birth. Small, bookish, and wearing glasses, he was unable to even enlist until 1853, when he joined a Nuevo León militia regiment as a sergeant. Promoted to captain during the liberal uprising known as the Ayutla Revolution, he displayed a rare talent for understanding and inspiring confidence among his soldiers.

Despite his mild appearance, Zaragoza proved such an intelligent and determined commander that he had a meteoric rise through the liberal ranks. A 31-year-old brigadier general by May 1860, he assumed command over the 8,000-man army besieging Guadalajara and led them successfully throughout the War of the Reform. He was rewarded by being named as Juárez's secretary of war from April to October 1861. Sent to check the French penetration inland from Veracruz, he cleverly made a stand at Puebla. His report describing that victory was brief: "The national arms have covered themselves in glory. The French troops conducted themselves with valor, their commander clumsily." Four months later, the promising young commander contracted typhoid fever and died.

A skirmish thereupon erupts, after which a second 99th company under Captain Leclerc joins this nocturnal clash. Despite heavily outnumbering their opponents, the raw Mexican troops fire wildly upon each other in the darkness, suffering 250 casualties and 200 captured, an even greater number deserting during the subsequent retreat. French losses total 7 killed and 28 wounded. At dawn, Lorencez skirmishes with Zaragoza's main body outside La Angostura Gate leading into Orizaba, prompting the latter to withdraw his entire army toward El Retiro.

AUGUST 28, 1862. A French convoy arrives at Veracruz with 2,000 reinforcements under Col.

Auguste Henri Brincourt, disembarking them over the next four days.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1862. Zaragoza dies of typhoid fever in Puebla, being succeeded by González Ortega.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1862. The 58-year-old general Elie Frédéric Forey arrives at Veracruz, having been appointed to succeed Lorencez as commander in chief of the French expeditionary force. The next day, he assumes command at Orizaba, and on September 23 he dissolves Almonte's provisional Mexican government.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1862. After a difficult disembarkation at Veracruz because of foul weather, Forey detaches 5,400 troops under Gen. François Berthier de Grandry, who occupies Jalapa despite resistance by 2,000 mounted Mexican guerrillas called *chincos* under Salvador Díaz Mirón.

NOVEMBER 7, 1862. De la Llave abandons Perote Fortress at the approach of Forey's spearhead, the 1st Division under the French general's 51-year-old second-in-command, Gen. François Achille Bazaine. The invaders brush aside the few Mexican irregulars roaming outside under Gen. Aurelio Rivera, although not actually bothering to garrison this fortification until September 9, 1863.

NOVEMBER 22, 1862. After a bombardment by a French squadron consisting of Admiral Jurien's new 550-man, 5,600-ton armored frigate *Normandie*, *Masséna*, and the 80-man, 500-ton bomb-vessel *Grenade*, a landing force comes ashore at Tampico from *Dryade*, searching for mules and cattle so as to supply their army farther to the south.

JANUARY 19, 1863. Republican general Juan José de la Garza recaptures Tampico with 500 troops and two cannon.

FEBRUARY 3, 1863. Conservative general Taboada's cavalry brigade departs Orizaba to reconnoiter the road leading inland toward Puebla in advance of Forey's main army.

FEBRUARY 22–23, 1863. Having reorganized his army into two infantry divisions and a cavalry brigade totaling 28,800 men, Forey quits Orizaba, striking inland to meet up with other converging

French columns under his divisional commanders Charles Abel Douay and Bazaine.

MARCH 8, 1863. Forey's 2nd Infantry Division captures Amozoc, paving the way for his main body to enter two days later.

MARCH 15, 1863. *Siege of Puebla.* Advance French elements occupy Los Álamos Hacienda, then the next afternoon Forey's vanguard—the 1st and 2nd Infantry divisions, plus a marine battalion and several squadrons of conservative Mexican cavalrymen—begins encircling Puebla. Despite the presence of Gen. Ignacio Comonfort's 8,000 troops and 40 artillery pieces among the nearby Uranga Hills, the 25,000-man French army occupies San Juan Hill unopposed by midday of March 18, thereby isolating González Ortega's 25,000-man, 180-gun garrison.

Carvajal's and Rivera's republican cavalry brigades manage to dash out of the beleaguered city on March 21, but French siege lines and batteries are laid out the next day, and an intense bombardment commences by March 24. At dawn four days later, three French columns storm the San Javier Monastery—now strengthened and renamed “Fort Iturbide”—being repelled by three battalions of the Zacatecas Regiment. Nonetheless, this strongpoint is carried the next afternoon by a second assault that costs 600 French casualties.

After numerous lesser skirmishes, General O'Horan slips out of Puebla with 2,500 republican troopers on the night of April 13 to join Comonfort's army at nearby San Jerónimo. Six days later, the French besiegers once again storm the southeastern portions of Puebla, with Santa Inés Convent changing hands several times in fierce fighting. On the night of April 20, Rivera attempts to lead a supply column into Puebla, mistakenly clashing with the 4th Zacatecas Battalion in the darkness. At dawn on April 24, French sappers detonate mines beneath Santa Inés Convent and the next morning attempt to overrun this stronghold, although they are thrown back by Lieutenant Colonel Lalane's Zacatecas Battalion, plus the 1st Toluca and 2nd Puebla.

On May 5, Comonfort's republican army takes up position at San Lorenzo, hoping to break the siege lines at La Cruz Hill and thus resupply Puebla. After clashing inconclusively against Márquez's conservative contingent the next day, though, Comonfort's left flank is suddenly driven in at dawn on May 8 by a surprise French counterattack under Bazaine. The small Mexican army collapses, suffer-

ing 2,000 killed, wounded, or captured, while its demoralized survivors flee toward Tlaxcala. On May 9, Forey releases numerous prisoners into Puebla to spread news of this defeat.

On May 16, González Ortega requests terms and surrenders at 5:30 the next afternoon. Forey proves generous, but in one final act of defiance, the Mexican defenders destroy their remaining matériel and attempt to disband their units so as not to be considered prisoners of war. Nevertheless, the French seize 1,000 officers and 16,000 troops upon occupying Puebla—5,000 of whom subsequently join the victors' ranks.

MARCH 25, 1863. The two French Foreign Legion regiments disembark at Veracruz from Algiers.

APRIL 30, 1863. *Camerone.* At 1:00 a.m., 34-year-old captain Jean Danjou—his left arm having been blown off 10 years previously by an exploding musket and replaced with a wooden prosthesis—departs Chiquihuite (state of Veracruz) with 61 men of the 3rd Company of the recently arrived 1st French Foreign Legion Battalion to reconnoiter the road leading inland from Paloverde toward Puebla, in advance of a scheduled payroll shipment bound toward the main army.

While breakfasting at 8:00 a.m., his legionnaires are surprised by 650 Mexican riders under Col. Francisco de Paula Milán, who have massed undetected at nearby La Joya. They chase Danjou's company into the hamlet of Camerone, where the desperate French fortify themselves one hour later inside its abandoned hacienda. By the afternoon, another 1,000 Mexicans of the Veracruz, Jalapa, and Córdoba Mounted Infantry battalions join Milán, and this evening they overwhelm the defenders in a massive assault. Despite repeated calls for their surrender, Danjou's handful fight gallantly to the end, suffering 30 killed and 32 severely wounded, while inflicting heavy casualties.

(The next day, 48-year-old colonel Pierre-Jean Joseph Jeannigros reaches this site with his main Foreign Legion column and, in honor of such spirited resistance, removes Danjou's wooden arm before burial. It is today preserved as a sacred relic at Legion headquarters in Aubagne, France. Every April 30, the Legion holds its regimental parade on "Camerone Day," Danjou's wooden arm receiving the salute after a recitation of his brave act.)

MAY 31, 1863. Feeling Mexico City to be indefensible despite its 12,000-man garrison, Juárez

abandons his capital for San Luis Potosí, escorted by a division under 32-year-old general José de la Cruz Porfirio Díaz Monroy.

JUNE 4, 1863. Forey's vanguard, the *Chasseurs de Vincennes* Battalion, reaches San Lázaro just outside Mexico City.

JUNE 9, 1863. Juárez's republican government in exile reaches San Luis Potosí.

JUNE 10, 1863. Led by Márquez's conservative contingent, Forey's army occupies Mexico City. Five days later, a new government is temporarily appointed.

JUNE 17, 1863. Spanish-born colonel Eduardo G. Arévalo appears before Villahermosa de Tabasco with 200 conservative troops, conquering the town the next day.

JULY 5, 1863. Berthier occupies Toluca (state of Mexico).

JULY 10, 1863. Under Forey's guidance, the new Mexican government offers the title of emperor to Maximilian.

JULY 29, 1863. Franco-conservative forces occupy Cuernavaca.

AUGUST 6, 1863. The French take the port of Tampico.

AUGUST 15, 1863. Lozada openly swears loyalty to the new conservative government.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1863. The French occupy Zaca-poaxtla (state of Puebla).

OCTOBER 1863. Arévalo temporarily subdues a republican uprising in Tabasco by surprising the forces gathered at Comalcalco under Andrés Sánchez Magallanes and Gregorio Méndez.

OCTOBER 1, 1863. As a reward for his services, Forey is promoted to field marshal and succeeded as commander in chief by Bazaine. Forey takes ship for Europe by November 21.

OCTOBER 3, 1863. In Europe, a Mexican delegation offers the throne to Maximilian, who requests

that a plebiscite be held to determine the will of the Mexican people.

OCTOBER 10, 1863. The 42-year-old conservative Mexican general Tomás Mejía defeats a republican force at Actopan (state of Hidalgo) under Herrera y Cairo.

OCTOBER 23, 1863. Franco-conservative forces occupy Jalapa.

OCTOBER 27, 1863. Díaz attacks the rich mining town of Taxco (Guerrero) with two battalions of Oaxaca chasseurs under Gen. José María Ballesteros. The force consists of his 1st Infantry Brigade; two battalions of the México Regiment under Col. Manuel González acting as his 2nd Infantry Brigade; three battalions of the Sinaloa Regiment under Col. Apolonio Angulo serving as his 3rd Infantry Brigade; three squadrons of the San Luis Potosí Cavalry Regiment under Gen. Mariano Escobedo; plus an artillery battery under Lt. Col. Martiniano Ruiz. These 7,000 men overwhelm Taxco's defenders by the next day, taking 269 prisoners.

OCTOBER 29, 1863. A hastily organized republican brigade under Sánchez Magallanes and Méndez occupies Cunduacán (Tabasco), and then three days later defeats conservative colonel Arévalo at Jahuacal, compelling him to retreat into Villahermosa.

LATE OCTOBER 1863. Douay marches north from Mexico City toward Querétaro with L'Herillier's 1st Brigade; Brig. Gen. Charles Louise Camille, Baron Neigre's, 2nd Brigade; Brig. Gen. François Charles du Barail's Cavalry Brigade; plus Brig. Gen. Ernst Louis-Marie de Maussion's Reserve Brigade. On November 17, this city is occupied without resistance.

NOVEMBER 12, 1863. The Pacific port of Mazatlán is seized without opposition by a French squadron under Cmdr. Thomas Louis Le Normant de Kergrist, backed by a military column advancing overland the next day under the Mexican conservative leader Lozada.

NOVEMBER 23, 1863. The republican guerrilla chief Martínez surprises 600 Algerian and conservative troops at Higuera (Sinaloa), chasing them back into Mazatlán with considerable losses.

NOVEMBER 24, 1863. After clashing with some Mexican guerrillas near Maravatío (state of Michoa-

cán), Gen. Armand Alexandre de Castagny's 1st Infantry Division occupies Acámbaro, then Morelia six days later.

DECEMBER 1863. In a growing rift between Bazaine and some of his Mexican conservative allies, the French general orders Miramón and Taboada to demobilize 3,400 of their troops at Guanajuato.

DECEMBER 1, 1863. After being reinforced by Colonel Santibáñez's 450-man brigade at Huajuapam, Díaz's footsore republican army establishes its headquarters in Oaxaca City.

DECEMBER 9, 1863. San Miguel Allende, Celaya, and Guanajuato City are occupied by the French.

DECEMBER 18, 1863. Uraga's forces attack the conservative Mexican general Márquez at Morelia (state of Michoacán). The republicans are repelled, however, and driven south into Jalisco with heavy losses.

DECEMBER 20, 1863. Threatened by Castagny's and Mejía's parallel drives northward, Juárez abandons his provisional capital of San Luis Potosí in favor of Saltillo. By Christmas, San Luis Potosí is occupied by the invaders.

DECEMBER 23, 1863. Near the village of San Pedro, west of Culiacán, 500 French and conservative troops under the junior naval captain Gazielle of the warship *Lucifer*, as well as the Mexican general Domingo Cortés and Col. Jorge Carmona, are defeated after two hours of combat by 400 Mexican militiamen of the so-called Sinaloa Brigade under that state's 41-year-old republican governor, Col. José Antonio Abundio de Jesús Rosales Flores, and Col. Joaquín Sánchez Román. The French suffer 26 dead and 25 wounded, plus 98 captured, along with the loss of two small guns; conservative losses are estimated at double these numbers, their noncommissioned captives being incorporated into republican ranks.

DECEMBER 27, 1863. Mejía repels a republican counterattack against San Luis Potosí under Gen. Miguel Negrete.

JANUARY 6, 1864. Guadalajara falls to Franco-conservative forces under Bazaine, republican general Arteaga having exited southward two days previously.

JANUARY 10–11, 1864. Acapulco is bombarded by a French squadron, driving its terrified inhabitants inland. French sailors thereupon occupy the abandoned town for three days before retiring.

JANUARY 13, 1864. Méndez arrives to besiege Arévalo's conservative garrison within Villahermosa de Tabasco, obliging him to evacuate this stronghold by February 27.

JANUARY 15, 1864. The port of Campeche is invested by the 14-gun French paddle steamer *Magellan*, the *Pique*, and the *Brandon*, as well as the 80-man, 500-ton bomb vessels *Flèche* and *Éclair*, all under Capt. Georges Charles Cloué. It is also being attacked from land by a small Yucatecan army under conservative general Felipe Navarrete. These joint assaults claim several hundred lives on both sides, after which liberal governor Pablo García requests terms on January 22. A series of parleys results in the city capitulating to the French four days later, subsequently becoming incorporated into Yucatán as part of Mexico's new conservative administration.

FEBRUARY 2, 1864. Aguascalientes City is occupied by Franco-conservative forces.

FEBRUARY 7, 1864. Zacatecas City falls to the French and Mexican conservatives.

FEBRUARY 27, 1864. The ex-dictator Santa Anna returns from exile in Turbaco (near Cartagena, Colombia), arriving at Veracruz aboard the British vessel *Conway*. Bazaine allows him ashore after extracting a loyalty oath to the new conservative government, while Santa Anna furthermore promises not to take part in any political activity. However, after almost immediately issuing a call to his adherents through the *Indicador* newspaper, the ex-president is deported aboard the 130-man, 6-gun, 1,300-ton French corvette *Colbert* and is deposited at Havana by March 12, from where he continues back toward Colombia.

MARCH 1864. Bazaine directs the conservative Mexican generals Miramón and Taboada to serve under the French commander at Guadalajara, prompting both to resign.

MARCH 7, 1864. The 38-year-old Mexican general Mariano Escobedo—after separating from Díaz (see “October 27, 1863” entry), then being driven out of southern Mexico into the United States—

recrosses the Texas border and, with a handful of followers, occupies Nuevo Laredo.

MARCH 29, 1864. Juárez deposes Santiago Vidaurri, governor of Coahuila and Nuevo León, for hinting at switching to the conservative cause.

APRIL 3, 1864. Juárez temporarily reestablishes his government in Monterrey (Nuevo León).

APRIL 10, 1864. In Europe, Maximilian—having the previous day renounced all claims to the Austrian throne after receiving the favorable results of a Mexican plebiscite (see “October 3, 1863” entry)—accepts the offer of Mexico's crown. Napoleon III promises to support him for three years, gradually reducing the size of the French expeditionary force from 38,000 to 20,000 men.

MAY 17, 1864. Mejía and the French colonel Edouard Alphonse Antoine, Baron de Aymard, destroy a republican force under General Doblado at Matchuala.

MAY 28, 1864. Maximilian and his Belgian-born empress, Charlotte (called “Carlota” in Mexico), reach Veracruz aboard the frigate *Novara*.

JUNE 3, 1864. Acapulco is captured by five French warships, and a week later 400 of its occupiers push inland, seizing La Sabana Pass.

JUNE 12, 1864. Maximilian enters Mexico City to a generally warm reception. Many Mexican conservatives, however, are soon offended by some of their idealistic young monarch's more liberal opinions, while republicans continue to loathe him as a foreign puppet.

AUGUST 1, 1864. *Brincourt's Offensive.* Two French battalions reach Huajuapam to inaugurate a four-pronged offensive against Oaxaca: in addition to General Brincourt's contingent, Giraud is to march from Orizaba through Teotitlán, while Mexican imperial columns are to depart Cuernavaca and Atlixco and head toward Chilapa and Tlapa, respectively.

Shortly after penetrating into republican-held territory, Díaz slips between both French units with 2,000 men to fall upon a company of the 7th Line Regiment and some imperial cavalry that are garrisoning San Antonio Teotitlán in the rear. This defeat prompts both Giraud and Brincourt to return into this town by August 17.



Column of French troops trudging wearily across a desert in northern Mexico. (Royal Museum of the Army and Military History, Brussels)

Once more resuming his advance southeastward, Brincourt approaches Nochistlán (60 miles northwest of Oaxaca City), only to discover that it has been heavily fortified by Díaz. From Mexico City, Bazaine prohibits any direct storming of this stronghold, not having sufficient reserves for a relief column should this assault miscarry. Brincourt therefore retires to his original bases.

AUGUST 19, 1864. Díaz leads a Mexican counter-attack against San Antonio Nanhuatipan, being repelled.

DECEMBER 12, 1864. The artillery general Curtois Roussel d'Hurbal reaches Yanhuatlán with a French siege train, being part of a new, three-pronged offensive against Díaz in Oaxaca. Five days later, Curtois d'Hurbal is joined at San Francisco Huitzo by another French contingent, then presses on southeastward against Etla, which he occupies with little difficulty on December 18.

JANUARY 1, 1865. The 27-year-old republican general Ramón Corona, with 600 ill-armed guerrillas, attempts to dispute the westward passage through the Sierra Madre Mountains from Durango toward Mazatlán of Col. Isidore T. Garnier's 18th

Chasseur and 31st Line regiments, with their respective artillery trains, plus Lozada's irregulars. Despite a highly defensible position chosen at Espinazo del Diablo (literally, "Devil's Spine"), the Mexicans are eventually enveloped and scattered.

JANUARY 6, 1865. In Mexico City, conservative general Taboada is arrested on suspicion of plotting against the emperor.

JANUARY 11, 1865. Corona surprises part of General Castagny's supply train at Veranos Station (state of Sinaloa), defeating its escort of 150 soldiers from the 7th *Chasseurs de Vincennes* Regiment, plus 50 armed teamsters. The 60 French and 40 teamster prisoners are thereupon hanged, prompting Castagny to issue a decree from Mazatlán on January 25 ordering the execution of all republican guerrillas.

JANUARY 17, 1865. *Siege of Oaxaca.* Bazaine reaches Etla to personally assume command over the 4,000 infantrymen advancing into the state of Oaxaca against Díaz. Bazaine's force consists of two battalions of the 3rd Zouave Regiment, 12 companies of the Foreign Legion, plus a battalion of *Infanterie Légère d'Afrique*. They are supported by 1,000 troopers—a company of mounted Zouaves, three

squadrons of French cavalymen, plus four of Mexican imperial riders—as well as a dozen 12-pound siege guns, eight 4-pound fieldpieces, and six mortars manned by a total of 80 gunners, with 200 sappers and 500 auxiliaries rounding out this force.

Within a couple of days, advance French elements begin harrying the republican defenders just north of Oaxaca City, prompting Díaz to order his cavalry—700 dragoons under Col. Félix Díaz—to exit, while preparing the remainder of his 3,000 regulars and 4,000 local militiamen to withstand a siege. On January 21, Col. José Guillermo Carbó's Morelos Battalion sallies out of the city and falls upon some French units at Aguilera Hacienda, this action eventually embroiling two other companies of the Sinaloa plus one of the Sierra Juárez battalions.

However, the defenders otherwise mount no more counterattacks once Colonel Dutretaine commences his siege works on February 1, installing batteries opposite Oaxaca City, as well as atop Mogote and Pelado hills. By February 8, republican morale collapses, and Díaz surrenders and is carried

off into captivity along with colonels Juan Espinosa, Manuel González, and Francisco Carrión.

JANUARY 28, 1865. At Potrerillo (state of Jalisco), the republican guerrilla colonel Antonio Rojas is surprised and killed by a Zouave contingent under Berthelin.

APRIL 1, 1865. Lozada defeats Corona in a skirmish at Concordia (state of Sinaloa).

APRIL 9, 1865. After having once been briefly occupied by republican forces under General Aguirre, Saltillo (Coahuila) is reconquered from an imperial garrison by Negrete's 3,000 troops.

APRIL 12, 1865. Negrete takes Monterrey (Nuevo León) without opposition, the city having been abandoned by imperial generals Olvera and López.

APRIL 18, 1865. Lozada bests Corona at an encounter near Cacalotán (Sinaloa).

French Foreign Legion

Soon after France started its conquest of Algiers, a difficult and dirty campaign with little appeal among regular regiments, King Louis-Philippe authorized the creation of a *Légion Étrangère* or "Foreign Legion" on March 9, 1831. All non-French royal battalions were to be regrouped into a single regiment, while more volunteers were also to be raised for the unpopular Algerian service. All these foreign troops were moreover prohibited from operating on Continental French soil in the aftermath to the July 1830 Revolution.

The Legion's original 1st, 2nd, and 3rd battalions therefore were composed of Swiss and German soldiers, the 4th Battalion by Spaniards and Portuguese, the 5th of Sardinians and Italians, the 6th of Belgians and Dutchmen, and the 7th of Poles. New recruits were allotted into these units after a verbal declaration as to their name and nationality. Under such a system, even a hardened criminal could enter the Legion's ranks under an assumed name.

The first contingents reached Algiers in August 1831, undergoing their baptism by fire the next April 27. Because they were poorly equipped, ill paid, and expendable, morale was so low that many early legionnaires deserted. When civil war threatened in Spain two years later, the entire 4th Battalion was disbanded to return to their homes. Upon the actual eruption of that conflict, France transferred its entire 4,000-man Legion to Spain's Queen Isabel II on June 29, 1835, to fight for her cause.

A brand new Legion therefore had to be created at Algiers as of December 16, 1835. This new force was made up of only three battalions, but they were rejoined more than three years later by the 500 or so survivors from the *Ancienne Légion* sent into Spain. Two more battalions were formed from these survivors at Pau and Perpignan in 1840, after which the reunited Legion was divided into two regiments. Both departed Algiers to fight during the Crimean War from 1854–1856, distinguishing themselves at the Battle of Alma and Siege of Sebastopol, as well as in the Battles of Magenta and Solferino during the Italian campaign of 1859.

However, it was the legionnaires' service in Mexico that crowned their reputation as tough, elite troops in any hostile environment. Neither regiment was originally assigned to the Mexican expedition, but their officers petitioned the war minister. Within a year of having landed, their losses rose so alarmingly—468 officers and men eventually lost their lives in Mexico—that its five undermanned battalions were reorganized into four in 1864. The Legion's home base was even allowed to temporarily shift from Sidi-bel-Abbès in Algiers to France's Aix-la-Chapelle to recruit more volunteers. The Legion's tenacity, enduring brutal losses even in a doomed cause, further burnished its fame.

APRIL 23, 1865. Republican colonel Pedro Méndez occupies Ciudad Victoria (Tamaulipas), while Col. Francisco Naranjo seizes Piedras Negras (opposite Eagle Pass, Texas).

APRIL 30, 1865. Two and a half weeks after occupying Monterrey, Negrete marches his 4,000 republican troops against Mejía's 2,000-man imperial garrison holding the strategic border town of Matamoros (opposite Brownsville)—only to retire the next day upon learning of the disembarkation at nearby Bagdad of 500 French marines and 140 gunners from Admiral Cloué's *Var*, *Magellan*, and *Tactique* as reinforcements, plus the possible intervention of Confederate forces out of Texas.

MAY 25, 1865. French general Jeannigros reaches San Buenaventura (Coahuila) from San Luis Potosí with 1,500 troops, planning to join Brincourt's column approaching out of the west-northwest from Parras (Durango) and attack the Mexican concentration around Saltillo under Negrete, Escobedo, and León Guzmán.

MAY 30, 1865. *La Angostura.* Jeannigros probes north through Piñón, Carnero, Agua Nueva, and San Juan de la Vaquería, finally encountering the main republican defenses at La Angostura (site of the American victory of Buena Vista; see "February 22, 1847" entry in "Mexican-American War"). Despite being outnumbered, the French general sends two columns of infantry into the attack on June 1, supported by four artillery pieces. The defenders scatter them with concentrated volleys, after which Jeannigros waits for his colleague Brincourt to close from the north, hoping to trap Negrete in between. The latter instead slips away on the night of June 6–7, retreating northwest toward Chihuahua.

JUNE 18, 1865. Republican general Arteaga overruns Uruapan (Michoacán), executing its imperial garrison commander and other officials as traitors.

AUGUST 16, 1865. Gen. Albino Espinosa with 480 republican riders overtakes a rich mule train at Las Cabras Ford on the San Juan River (Tamaulipas), which is being escorted from Monterrey toward Matamoros by 100 imperial troopers, 700 infantrymen, and two howitzers under General Tinajero. The surprised escorts disperse, suffering 60 killed and 80 captured, before Escobedo's main body can come up and join the action.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1865. Republican general Porfirio Díaz escapes from confinement within the Jesuit monastery at Puebla, a 1,000-peso reward being offered for his recapture.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1865. Escobedo begins gathering an army and 11-gun siege train to besiege Mejía's imperial garrison inside Matamoros, then assaults its Gulf outlet at Bagdad (Tamaulipas). The French admiral Cloué responds by landing reinforcements from the *Adonis*, the *Magellan*, the *Tactique*, and the *Tartare*.

OCTOBER 3, 1865. The imperial government orders that all republican soldiers or guerrillas be considered bandits and summarily executed if found under arms.

OCTOBER 21, 1865. Captive republican general Arteaga and four of his officers are executed in Uruapan, in compliance with the October 3 decree.

OCTOBER 23, 1865. *Defense of Matamoros.* Having concentrated several thousand followers at Cerralvo (Tamaulipas), Escobedo presses in to besiege the imperial garrison at Matamoros. After installing an eight-gun battery and siege lines southwest of its walls on October 24, the attackers mount a three-pronged assault the next dawn, with General Hinojosa storming Fort San Fernando on the right, Naranjo driving against the city center, and Cortina proceeding against Fort Freeport on the left. All are checked by heavy counterfires, after which the republicans settle down to a formal siege. Soon, their ammunition supply—and patience—begins to run low, so the siege is abandoned by November 14. Six days afterward, the French vessel *Allier* lands 300 Austrians, 20 Mexican conservatives, and 60 horses as reinforcements at the nearby port of Bagdad.

NOVEMBER 23, 1865. *Monterrey.* Nonplussed by his failure at Matamoros, Escobedo gathers another small army outside Monterrey—whose French troops have departed, leaving only an imperial garrison under Tinajero and Quiroga. The latter launch a sudden sally on November 23 against the republican besiegers on Guadalupe Hill, being checked by Col. Jerónimo Treviño's cavalry. Two days later, Escobedo sends twin assault columns under Colonel Naranjo and Lieutenant Colonel de la Garza to storm the city's Carlota and Pueblo redoubts.

After two hours of heavy fighting, they succeed in gaining Monterrey's main square, only to be in-

terraptured by the unexpected arrival of a French relief column from Saltillo under 40-year-old Foreign Legion major Hubert de La Hayrie. Learning that Jeannigros is not far behind with another 800 soldiers, Escobedo's followers break off the battle and withdraw in two directions, bloodying a pursuit column at Los Lermas before finally escaping into the mountains.

EARLY JANUARY 1866. Two columns of 1,000 French and 1,200 imperial troops sortie from the Pacific port of Mazatlán in a vain attempt to chase away the republican guerrillas under Corona and Captain Miramontes, who have been hampering communications inland.

JANUARY 4, 1866. Escobedo's republican troops overrun the tiny Gulf port of Bagdad below Matamoros (Tamaulipas), its Austrian defenders retreating aboard the anchored French vessel *Antonia*. Because looting threatens American properties, 150 black U.S. Army regulars are dispatched across the border to restore order. They withdraw three weeks later after protests from the Mexican imperial and French authorities.

JANUARY 22, 1866. In Paris, Napoleon III—under increasing domestic and international pressure to withdraw from Mexico—declares the intervention a success, then dispatches a delegation to Maximilian to discuss accelerating troop withdrawals.

FEBRUARY 12, 1866. At dawn, republican governor Viesca of Coahuila seizes the town of Parras.

FEBRUARY 20, 1866. Maj. Amable Brian de Foussieres-Founteneuille marches from Saltillo with four companies of the 2nd French Foreign Legion Battalion and recuperates Parras from Viesca without opposition. However, when Brian subsequently learns on February 25 that the republican governor has withdrawn only seven miles northward into the mountains with 300 men, establishing his field headquarters at Santa Isabel Hacienda atop La Cruz Hill, the major celebrates his 38th birthday and then sallies at midnight of February 27–28 to attack—little realizing that Viesca has in the interim been heavily reinforced by colonels Treviño and Naranjo.

Before first light, Brian's two companies (totaling 188 legionnaires) and 250 imperial partisans approach this hacienda, only to be greeted by heavy volleys fired out of the darkness. The French commander

falls severely wounded, his auxiliaries flee, and Captain Moulinier leads the surviving legionnaires in a hopeless series of assaults, which cease at dawn when republican cavalry circle behind the attackers, cutting off their escape. Eventually, a single French soldier crawls back into Parras, 82 others having been killed and more than 100 captured.

MARCH 4, 1866. At Río Frío (state of Mexico), republican guerrillas attack a Belgian delegation. General Forey and Captain d'Huart, who are traveling with these visitors, are killed.

MARCH 24, 1866. Lozada's imperial forces surprise Col. Perfecto Guzmán's company at Guapicori (Sonora), dispersing them before skirmishing with Corona at Concordia (Sinaloa) and then retiring into Mazatlán by April 11.

APRIL 1, 1866. Escobedo attacks Matehuala (San Luis Potosí), then detaches his subordinate Ruperto Martínez westward to loot the rich mining camp of Real de Catorce.

APRIL 11, 1866. Republican general Nicolás Régules surprises Tacámbaro (Michoacán), overwhelming its garrison of four Belgian and one imperial companies.

JUNE 1, 1866. French units are recalled from Mexico's interior to reassemble in the capital.

JUNE 12, 1866. *Santa Gertrudis.* Escobedo attacks a large mule train at Cerralvo (Nuevo León), which is being escorted east from Monterrey toward Matamoros by two battalions of French foreign legionnaires under Lt. Col. Louis Adrien de Tuce and by numerous Belgian and imperial auxiliaries, some cavalry squadrons, plus six artillery pieces.

After pinning them down with 600 dragoons under Col. Ruperto Martínez, Escobedo wheels his remaining 1,500 troops and three guns eastward, lying in ambush two days later at Derramaderos near Santa Gertrudis for another mule train. It is proceeding west from Matamoros to meet the first convoy, escorted by 2,000 Austrian and imperial troops under Olvera, plus 13 fieldpieces.

On the morning of June 15, Olvera advances in a skirmishing line to drive back Escobedo's scouts, little realizing the hidden forces awaiting him. The republicans open fire once the enemy comes within close range, then launch a devastating attack with



Belgian mercenaries posing in colorful uniforms, designed for their service as imperial auxiliaries in Mexico. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

34-year-old general Sóstenes Rocha's cavalry. Some 400 of the surprised enemy are killed and another 1,000 captured, Olvera fleeing the battlefield with only a handful of riders. Republican casualties total 155 killed and 78 wounded.

Upon learning of Olvera's fate, Tuce retires into Monterrey by June 28, and Mejía evacuates half-starved Matamoros, with the consent of republican general Carvajal.

JULY 8, 1866. Empress Carlota departs Mexico City, traveling toward Paris to beseech Napoleon III to maintain his French army in Mexico.

JULY 11, 1866. In Nayarit, Lozada abandons the imperial cause, declaring himself neutral.

JULY 26, 1866. Jeannigros abandons Monterrey (Nuevo León).

AUGUST 7, 1866. Tampico (Tamaulipas) is recaptured by republican forces.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1866. The French evacuate the Pacific port of Guaymas (Sonora).

SEPTEMBER 23, 1866. Porfirio Díaz's cavalry defeats a Hungarian contingent at Nochistlán (Oaxaca), slaying its leader, Count de Gans.

OCTOBER 1, 1866. *Miahuatlán.* While waiting to be joined by General Ramos's republican cavalry brigade, Porfirio Díaz sends his vanguard under Lt. Col. Feliciano García Bustamante into Miahuatlán (Oaxaca), arriving himself the next day with the remainder of his so-called *Ejército de Oriente* or "Eastern Army." At dawn of October 3, a force of French and imperial troops is discovered to be approaching, so Díaz deploys and digs in his army facing north-

westward: Col. Manuel González's 130-man brigade, Lt. Col. Juan J. Cano's 100-man Morelos Battalion, Cmdr. Felipe Cruz's 230 *Tiradores de Montaña* or "Mountain Rangers," Col. José Segura's 96-man Patria Battalion, an 80-man Chiautla company; the 130-man "Fieles de la Patria" Battalion, plus 40 local militiamen.

They are attacked by 1,100 French and imperial troops under Gen. Carlos Oronoz, consisting of an infantry brigade (a Chasseur battalion and the 9th French Line Regiment), several cavalry squadrons under General Trujeque, plus two, 12-inch fieldpieces. They close upon the republican positions from Matadero Rise in three columns, preceded by a skirmishing line and long-range bombardment.

Díaz checks them along Nogales Ravine, then sends his cavalry—spearheaded by the Tepejí squadron—across Miahuatlán River to circle behind and fall upon the enemy's right rear. Oronoz flees the battlefield, leaving behind some 70 dead (including his French second-in-command, Colonel Testard), plus 400 prisoners and two artillery pieces. Republican losses total 59 killed and 140 wounded.

OCTOBER 5, 1866. Having crushed the imperial forces at Miahuatlán, Col. Félix Díaz's cavalry occupies most of Oaxaca City. He is joined the next day by Porfirio Díaz's main army, which besieges Oronoz's remaining followers within the Santo Domingo, El Carmen, and La Soledad strongholds.

OCTOBER 16, 1866. Learning that 1,500 Austrian and imperial troops are marching to the relief of Oaxaca, Díaz breaks off his siege overnight and sorties to give battle. On October 17, he is reinforced at San Juan del Estado by General Figueroa's brigade, and then presses northwest toward Etlá.

(Also on October 16, a discouraged Maximilian leaves Mexico City, determined to travel to Veracruz and depart because of his imperial government's flagging fortunes, American opposition, and reduced French support.)

OCTOBER 18, 1866. *La Carbonera.* Around noon, Díaz's scouts discover the Austro-imperial army approaching, so his 3,000-man main body halts, facing northeastward and looking up the main highway that bisects the valley beneath the hamlet called La Carbonera. On the republican right lies the Figueroa Brigade; in the center, the Chiautla and *Cazadores* battalions (350 men under Col. Juan Espinosa); on the left, González's Brigade, consisting of the Patria

and Morelos battalions; to the rear, cavalry from the Fieles, Montaña, Guerrero, and Costa Chica regiments, plus the Tlaxiaco militia and some artillery.

Shortly thereafter, the enemy appears and, despite being outnumbered two to one, immediately deploys for battle. After marshalling on a nearby height, two companies of 300 men apiece advance upon the republican lines, only to be repelled. Both armies then close and fight a general action. Eventually, the Austro-imperial right is outflanked, and their cohesion disintegrates. Díaz's victorious troops pursue their vanquished foe for 12 miles, capturing 500 prisoners, and four fieldpieces.

OCTOBER 20, 1866. Díaz returns into Oaxaca City to resume his siege of its isolated citadels. They capitulate by October 31, the republicans capturing 350 Franco-imperial defenders, plus 16 guns.

OCTOBER 21, 1866. Maximilian reaches Orizaba, meeting Gen. Henri Pierre Abdon Castelnau, aide de camp to Napoleon III, who has been sent as a plenipotentiary to attempt to persuade the emperor to abdicate the Mexican throne and return to Europe.

This same day, Washington recognizes Juárez's republican government as the sole legitimate representative of the Mexican people.

NOVEMBER 12, 1866. The French having abandoned Mazatlán and sailed southward five days previously, this port is reoccupied by Corona.

NOVEMBER 26, 1866. *Sedgwick's Intervention.* The republican government, having disapproved of the terms under which Matamoros surrendered to Carvajal, sends Gen. Santiago Tapia to assume command over this garrison. The latter is instead deposed by Colonel Canales, who is thereupon declared a rebel; consequently, Escobedo arrives with 2,700 men to subdue this mutinous contingent.

In the interim, U.S. general Sedgwick has occupied Matamoros from Brownsville, citing fears for the safety of American citizens. Escobedo prepares to storm its walls at dawn of November 27, so as to comply with his original instructions for arresting Canales. After a half-hour bombardment, republican columns fight their way into the city, until a ceasefire is requested by both the Americans and mutineers. Escobedo agrees, withdrawing to institute a siege. Canales then surrenders on November 30, the Americans evacuate, and Escobedo enters Matamoros.

DECEMBER 1, 1866. After repeated importuning by conservative leaders such as Márquez and Miramón, Maximilian agrees to remain as emperor, even after the French withdraw.

DECEMBER 6, 1866. Under mounting pressure to eliminate all foreign support for his government, Maximilian offers Austro-Belgian volunteers the option of departing via Veracruz or joining the imperial Mexican army with higher ranks.

DECEMBER 19, 1866. Porfirio Díaz sorties from Oaxaca City toward Tehuacán to clear the Tehuantepec Isthmus of its Franco-imperial garrisons.

EARLY JANUARY 1867. With outnumbered imperial forces retreating toward the capital, San Luis Potosí is reoccupied without opposition by a northern cavalry contingent under republican general Treviño.

JANUARY 10, 1867. The French general Castelnau receives orders from Paris to begin reembarking the Foreign Legion, plus Austrian and Belgian contingents, for a return to Europe. Within a month, most are going aboard ship at Veracruz.

JANUARY 16, 1867. Escobedo's 10,000-man republican army reaches San Luis Potosí from northern Mexico, pausing to refresh.

JANUARY 22, 1867. Juárez's government in exile reaches Zacatecas City, only to be driven out within a week by news of the approach of Miramón's 2,000-man imperial army from Querétaro.

JANUARY 26, 1867. After defeating General Liceaga's 1,500 imperial troops and 22 artillery pieces outside Guanajuato, republican general Antillón reoccupies this city, while his defeated foe falls back upon Querétaro.

JANUARY 31, 1867. *San Jacinto.* Learning that Escobedo is fast approaching with a much larger republican army, Miramón hastens southeastward out of Zacatecas, hoping to unite near San Luis Potosí with another 2,000-man imperial army under Gen. Severo del Castillo.

Instead, Miramón unexpectedly meets Escobedo the next day at San Diego Hacienda, on the road between San Jacinto and San Francisco de Adames. The outnumbered imperial infantrymen position

themselves within the hacienda, their cavalry on both flanks. But Escobedo's superior force easily overwhelms these defenses, driving their enemies back into Cuisillo Ranch. Miramón is fortunate to escape toward Querétaro with a handful of followers, leaving behind 100 dead, 800 captives, his artillery and supply train, plus countless deserters.

After this battle, Escobedo executes 103 French prisoners for violating the decree recalling them to Europe.

FEBRUARY 13, 1867. Determined to maintain his throne by battlefield victories, Maximilian quits Mexico City at the head of 4,000 troops raised by Márquez, marching northwest toward Querétaro. Skirmishes with republican guerrillas under Catarino Fragoso occur at Lechería and Calpulalpan, before the emperor finally reaches San Juan del Río by February 16.

FEBRUARY 19, 1867. Maximilian enters Querétaro City with 1,600 troops and a dozen fieldpieces.

FEBRUARY 20, 1867. Corona enters Morelia (Michoacán), mustering 6,000–7,000 republican troops and departing five days later, to strike into the interior of imperial Mexico via Acámbaro and Celaya.

FEBRUARY 22, 1867. Imperial general José Ramón Méndez reenters Querétaro City from Morelia with 3,500 troops and an artillery train, augmenting its garrison to 12,000 men.

FEBRUARY 27, 1867. Corona's republican army is joined at Celaya by an additional 3,000 men and 10 artillery pieces under colonels Franco and Bermúdez.

MARCH 5, 1867. After conferring at Chamacuero, Escobedo and Corona agree to jointly begin their final advance against Maximilian's stronghold of Querétaro the next day, in parallel columns of approximately 10,000 men apiece.

MARCH 6, 1867. *Siege of Querétaro.* Advance republican cavalry units occupy Estancia de las Vacas and Castillo Hacienda outside this city, and are joined two days later by Corona's column, which seizes San Juanico and Celaya Gate—just as Escobedo's contingent appears out of the north as well.



Mexican firing squad that executed the Emperor Maximilian. (Museo de Querétaro)

Together, both generals command Treviño's I (Northern) Corps, consisting of two infantry divisions under Sóstenes Rocha and Francisco Arce, plus a cavalry division under Francisco Aguirre; Corona's II or Western Corps, comprised of the Jalisco Infantry Division under Manuel Márquez, the Sinaloa Infantry Division under Félix Vega, the Michoacán Infantry Division under Nicolás Régules, plus the Third Division from I Corps under Saturnino Aranda; and an artillery train under Francisco Paz. Eventually, this host will swell to 32,000 troops and 100 guns, prompting the formation of a separate cavalry division under Gen. Amado Guadarrama.

To oppose them, Maximilian has a 12,000-man garrison under his chief of staff Márquez: del Castillo's 1st Division, consisting of the 1st Brigade (*Tiradores* Battalion, Celaya Light Infantry, and the 2nd Line Regiment) plus the 2nd Brigade (14th Line Regiment, and *Guardia municipal*); Casanova's 2nd Division, subdivided into a 1st Brigade (Querétaro Battalion, plus the 7th and 12th Line regiments) and a 2nd Brigade (*Cazadores* Battalion, plus the 15th Line Regiment); a cavalry division under Mejía, again consisting of a 1st Brigade (4th and 5th Cavalry regiments) and a 2nd Brigade (2nd and La Fron-

tera Cavalry regiments); Méndez's reserve, being a mixed brigade of the *Emperador* Battalion, 3rd Line Regiment, and *Emperatriz* Regiment (ex-Belgian Military Legion); plus the 3rd Engineering Company under Colonel Reyes and artillery batteries under Col. Manuel Ramírez de Arellano.

Escobedo occupies the hills and roads north of Querétaro, and on March 9 detaches 5,000 men and 14 guns to strengthen Corona's lines. After several days of positioning his cumbersome army, the republican commander in chief orders a general probe of the defenses. Consequently, a diversionary attack commences against Las Campanas Hill at 10:00 a.m. on March 14, followed quickly by a three-pronged drive under General Neri against La Cruz Convent (Maximilian's headquarters). The convent's garden and cemetery are overrun, but this assault is eventually driven back when Márquez orders an imperial infantry battalion and battery to counterattack. Mejía simultaneously sallies from Pueblito Gate with his imperial cavalry, falling upon some republican dragoons opposite and scattering them, capturing 70 and killing 100. Escobedo's lone success is the seizure of San Gregorio Hill to the north, these operations costing him 1,000 casualties and 4,000

prisoners, as opposed to 250 killed and wounded among the defenders.

Following this bloody setback, the republicans settle down to a protracted siege. On March 17, Corona launches another assault against La Cruz Convent, yet only to discourage a sortie being contemplated by Miramón (in hopes of reestablishing his prestige with the emperor). At dawn of March 22, this general exits with the imperial *Guardia municipal* and *Cazadores* battalions in his van, supported by a half-dozen fieldpieces and a cloud of cavalry. They surprise a republican supply train that has just reached San Juanico Hacienda, capturing and carrying it back into Querétaro with scarcely any losses.

That same night, Márquez and Vidaurri slip out of the besieged city with two cavalry brigades—1,100 troopers—having been ordered by Maximilian to cut their way through to Mexico City and hasten the dispatch of reinforcements. By sunrise of March 23, Márquez's contingent is well on its way, but instead of immediately returning with a relief column, he will instead veer eastward from the capital one week later to rescue the beleaguered imperial garrison at Puebla (see "March 9, 1867" entry).

At noon of March 24, Escobedo—freshly reinforced by 9,000–10,000 men under generals Vicente Riva Palacio, Vicente Jiménez, and Francisco A. Vélez—attempts a second assault against Querétaro's walls. The main thrust is directed against Casa Blanca and the Alameda, by twin columns under generals Vélez and Joaquín Martínez, supported by numerous diversionary actions. Again, this drive is repelled by timely imperial counterattacks after the republicans have succeeded in penetrating the city. Republican losses total 2,000 killed, wounded, and captured, for no gain.

It is the defenders' turn next, as Miramón sorties on April 1 with eight infantry battalions and 1,000 dragoons to attack the republican siege lines extending from San Sebastián Convent northwest of Querétaro. Once more, an initial success is followed by quick containment, the imperial forces eventually retreating into their defenses. Morale within the city begins to sag, especially when two cavalry sallies on April 12 and 16 attempt to reestablish contact with Mexico City and are checked.

At 5:00 a.m. on April 27, Miramón leads another sudden exit southward, this time surprising Jiménez's republican troops who are holding the México Gate and Calleja Hacienda. Brushing them aside, Miramón continues past with 3,000 troops in two columns, defeating Rivera's republican cavalry, who

are belatedly hastening to Jiménez's support. Then, the imperial forces wrest Jacal Hacienda from the Sinaloa Regiment, precipitating a wholesale republican flight from their rearmost trenches at Cimatario. In this fashion, Miramón not only seizes 21 guns and valuable provisions from supply parks in the republican rear, but moreover pierces Querétaro's encirclement. Maximilian personally visits the battlefield to congratulate his general.

However, both the emperor and his staff fail to properly exploit this advantage, either by leading their army out of the city or securing this breach. Instead, it is Escobedo who reacts first, throwing the Galeana Battalion—armed with repeating rifles—and San Luis Potosí *chasseurs* into this gap, while the Norte Cavalry Regiment recuperates much of the booty being transferred into the city. Naranjo, Guadarrama, and Tolentino thereupon lead a massive cavalry movement behind republican lines from the southwest, recovering Jacal with a 3,000-dragoon charge. Maximilian commits the *Emperatriz* Cavalry Regiment in a last-ditch effort to regain his vanishing booty, but it, too, is repelled. The disappointed imperial troops stream back into Querétaro, while Rocha reoccupies the besiegers' original positions at the México Gate and Calleja Hacienda.

At dawn of May 1, Miramón tries again, unleashing a heavy bombardment of Calleja Hacienda, followed at 10:00 a.m. by an assault spearheaded by the *Cazadores franco-mexicanos* Battalion, 3rd Line Regiment, and *Guardia municipal* under Colonel Rodríguez. They succeed in overrunning the hacienda but get no farther before being chased back into the city when Rodríguez is killed. On May 3, Miramón thrusts north toward San Gregorio, breaking through the first two republican siege lines with the 3rd and 13th Line regiments, plus the *Emperador*, Iturbide, and Celaya battalions. Once more he is contained and retires. A final imperial breakout is attempted northeast toward San Sebastián on May 5 but is easily contained.

By this time, the garrison is reduced to only 5,000–6,000 effectives, while civilians are starving. Before sunrise of May 15, Col. Miguel López, commander of La Cruz stronghold, agrees to surrender this crucial imperial redoubt to its republican besiegers in a prearranged piece of treachery. As Vélez's *Supremo Poderes* and 1st Nuevo León battalions advance to seize this building, the emperor flees west from his sleeping quarters, calling upon his supporters to rally atop Las Campanas Hill. Dawn reveals their pathetically small numbers, at which point the last imperial defenders capitulate to Escobedo.

MARCH 9, 1867. *Reconquest of Puebla.* Porfirio Díaz arrives at San Juan Hill west of this city with 3,000 republican troops to lay siege to its 3,000-man garrison under Gen. Manuel Noriega. After being reinforced by local contingents and cutting off all communication inland, the republicans inaugurate formal siege proceedings.

Within the next couple of weeks, General Carrión seizes both San Javier and Penitenciaría redoubts through costly assaults, as the republicans gradually fight their way into the city limits. Díaz is unable to completely subdue the defenders, however, and on March 31 he receives word that Márquez has quit Mexico City the preceding day with a relief column of 3,000 imperial troops and 17 fieldpieces.

Reacting swiftly, the republican general gathers three assault columns of 300 men apiece to storm Puebla's main stronghold—El Carmen Convent—plus 13 companies of approximately 100 men each to stealthily approach other points in the city's defenses. At 2:00 a.m. on April 2, the three-pronged

attack is launched against El Carmen. After an hour and a half of noisy fighting—long enough for Noriega to commit his reserves—Díaz signals from San Juan Hill, directing his 1,300 hidden soldiers to rise and mount simultaneous attacks. They break through everywhere, only the Siempreviva trenches and El Carmen Convent offering much resistance before surrendering.

Noriega's remaining defenders seek refuge in the Loreto and Guadalupe convents and are compelled to capitulate two days later. This assault has cost Díaz 253 dead and 233 wounded, as opposed to much higher casualties among the defenders, plus 2,000 captives. The republican commander quickly detaches Colonel Lalane with 900 troopers on April 4 to monitor the approach of Márquez's imperial relief column.

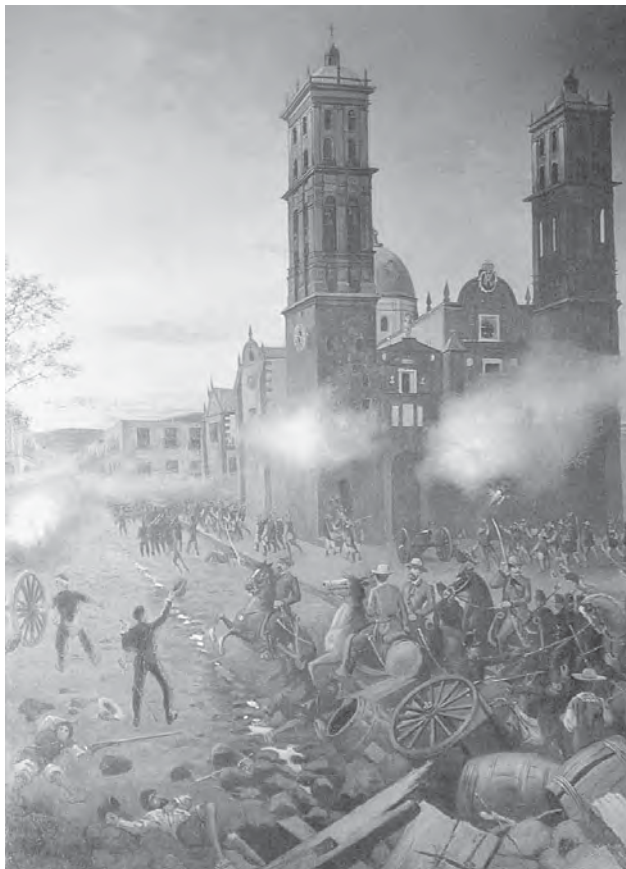
APRIL 8, 1867. *San Lorenzo.* While still encamped at Guadalupe Hacienda (Tlaxcala), Márquez learns of the fall of the imperial garrison within Puebla, as well as the approach of a 4,000-man republican cavalry division out of the north under Guadarrama (having been detached from Querétaro on March 29 by Escobedo).

The next day, Márquez's 3,000 men make contact with Díaz's larger army at San Lorenzo near Apizaco. Díaz deploys his republicans in an extended line and commences a long-range bombardment to pin down the imperial troops, while awaiting Guadarrama. Knowing his forces to be doomed, Márquez orders a retreat in several columns the next dawn, April 10, only to then encounter Guadarrama barring his path at San Cristóbal Hacienda. Losing all hope, the imperial general orders most of his artillery cast into a ravine and the supply carts burned before escaping into the mountains.

Meanwhile, his Austro-Mexican infantry and Hungarian cavalry make a brave fighting retreat from San Lorenzo through San Cristóbal to Texcoco, against overwhelming odds. Eventually, they are crushed on April 10 by republican cavalymen under General Leyva, suffering 300 killed and 1,000 captured.

LATE APRIL 1867. Díaz arrives outside Mexico City and occupies its outlying towns of Chapultepec, Tacubaya, and Guadalupe, although his army is not strong enough to carry the capital itself.

MAY 24, 1867. The captive emperor Maximilian is put on trial at the Iturbide Theater in Querétaro, along with Miramón and Mejía.



Porfirio Díaz recaptures the city of Puebla. (Museum of History, Chapultepec Castle)

JUNE 19, 1867. At 7:05 a.m., Maximilian, Miramón, and Mejía are shot atop Las Campanas Hill outside Querétaro.

JUNE 20, 1867. This afternoon, imperial general Ramón Tabera surrenders Mexico City to Porfirio Díaz, who enters the next day. His troops capture and execute Vidaurri for treason.

JUNE 27, 1867. The Veracruz garrison surrenders to republican forces, being the last imperial hold-outs of this war. Juárez returns triumphantly into Mexico City on July 15, 1867, being reelected president both this year and in 1871. Napoleon III's failed attempt to revive an American colonial empire marks France's last major military venture in the New World.

NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN WARS (1861–1890)

In the United States, the second half of the 19th century witnesses an explosive migration inland from the original European-created colonies along the Atlantic Seaboard. New settlers soon come into conflict with nomadic tribesmen roaming these sparsely inhabited plains, and a protracted struggle ensues for ownership over these lands. Most campaigns consist of raids and counterraids, with few pitched battles.

JANUARY 1861. Lt. George Bascom of the 7th Infantry leads 54 mounted soldiers to Apache Pass (New Mexico) to rescue two kidnapped boys. Cochise—leader of the central Chiricahua Apache—meets with this contingent and informs its commander that the captives have been taken by neighboring Coyotero Apaches and offers to intercede. Instead, Bascom accuses Cochise of collusion, prompting the Chiricahua leader to cut his way out of the tent, leaving behind his retinue as hostages.

A few days later, Cochise returns with Butterfield Mail prisoners, offering to exchange them for his followers. However, a brief skirmish erupts, during which both sides kill their hostages and withdraw.

AUGUST 17, 1862. *Sioux Uprising.* In Acton Township in Meeker County, southwestern Minnesota, an Indian hunting party treacherously kills three white men and two women gathered on their farm for Sunday dinner. This attack precipitates a general rebellion the next morning under Chief Little Crow of the Lower Sioux, who have grown resentful of the settlers' continual encroachments and broken promises.

On August 18, both Lower and Upper Agency are ransacked, and several hundred civilians are killed throughout this district, while terrified survivors stream toward Fort Ridgely. Capt. John Marsh leads 47 soldiers toward the Lower Agency ferry to

investigate, only to be ambushed and killed along with 26 of his men. His successor, Lt. Timothy Sheehan, musters 180 soldiers at Fort Ridgely, which is attacked on the 19th by 200 of Little Crow's warriors. Repelled by the fort's three cannon, the Indian chief then makes a second attempt at noon of August 21 with 800 men, which also proves futile. The attackers draw off after suffering perhaps 100 casualties, compared to 3 killed and 13 wounded among the defenders.

On August 23, the town of New Ulm 20 miles south of Fort Ridgely is assaulted by a large number of Sioux, although successfully held by Justice of the Peace Charles Flandrau. The defenders suffer 26 dead and more than 60 wounded, while 190 of New Ulm's 215 buildings go up in flames, prompting the 1,000 survivors to withdraw 30 miles farther east into Mankato.

As thousands of refugees flee east out of the region, the cavalry vanguard of Col. Henry Sibley's 1,400-man relief column reaches Fort Ridgely from Fort Snelling by dawn of August 27. A detachment under Maj. Joseph R. Brown is subsequently ambushed at the head of Birch Coulee, suffering 16 killed and 44 wounded before being rescued, but Sibley nonetheless presses deeper into Indian territory. At Wood Lake, his army—now increased to 1,600 men—fends off an ambush by 700–800 Sioux, then scatters Little Crow's followers farther west. At a site renamed Camp Release, 269 captives

are freed from Indian bondage, and 2,000 Sioux are arrested.

Of the latter, 38 are eventually executed in Mankato on December 26, and the remainder is resettled on a reservation on the Niobrara River banks in Nebraska a few years later.

AUGUST 1868. *Beecher Island.* Because of Washington's failure to supply aid promised at the Medicine Lodge Creek conference almost a year earlier, Cheyenne, Sioux, and Arapaho war bands under Chief Roman Nose begin raiding along the Saline and Solomon rivers in Kansas, killing over 100 settlers. In response, 30-year-old major George A. Forsyth sets out from Fort Hays with 50 volunteer scouts on August 29, eventually tracking some of these warriors along the Republican River into eastern Colorado and encamping the afternoon of September 16 near Arikaree Fork.

Here, the scouts are assaulted at dawn of September 17 by several hundred braves. Forsyth immediately moves his outnumbered men out to an island in the partially dried riverbed and digs in. After many probes and repeated sniping, Roman Nose personally leads a massive charge around noon, which is broken when the Cheyenne chief falls mortally wounded. Nevertheless, the Indians keep the volunteers pinned down for the next nine days with galling fire, until four men manage to slip out through the besiegers' ring and summon help, in the form of two troops of the all-black 10th Cavalry Regiment under Lt. Col. Louis H. Carpenter. They rescue the survivors, whose refuge is renamed Beecher Island in honor of Forsyth's fallen second-in-command, Lt. Frederick H. Beecher (nephew of the famous abolitionist preacher Henry Ward Beecher). During this encounter, 5 scouts have been killed and 18 wounded, compared to at least 32 dead among the attackers, who disperse.

SEPTEMBER 1872. The 32-year-old colonel Ranald Slidell Mackenzie of the 4th Cavalry Regiment makes a surprise attack against a large Comanche village at McClellan's Creek (a tributary of the Red River's North Fork in the Texas Panhandle), killing 20 and capturing 130 Indians, along with 3,000 horses. Roving warrior bands soon recapture most of these mounts, along with some of the troopers' ponies. Cavalry losses total 1 dead and 3 wounded.

DECEMBER 1872. Major Brown—a subordinate of recently promoted brigadier general George Crook—runs a band of Tonto Apache to ground at Salt River Cave, a huge, shallow cavern 400–500 feet from a cliff top in New Mexico. Thinking themselves safe, the Indians make a stand, only to be decimated by bullets ricocheting down off the roof. A desperate last-minute attempt to cut their way out ends in a massacre. A similar victory shortly thereafter at Turret Mountain secures the surrender of the majority of the remaining Tontos.

MAY 17, 1873. This evening, Colonel Mackenzie leads a cavalry column out of Fort Clark at Bracketville (140 miles west of San Antonio, Texas), then the next dawn splashes across the Río Grande into Mexico to surprise a band of Kickapoo, Lipan, and Apache raiders camped on the banks of the San Rodrigo River near Remedios (Coahuila). This illegal incursion is rewarded by the killing of 19 startled Indians and the capture of another 40, along with 65 horses. Cavalry losses are 1 killed and 2 wounded, while subsequent protests from the Mexican government are ignored.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1874. Mackenzie's 4th Cavalry Regiment endures a sharp skirmish with Southern Cheyenne warriors in the Staked Plains region, then, after feinting a march southward, turn back north under cover of darkness to surprise the natives' encampment in Palo Duro Canyon by the next dawn. Most Indians escape to its high ground, but 1,400 ponies are taken and shot, greatly hampering their subsequent movements.

EARLY MARCH 1876. *Powder River.* Brigadier General Crook marches north with 800 men from Fort Fetterman in Nebraska, his column being one of three eventually intended to invade the Black Hills Reservation in South Dakota and put down Sioux and Northern Cheyenne raiding parties being led by the Hunkpapa medicine man Sitting Bull. Crook's vanguard consists of six troops of the 3rd Cavalry Regiment under Col. J. J. Reynolds, who chances upon and disperses an Indian encampment on the banks of the Powder River.

However, Sioux and Cheyenne warriors launch a counterattack that mauls Reynolds's command so badly that he is obliged to rejoin Crook. The entire U.S. column then retires into Fort Fetterman to re-fit and prepare for a second offensive.

JUNE 17, 1876. *Rosebud.* Crook's second expeditionary force collides near the source of the Rosebud River with 1,000 braves under Chief Crazy Horse, who has been sent south from the main In-

dian encampment to contest the soldiers' advance. After a severe action lasting most of this day, Crook once again withdraws to seek reinforcements. The natives return triumphantly into their camp, deciding shortly thereafter to move westward to a more secure position. On the western banks of the Little Big Horn River, they set up a new camp three miles long.

George Crook

George Crook was born on September 8, 1828, on a farm near Taylorsville outside Dayton (Ohio). He graduated from the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in 1852, near the bottom of his class. Posted as a second lieutenant to the 4th U.S. Infantry Regiment, he served for eight years in Oregon and northern California. Crook fought against local tribes and was severely wounded by an arrow. He was promoted to first lieutenant in 1856, and to captain four years later.

When the Civil War broke out early in 1861, he returned east to be made colonel of the 36th Ohio Volunteer Infantry Regiment. Crook was promoted to brigadier general on September 7, 1862, assuming command over three Ohio regiments in the Kanawah Division of the Army of the Potomac. He developed a lifelong friendship with one of his subordinates, Col. Rutherford B. Hayes of the 25th Ohio Volunteer Infantry, who would later be elected president.

General Grant delegated Crook in April 1864 to lead 6,500 men into Virginia, scattering the outnumbered Confederates at Cloyd's Mountain outside Dublin, before destroying its vital railway link. Crook was given command that same August of the Army of Western Virginia, campaigning so successfully in the Shenandoah Valley that he was promoted to major general by October 21. He was surprised and captured at Cumberland (Maryland) by Confederate raiders in February 1865 and was held in Richmond for a month before being exchanged. He commanded a cavalry division during the final weeks of the war.

At the end of hostilities, Crook resumed his regular army rank of lieutenant colonel and joined the 23rd U.S. Infantry Regiment on frontier duty in the Pacific Northwest. His success against the Paiutes prompted President Grant to place him in command of the Arizona Territory, where Crook was to gain great fame as an Indian fighter. He had driven Cochise and his Apache tribesmen onto reservations by 1872, so he was promoted over several other colonels to brigadier general.

Crook also campaigned against the Sioux and Lakota before returning to Arizona in 1882 to hunt Geronimo. Ironically, Crook eventually grew so bitter at the injustices suffered by his Indian foes that he spent the last years of his life speaking out against this mistreatment.

JUNE 21, 1876. This evening, Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry instructs colonels Gibbon and Custer aboard the hired steamer *Far West*, anchored at the Powder River mouth, as to how both commanders might approach and annihilate Sitting Bull's encampment on the Little Big Horn. Gibbon's force—mostly infantry—is to advance up the Little Big Horn River and attack the Indians from the north on June 26, while Custer's 7th Cavalry is to simultaneously circle and fall upon them from the south. The U.S. commanders seriously underestimate the natives' strength, believing only some 1,000 warriors are present—about a quarter their actual number.

The next day at noon, Custer leads the 7th past Terry, then advances up the Rosebud and camps for the night. Upon the return of his scouts at 9:00 p.m., however, he resumes his march and instead of proceeding farther south, strikes out for 10 miles toward the ridge between the Rosebud and the Little Big Horn, hoping to gain it before daylight. Although impossible to decipher his reasoning, Custer has obviously discarded the notion of cooperating with Gibbon.

JUNE 23, 1876. *Custer's Last Stand.* At 2:00 a.m., Custer reaches Crow's Nest, a high point on the ridge overlooking the Plain of Greasy Grass. With the sunrise, Sitting Bull's camp is faintly discerned 15 miles away, and Sioux outriders, in turn, spot the 7th Cavalry. Custer therefore decides to attack immediately, dividing his command into three: Captain Benteen is to circle south with 125 men; Major Reno is to lead a squadron west along the southern bank of the tributary running into the Little Big Horn (later renamed Reno Creek); while Custer himself takes the remainder of his regiment in a parallel movement to eventually outflank the Indians out of the northeast.

By 2:00 p.m., Custer and Reno have advanced some 9 miles opposite each other, when a lone teepee is found and heavy dust clouds are spotted a few miles ahead. Erroneously believing the Indians are scattering, Custer orders Reno to charge west, while



Geronimo, third from left, negotiating with George Crook, second from right, in northern Mexico, March 25, 1886; photograph by C. S. Fly. (Author's Collection)

he himself veers north to intercept. After covering three miles at a sharp trot and crossing the Little Big Horn, Reno's squadron is engulfed by a massive Indian counterattack. His contingent is then joined by Benteen's, and both only survive thanks to the natives' subsequent distraction in besetting Custer, who has appeared four miles farther north. (A movement to relieve Custer, led by Captain Weir of "D" Troop, is eventually repulsed.)

Custer's attempt to surprise the Indian encampment via Medicine Tail Coulee is checked by a huge force of warriors under the Hunkpapa chief Gall, and Oglala Sioux chief Low Dog. Driven back, his cavalymen make a desperate last stand on the high ground, their escape route being closed by Crazy Horse's flanking charge. By 5:00 p.m., everyone in Custer's command is dead. The next morning, Terry appears on the battlefield with the 2nd Cavalry Regiment and rescues Reno's survivors. The Sioux and Cheyenne have meanwhile scattered northward, seeking refuge in Canada. By the next spring,

many—including Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse—will surrender to the U.S. authorities and take up life on reservations.

OCTOBER 1876. In a surprise dawn attack, MacKenzie's 4th Cavalry Regiment overruns the Northern Cheyenne village of Chief Dull Knife on the banks of the Powder River, killing 40 Indians and capturing 600 ponies, dooming many survivors to subsequently perish in the bitterly cold weather.

SEPTEMBER 1877. Some 300 Apaches flee the San Carlos Reservation under their leaders, Victorio and Loco. Eleven days later, 187 of them—including Victorio—surrender at Fort Wingate, to be taken to their preferred destination of Warm Springs Reservation.

OCTOBER 1878. Learning they are to be repatriated to the San Carlos Reservation, Victorio and 80 of his followers flee Warm Springs.

FEBRUARY 1879. Victorio surrenders at Mescalero.

JULY 1879. The Apache leader Victorio flees into Mexico.

SEPTEMBER 1879. In Colorado, the White River Utes ambush a U.S. Army contingent under Maj. Thomas T. Thornburgh, killing him along with several of his troopers. In all, 30 whites are killed and another 44 wounded before this uprising is finally put down by the arrival of Colonel Mackenzie's 4th Cavalry.

OCTOBER 15, 1880. Victorio and most of his Apache warriors are killed after a prolonged battle with Mexican troops.

AUGUST 30, 1881. Colonel Carr orders the arrest of the Apache shaman Nocadelklinny, fearful of his anti-white preaching among the tribesmen on the San Carlos Reservation. Two days later, Fort Apache is besieged by angry warriors, although this clamor soon dies away.

APRIL 1882. The Apache leaders Geronimo (whose real name is Goyakla or the "Yawner") and Juh ("Whoa") secretly slip into the San Carlos Reservation, persuading several hundred of Loco's Chiricahua followers to depart with them, while at the same time killing the chief of Indian police, Albert Sterling. Pursued by U.S. regulars, including cavalry under Col. George Forsyth, the Indians succeed in reaching Mexico, only to be ambushed by Mexican troops, suffering severe losses.

SEPTEMBER 1882. Crook resumes command over the Department of Arizona. He stations U.S. cavalry at the San Carlos Reservation, then crosses the border into Mexico with 50 soldiers and 200 Apache scouts to chase Geronimo in accordance with the new "hot pursuit" agreement signed between Washington and Mexico City.

MARCH 1883. Geronimo's Apaches launch lightning raids throughout northern Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and New Mexico.

MAY 1, 1883. *Sierra Madre Expedition.* Crook sets out into the central Mexican highlands in pursuit of Geronimo, guided by a scout called Peaches, who has lived for a while among these renegades. After

tracking them through rugged ranges, the column of 51 U.S. troopers and 193 loyal Apache scouts finally surround the main Apache base camp while its warriors are away raiding, killing 9 of its defenders. The garrison thereupon surrenders, and after three long parleys starting on May 20, Geronimo promises to bring in the remainder of his renegades. Crook escorts 325 Apaches back to the San Carlos Reservation by June, and in March 1884 Geronimo appears with another 80, plus 350 stolen Mexican cattle—which are promptly confiscated.

MAY 17, 1885. Geronimo again bolts the San Carlos Reservation, this time accompanied by such hardened lieutenants as Chihuahua, Cochise's son Naich, the elderly Nana, and Mangas Coloradas's son Mangas. Crook stations cavalry patrols along the Mexican border, but Geronimo nonetheless succeeds in escaping into the Sierra Madre Range with 43 warriors and some 60 noncombatants.

JANUARY 1886. Capt. Emmett Crawford's scouts capture Geronimo's horses and provisions in Mexico, then open negotiations with the renegade chieftain, only to be slain by Mexican scalp hunters shortly thereafter.

MARCH 25, 1886. After parleying with Crook, Geronimo agrees to surrender and serve two years' imprisonment in the East. The U.S. War Department reneges on this promise, though, shipping 77 Chiricahua to Fort Marion in Oklahoma, prompting their chieftain to once more flee into Mexico with 39 followers, while Crook resigns in disgust on April 1. He is replaced by Brig. Gen. Nelson A. ("Bear Coat") Miles.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1886. After a massive hunt by 5,000 U.S. regulars and hundreds of Apache scouts, Geronimo's 20 renegade warriors and 13 women surrender to Miles. The captive chieftain is dispatched into internment at Fort Pickens in Florida along with 381 followers, while other families are sent to Fort Marion in Oklahoma.

LATE DECEMBER 1890. *Wounded Knee.* White authorities, increasingly alarmed by the spreading Indian practice known as "ghost dances"—ceremonies conceived the previous year by the Paiute shaman Wovoka in a fever, whereby dead native ancestors and buffalo herds are to be revived, thus signifying an

Indian resurgence—intercept the Miniconjou Sioux band of Chief Big Foot as it is traveling to collect its reservation rations. After being taken to Wounded Knee Creek and surrounded by troops, the natives

begin a ghost dance, at which point a concealed Indian gun is fired, setting off a pitiless massacre of most of the band. More than 150 natives are slaughtered, including many women and children.

SPAIN'S RETURN TO THE PACIFIC (1863–1866)

In April 1863, Adm. Luis Hernández Pinzón y Álvarez rounds Cape Horn with the brand-new, 41-gun, 3,400-ton, propeller-driven war frigates *Resolución* (flag) of Capt. Manuel de la Rigada y Leal and *Nuestra Señora del Triunfo* of Capt. Enrique Cróquer y Pavia, plus the 2-gun schooner *Virgen de la Covadonga*, supposedly serving as transports for eight naturalists who are to make scientific observations in the Pacific—although the real objective of this expedition is to reassert Spain's influence in South America.

After visiting Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Panama, Mexico, and San Francisco, the flotilla—rather than continue across the ocean toward Manila as announced—is instead ordered to reverse course. En route back down the South American coastline, Admiral Hernández is informed of an incident involving the death of a Spanish Basque subject at a new Peruvian agricultural development called Talambo near Pacasmayo in the northern part of that country, so the diplomat Eusebio de Salazar y Mazarredo is set ashore to lodge a protest with the Lima government, despite the fact that this republic's very existence has not yet been formally recognized by Madrid.

APRIL 14, 1864. De Salazar receives no satisfaction from the Peruvian authorities, so he instructs Hernández Pinzón's squadron to seize the offshore Chincha Islands, which are rich in valuable *guano* or "nitrate." The Spanish Crown eventually repudiates this action and recalls its admiral and diplomat, yet without restoring the islands to Peru. Chile meanwhile supports its neighboring South American republic by denying coal to the Spanish warships.

NOVEMBER 26, 1864. Overnight, the *Triunfo* is consumed off Pisco (Peru) by an accidental fire, originating in its paint locker.

DECEMBER 6, 1864.

The 52-year-old Spanish admiral José Manuel Pareja y Rodríguez Septién reaches Pisco and the next day supersedes Hernández Pinzón, his squadron being reinforced shortly thereafter by the arrival of the 36-gun, 3,150-ton armored frigates *Blanca* of Capt. Juan Bautista Topete y Carballo and *Berenguela* of Capt. Jacobo MacMahon y Santiago (later succeeded by Manuel de la Pezuela); the 48-gun, 5,000-ton, wooden frigate *Villa de Madrid* of Capt. Claudio Román Alvargonzález y Sánchez; plus the propeller-

driven, 3-gun auxiliary schooner *Vencedora* of Lt. Serafín de Aubareda y Bouyón.

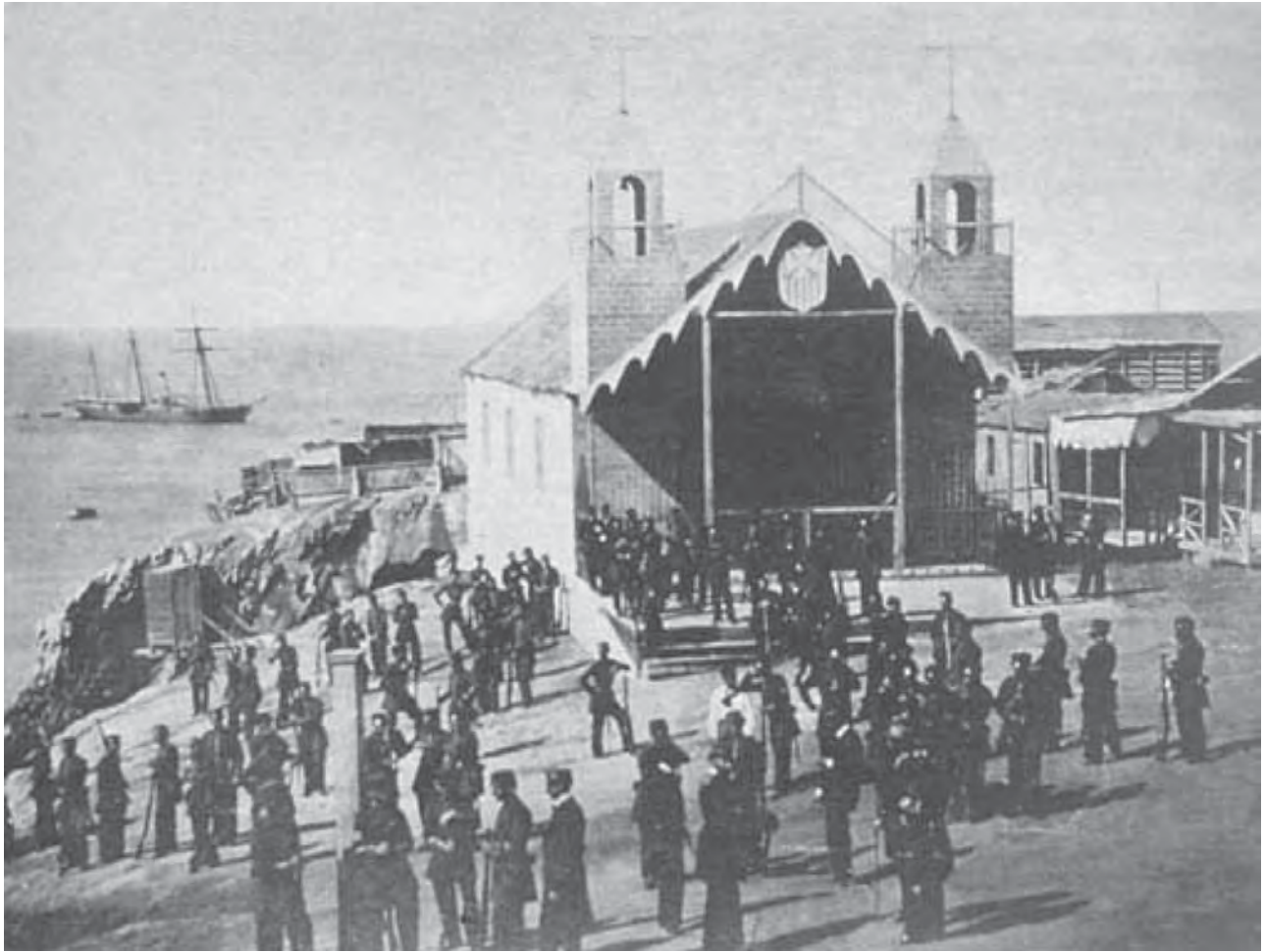
DECEMBER 30, 1864. The Peruvian steamer *Chalaco* approaches the anchored Spanish squadron off Pisco, bearing Gen. Manuel Ignacio de Vivanco, who is to open negotiations with the blockaders.

JANUARY 27, 1865. After bitterly protracted talks, Vivanco is pressured into signing an agreement with Pareja whereby the Chincha Islands are to be restored to Peru in exchange for an indemnization payment of 3 million pesos to Spain.

FEBRUARY 5, 1865. Outraged by this diplomatic capitulation, a Peruvian mob murders the Spanish "ship's corporal" Esteban Fradera at Callao.

FEBRUARY 28, 1865. As part of Peru's nationwide outburst of disapproval against the Vivanco-Pareja accord, Col. Mariano Ignacio Prado leads a revolt at Arequipa, seeking to oust President Juan Antonio Pezet from office.

Meanwhile, Admiral Pareja detaches the *Vencedora* to Chile with a letter requesting that Spain's



Spanish naval officers and marines clustered around the church on the occupied Chincha Islands; the schooner *Virgen de la Covadonga* is anchored in the distance. (Museo Naval, Callao)

representative at Santiago lodge a similarly extortionate demand for compensation from that republic for having denied his squadron coal during its recent confrontation with Peru.

MAY 5, 1865. The Spanish squadron at Callao is reinforced by the brand-new, 34-gun, 7,300-ton, Toulon-built, armored frigate *Numancia* of Commo. Casto Secundino María Méndez Núñez, which has arrived from Cadiz and Montevideo in company with the collier *Marqués de la Victoria* of Lt. Francisco de P. Castellanos. By the end of that same month, some Spanish warships steer southward to increase pressure upon Chile.

JUNE 1865. With an even more aggressive administration now installed in Madrid, Pareja imposes a partial blockade upon the Chilean coast because his compensation demand has been ignored by the authorities at Santiago.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1865. Having failed to resolve their diplomatic impasse, Chile officially declares war against Spain.

NOVEMBER 6, 1865. In Peru, President Pezet is expelled as head of state by his rebellious opponents, taking sanctuary aboard the British frigate *Shearwater* of Capt. R. Gordon Douglas at Callao.

NOVEMBER 26, 1865. The 20-gun, 200-man, 854-ton Chilean corvette *Esmeralda* of Capt. Juan Williams Rebolledo sorties from the small seaport of Papudo, 40 miles from Valparaíso, and in less than an hour overwhelms the passing Spanish auxiliary *Covadonga* of Lt. Luis Fery y Torres Vildosola, killing 3 of its crew members, wounding 13, and capturing a total of 132.

Humiliated when he learns about this unexpected loss four days later from the visiting American consul Nicholson, Pareja commits suicide at his

fleet anchorage of Caldera de Copiapó (Chile) and is succeeded in command of the Pacific squadron by Méndez Núñez on December 12.

DECEMBER 5, 1865. Having been acclaimed president of Peru, Prado signs an accord with Chile.

DECEMBER 6, 1865. The Spanish government declares war against Chile.

JANUARY 14, 1866. Peru also declares war against Spain, being seconded shortly thereafter by Ecuador.

FEBRUARY 7, 1866. During a reconnaissance of the Chiloé Archipelago, the *Blanca* and *Villa de Madrid* find the combined Chileo-Peruvian squadron of Capt. Manuel Villar—so overmatched by Méndez Núñez's much larger and more modern formation that it has been driven into hiding, hence derisively referred to as the “Invisible Armada” by the Spaniards. The squadron is most likely at anchor inside the Challahu Channel beside Abtao Island, awaiting the arrival around the Horn of the foreign-built ironclads *Huáscar* and *Independencia*. A long-

range exchange of salvos results in two dead aboard the Peruvian corvette *Unión* and nine injured between both Spanish vessels, who retire the next day toward blockaded Valparaíso to inform the Spanish admiral of their find.

MARCH 9, 1866. After vainly searching again amid the foggy Chiloé Archipelago for the elusive Chileo-Peruvian squadron—which has since abandoned Abtao in favor of an even more defensible anchorage at Huito—Méndez Núñez's *Numancia* and *Blanca* return northward as far as Arauco, southwest of Concepción. There they intercept the 400-ton Chilean paddle steamer *Paquete del Maule* of the junior captain Luis Lynch Saldivar, which has just cleared the nearby coaling port of Lota with 134 troops aboard. The next day, the *Blanca* furthermore seizes an Italian and a Prussian vessel off Coronel, thereby securing almost 1,000 tons of coal.

Upon reappearing off Valparaíso, Méndez Núñez finds five American steam warships under Commo. John Rodgers—the 15-gun, 3,360-ton side-wheeler *Vanderbilt* as flagship; the 16-gun *Powhatan*; the frigate *Tuscarora*; the 10-gun, 1,370-ton side-wheeler

Steam and Coal

Many inventors contributed to the evolution of steam power. The French physicist Denis Papin envisioned a piston-driven steam engine as long ago as 1690, although the first practicable patent was granted eight years later to the English engineer Thomas Savery. The ironmonger Thomas Newcomen improved upon Savery's model, while the Scottish inventor James Watt so refined Newcomen's version that his design of 1769 helped usher in the Industrial Revolution. Yet because Watt's patent was also so strictly enforced in England, the first experimental applications of steam power into boats occurred in France and America.

When Watt's patent finally lapsed in 1800, many practical refinements appeared. The first steam railway went into service in England only two years later, as well as the first steam tug in Scotland. Robert Fulton, an American who lived and experimented in both England and France, returned to New York with a Watt engine to perfect his own steamboat by 1807. Numerous North American imitators rapidly followed, for the hinterland's rivers were ideally suited to commercial steamboat travel. Even the small engines of that day could propel a vessel along the quiet waterways, with frequent stops to refuel.

Sea voyages were much more challenging, though, because of the powerful ocean waves and enormous distances involved. Ships were to retain masts and sails well into the 19th century, because the early steam engines were only capable of driving large vessels for short spurts before exhausting their on-board coal supply. The five-masted, 2,350-ton English side-paddle steamer *Great Western* addressed this problem in 1838 by leaving ample space in its hold for powerful boilers, plus enough coal to traverse the Atlantic. It chased its rival the *Sirius* into New York harbor that same April in record time, with 200 tons of coal still in its bunkers. (The *Sirius*, on the other hand, burned all its cabin furniture and every other flammable aboard, an incident later described in Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days*.)

For warships prowling off remote and hostile shorelines, such as Spain's squadron off the Pacific coast of South America in the mid-1860s, any interruption in coal supplies could be crippling. Refinement of screw propellers and the invention of triple-expansion engines during the next decade greatly improved the range and speed of ships, yet a ready source of coal continued to worry commanders for another 50 years.



Spanish cartoon deriding the Chilean and Peruvian naval authorities for sending their overmatched fleets into hiding at Abtao.
(Author's Collection)

Mohongo; and the 3,300-ton, twin-turreted monitor *Monadnock*—plus the powerful, 40-gun British frigates *Sutlej* and *Leander* and the 4-gun corvette paddle-wheeler *Devastation* under Rear Admiral Lord Denham, who jointly attempt to mediate a truce. However, the Spanish admiral has already been ordered by Madrid to shell this port if the *Covadonga* is not restored by its Chilean captors, so he reluctantly sets the date of March 27 for compliance.

MARCH 31 (EASTER SATURDAY), 1866. *Bombardment of Valparaíso.* After extending his deadline by four days, Méndez Núñez orders the vessels *Resolución*, *Blanca*, *Villa de Madrid*, and *Vencedora* to stand into the harbor to shell this city, while he and his

flagship *Numancia* maintain watch against any hostile countermoves by the distant Anglo-American warships—who have cleared for action and withdrawn northward—and the *Berenguela* mounts guard over the Spanish prizes.

The reason for Méndez Núñez's distaste for this assignment is that Valparaíso lies helpless, its Fort San Antonio not even having any artillery mounted, while 40,000 of the city's 84,000 inhabitants have already fled in terror. Hospitals and churches have been marked with white flags in accordance with the Spanish admiral's instructions, yet otherwise no resistance can be offered. In the desperate hope of persuading the Americans and British to intercede, Valparaíso's citizenry has impeded the removal of

foreign merchandise from its *aduana* or “customs-house,” yet to no avail. The Spanish warships blaze away unopposed from 9:30 a.m. until noon, and although only 3 people ashore are killed, fires nonetheless start and spread throughout the deserted streets, consuming many buildings by the next day. Madrid is universally reviled for this wanton act of destruction.

APRIL 9, 1866. While still hovering off devastated Valparaíso, Méndez Núñez's squadron is bolstered by the arrival of the 50-gun, propeller-driven frigate *Almansa* under Capt. Victoriano Sánchez Barcaiztegui. Five days later, the Spaniards burn three of their prizes and steer northward, having decided to lift their Chilean blockade in favor of an attack against the main Peruvian naval base of Callao.

APRIL 27, 1866. Having arrived off San Lorenzo Island, Méndez Núñez sets a message ashore at Callao recommending that all foreign nationals evacuate, as his squadron will bombard this city within four days' time.

However, the Spanish admiral discovers after reconnoitering aboard *Vencedora* that Callao—unlike Valparaíso—is protected by 50 heavy artillery pieces in a half-dozen batteries to its southeast. In addition, it boasts minefields, as well as seven infantry, two cavalry, and a marine battalion, hence poses a formidable stronghold. Fort Independencia (formerly Real Felipe) and the city itself are left unarmed so as not to draw enemy fire, yet enormous Armstrong and Blakely cannon have been emplaced elsewhere, and the defense is being coordinated from its main citadel by Peru's new president Prado. At a safe remove lie Commodore Rodgers's seven American warships—the *Monadnock*, *Mohongo*, *Tuscarora*, *Vanderbilt*, and *Powhatan*, the 1,173-ton gunboat *Wateree*, and the *Freedonia*—plus the British frigate *Shearwater* and the corvette *Mutine*, as well as the French frigate *Vénus*.

MAY 2, 1866. *Bombardment of Callao.* Shortly before noon, Méndez Núñez's squadron advances to shell the defenses in three columns. The *Numancia*, the *Blanca*, and the *Resolución* are to exchange fire



Peruvian defenders preparing their batteries at Callao prior to the Spanish bombardment of May 2, 1866. (Museo Naval, Callao)

with the redoubts along the shoreline extending southeast from Callao toward La Punta or Los Baños. These redoubts consist of six 32-pounders in the “Abtao” Battery; two, 11-inch Armstrong 300-pounders in the La Merced battle turret; a half-dozen 32-pounders in the “Maypú” Battery; one, 13-inch Blakely 500-pounder, a 68-pounder, and seven 32-pounders in Fort Santa Rosa in Chucuito’s main square; five 32-pounders in the “Chacabuco” Battery; plus another five 32-pounders in a provisional battery. The *Berenguela* and the *Villa de Madrid* are to threaten the sector north of Callao, defended by six 32-pounders of the “Independencia” Battery; two Armstrong 300-pounders in the “Junín” battle turret; five 32-pounders in the “Pichincha” Battery; as well as two Blakely 500-pounders in Fort “Ayacucho.” Last, the *Almansa* and the *Vencedora* are to engage the single Blakely 500-pounder covering the city waterfront (manned by volunteers, later to be remembered as the *Cañón del Pueblo*) and the anchored Peruvian warships under Capt. Lizardo Montero—consisting of the 2-gun monitor *Loa* and the single-gun *Victoria*; the twin-gunned steamer *Tumbes*; the single-gun *Sachaca*, and the 2-gun *Colón*. The Spanish auxiliary *Marqués de la Victoria* is to remain behind, guarding the half-dozen prizes and supply ships clustered off Muerte Beach.

Although the *Numancia*’s propeller severs the electric cables connected to the Peruvian mines, a ferocious fire nonetheless greets Méndez Núñez’s oncoming squadron. The *Villa de Madrid*’s engine is crippled within 35 minutes by a round below its waterline, so that it has to be towed out of range by the *Vencedora*. At 1:00 p.m., the La Merced battle

tower explodes ashore from a direct hit by the *Blanca*, claiming the lives of Peru’s war minister, Col. José Gálvez Egusquiza, plus another 40 officers and men, so that the defenders’ fire in this sector temporarily slackens. The Spaniards’ incendiary Congreve rockets fail to rain destruction upon Callao, however, and the battered *Berenguela* is compelled to retire a half-hour later, followed at 2:30 p.m. by the *Blanca*, whose ammunition is virtually exhausted. Méndez Núñez, having been wounded by eight shell splinters, collapses and is relieved by his second-in-command Miguel Lobo, and the squadron finally retreats at 5:30 p.m. to anchor behind San Lorenzo Island. The attacking vessels have suffered a total of 43 dead and 151 wounded among their 3,200 crew members, compared to roughly 200 casualties among the defenders ashore.

The Spaniards have failed to impose their will upon the defiant South American republics, and without repair or resupply facilities and regarded with worldwide opprobrium, they have no choice but to quit the Peruvian coast on May 10, 1866. Méndez Núñez leads the vessels *Villa de Madrid*, *Blanca*, *Resolución*, and *Almansa* back around the Horn to neutral Rio de Janeiro, while the *Numancia*, the *Berenguela*, and the *Vencedora* strike out across the Pacific toward Tahiti and Manila, thereby bringing an end to this ill-conceived intervention. Both formations suffer further losses due to disease. A little more than two years later, the *Blanca*’s Captain Topete—now promoted to admiral—leads a naval mutiny at Cadiz in September 1868 that topples the Spanish monarchy. Three years later, Washington mediates a cessation of hostilities among Madrid, Santiago, and Lima.

WAR OF THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE (1864–1870)

In April 1863, the exiled president Venancio Flores of Uruguay—whose liberal *Colorado* or “Red” party was deposed nine years previously by the rival *Blancos* or “Whites” under President Bernardo P. Berro—invades his homeland from Argentina, with support from his traditional Brazilian allies out of the Rio Grande do Sul Province and the liberal Argentine government of President Bartolomé Mitre. Montevideo complains to both Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro about this intervention, while calling upon the Paraguayan government for support.

Underlying this incident are deeper, unresolved border disputes between all four nations: Paraguay asserts that its boundary with Brazil runs along the Branco River, while the latter insists upon the Apa; Argentina feels that its own dominion extends northeastward to the Paraná and Paraguay rivers, which Asunción contests; while Uruguay—the least populous of all four states, having only 350,000 inhabitants to Brazil’s 8 million, Argentina’s 1.2 million, and Paraguay’s 525,000—is squeezed in the middle and split between its own contending factions.

Therefore, when Brazil sends a diplomatic mission in April 1864 to demand reparations for damages caused to its borderland farmers by Uruguayan *gauchos*, only to be rebuffed, tensions escalate. Brazil masses troops along the border and sends a squadron into the River Plate, while the new acting “White” president of Uruguay, Atanasio de la Cruz Aguirre, calls upon the 38-year-old Paraguayan dictator Francisco Solano López for help. With expansionistic designs of his own, Solano López offers to mediate, then reproves Rio de Janeiro when his proposal is rejected and severs diplomatic relations by August 30. Brazilian forces begin entering Uruguayan territory on September 21, and beleaguered Montevideo declares war by October 12.

NOVEMBER 13, 1864. Two days after the Paraguayan president Solano López has instructed his steamship *Tacuarí*, it seizes the Brazilian steamship *Marquês de Olinda* before Asunción while it is headed upriver with Col. Frederico Carneiro de Campos aboard as a passenger to assume office as governor of Mato Grosso. This action effectively closes the river to Brazil’s inland traffic.

DECEMBER 2, 1864. *Defense of Paysandú.* The Uruguayan presidential challenger Flores closes in upon the small city of Paysandú with 4,000 of his Colorado irregulars and 1,500 Brazilian allies, backed along its river by the squadron of 57-year-old Brazilian vice admiral Joaquim Marques Lisboa, Visconde (later Marquês) de Tamandaré. Slightly fewer than 1,100 Uruguayan Blanco defenders offer a spirited resistance under 53-year-old general Leandro Gómez and Col. Lucas Piriz, although the city has no walls. Instead, its 12 central blocks are barricaded in hopes of resisting long enough for Blanco reinforcements to lift the siege.

On December 8, all noncombatant women, children, and foreigners are allowed to evacuate Paysandú for the safety of an island out in the river before the Brazilian naval bombardment is renewed with greater vigor. A relief column of Argentine sympathizers under Juan Saa out of the neighboring province of San Luis is checked on the Río Negro banks by a Colorado formation led by Máximo Pérez of Soriano, yet Paysandú’s doomed garrison still refuses to submit, exciting admiration throughout the region.

The besiegers’ numbers swell to more than 15,000 men, and they mount an assault at dawn on December 31, pressing into the small city’s ruins, while Piriz falls mortally wounded. By the afternoon of January 2, 1865, Gómez sends out the captive Colorado officer Atanasildo Saldaña with a request for a truce to bury his dead, which is refused. Before fighting can resume, though, Brazilian troops

rush into Gómez’s headquarters, and he capitulates. He nevertheless insists upon being taken before his bitter Colorado foes, and the vengeful general José Gregorio Suárez immediately orders him executed, along with Gómez’s three senior staff officers. Suárez furthermore has every fifth man of the 600 surviving defenders earmarked for execution, most of which are carried out before Tamandaré and the Argentine marine colonel José Muraturi can intervene.

DECEMBER 13, 1864. Paraguay officially declares war against Brazil.

DECEMBER 24, 1864. *Offensive into Mato Grosso.* A 6,000-man Paraguayan army departs Asunción eastward to successfully attack the 200 Brazilian soldiers scattered around sparsely populated Mato Grosso Province.

JANUARY 14, 1865. Paraguay requests permission from Argentina to send troops through the Misiones district, east of the Paraná River, to attack the Brazilian province of Rio Grande do Sul. Buenos Aires—which has previously turned down a similar request from Rio de Janeiro—refuses, fueling Asunción’s resentment.

FEBRUARY 15, 1865. In Uruguay, General Flores comes into power when Montevideo finally capitulates to his besieging army, backed by Brazilian arms.

MARCH 18, 1865. Paraguay secretly authorizes the extension of its ongoing hostilities against Argentina as well, yet without advising Buenos Aires until more than six weeks later.

APRIL 13, 1865. *Fall of Corrientes.* Paraguayan forces seize the Argentine warships *25 de Mayo* and *Gualeduay* off Corrientes, then next day occupy the city. A 1,600-man garrison is installed under a



Damage inflicted by the Brazilian bombardment of the Uruguayan city of Paysandú. (Departamento de Estudios Históricos Navales, Casa Amarilla, Argentina)

military governor, while the bulk of this invading army pushes southward under Gen. Wenceslao Robles, down the Paraná River toward Empedrado.

MAY 1, 1865. Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay sign a pact known as the “Triple Alliance” to fight against Paraguay. The ensuing conflict will also become known as the Paraguayan War, or the Great War.

MAY 3, 1865. Buenos Aires officially receives Paraguay’s declaration of war and responds in kind by May 9.

MAY 25, 1865. *Argentine Counterstroke.* Gen. Wenceslao Paunero disembarks with 1,200 Argentine troops of the 1st Division and 4,000 Brazilians near occupied Corrientes, defeating a small Paraguayan contingent on the Paraná River banks, plus a larger force that hastens to its rescue. The occupiers therefore abandon Corrientes, which the Argentines briefly reoccupy, before themselves withdrawing on the night of May 26–27 upon rumors

of the approach of Paraguayan reinforcements from Humaitá.

JUNE 10, 1865. This night, eight Paraguayan steamers and six gunboats under Commander Deza slip down the Paraná River hoping to surprise nine Brazilian vessels under Vice Admiral Barroso, which are anchored south of Corrientes opposite Riachuelo Creek. Mechanical difficulties aboard two of the Paraguayan steamers delay their arrival until 8:00 a.m. on June 11, at which time the Brazilians are able to repel this assault, after a daylong struggle that sees three of Deza’s steamers sunk and his half-dozen gunboats captured. This defeat will eventually slow Paraguayan operations downriver.

JULY 28, 1865. Advancing down the Paraná River, Gen. Isidoro Resquín’s Paraguayan invasion army reaches Bella Vista (Argentina), continuing to press both south toward Goya and east toward San Roque to take up a defensive position along the banks of the Santa Lucía River.

AUGUST 2, 1865. A 3,000-man Paraguayan contingent under Major Duarte, advancing down the western banks of the Uruguay River, reaches Paso de los Libres (Argentina). Three days later, another 8,000 invaders under Lt. Col. Antonio de la Cruz Estigarribia arrive on its eastern bank opposite them at Uruguayana (Brazil).

AUGUST 17, 1865. *Yatay.* Between the confluence of the Yatay and Despedida creeks in Argentina, a 10,700-man allied army under Uruguayan general Venancio Flores falls upon Duarte's heavily outnumbered Paraguayans and annihilates them by launching a frontal assault to tie them down, then circling their right flank with another force to finish them off from the rear. Paraguayan losses are 1,200 dead, 300 wounded, and 1,200 captured, as opposed to 390 killed and 246 injured among Flores's ranks.

The victorious allies then cross the Uruguay River from August 21–29, combining with a Brazilian army arriving from the east under generals Canabarro and Baron de Yacuhy to bottle up Estigarribia's army within Uruguayana. Eventually, the al-

lied buildup grows to 18,600 men and three-dozen cannon, overseen by Emperor Pedro II and President Mitre.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1865. *Recapture of Uruguayana.* The allied army closes in upon the beleaguered Paraguayan garrison within Uruguayana (Brazil), calling upon Estigarribia to surrender. Faced with such overwhelming odds, his 5,400-man garrison capitulates. The triumphant allies thereupon march northwestward, massing their forces at Mercedes (Argentina) by October 24.

OCTOBER 7, 1865. In light of the defeats of Duarte and Estigarribia, Gen. Isidoro Resquín's 27,000-man Paraguayan army begins withdrawing northward from the Santa Lucía River, pillaging the Argentine countryside, and herding off 100,000 head of cattle.

OCTOBER 30, 1865. Resquín's army recrosses the Paraná River into Paraguayan territory from Argentina.



Paraguayan prisoners in detention. (Biblioteca Nacional, Montevideo)

JANUARY 29, 1866. Having ventured across the Paraná River from Fort Itapirú, a 1,200-man Paraguayan contingent seizes Corrales (Argentina) and probes south, only to be defeated at Pehuajó. Two days later, the force is driven out of Corrales also, returning to its native soil.

APRIL 16, 1866. *Paraná Crossing.* An allied river squadron opens fire upon Fort Itapirú (Paraguay), covering the departure one hour later of 10,000 Brazilian troops under General Osório, who advance up the Paraguay River to disembark near Paso de la Patria. They are joined this evening—after a delay caused by a storm—by another 5,000 allied soldiers under Uruguayan general Flores. After the so-called *combates de la Confluencia* or “Confluence battles,” this advance force drives the Paraguayans out of Fort Itapirú by April 18, thus allowing the remaining 45,000 allied troops to land east of this position.

MAY 2, 1866. *Estero Bellaco.* While advancing into enemy territory and concentrating upon So-

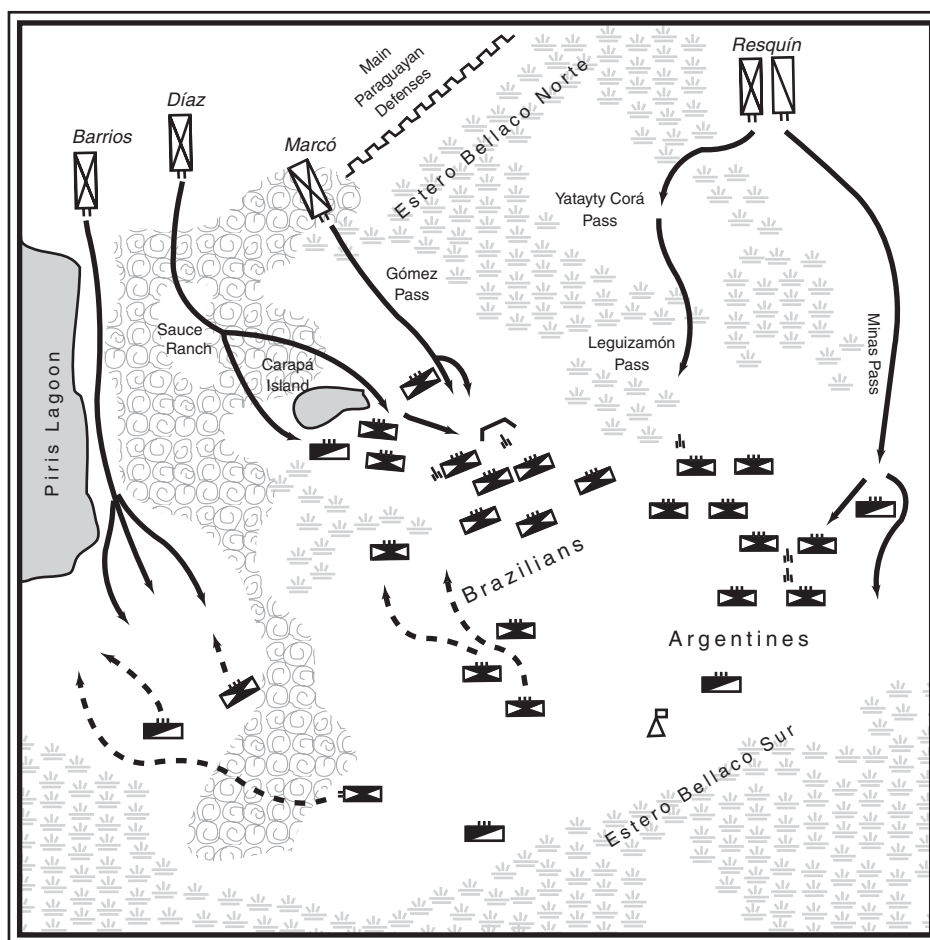
lano López's main body, digging in to the north of them behind the marshes known as Estero Bellaco Norte, the allied army is surprised when the Paraguayan leader orders Colonel Díaz's 5,500 troops to attack the invasion spearhead out of marshlands from the south—out of Estero Bellaco Sur.

This attack develops around midday, Díaz's columns smashing into the rear of three Brazilian battalions and forcing them to abandon their artillery. Four Uruguayan (*Orientales*) battalions with six guns are then pressed even farther north, before other allied relief columns hasten to their rescue. Díaz is eventually driven off after suffering 1,000 casualties and 300 captured, compared to more than 2,000 casualties among the allies.

MAY 24, 1866. *Tuyutí (First Battle).* From behind his defensive lines at Estero Bellaco Norte, Solano López decides to deploy 22,000 of his 25,000 Paraguayan troops in a preemptive assault against the 33,000 allied invaders massed opposite him at Tuyutí, before they can be reinforced by another



Allied troops waiting in a trench during the First Battle of Tuyutí. (Biblioteca Nacional, Montevideo)



First Battle of Tuyutí.

15,000 Brazilians marching inland. His attack is to consist of four columns wending their way through marshy pathways: Marcó's division, which is to use Gómez Pass and fall upon the enemy front lines; Colonel Díaz's division, which is to support Marcó on his western flank; General Resquín, who is to drive in the allied right; and Gen. Vicente Barrios's division, which will skirt Piris Lagoon to surprise the enemy left and rear.

Díaz's division fares the best in its approach, splitting around Carapá Island in the swamp to fall upon two Uruguayan battalions at 11:30 a.m. on May 24, only to then encounter three Brazilian battalions with 26 fieldpieces, who scatter the colonel's Paraguayans back into the jungle. Marcó comes up late and is three times repelled by the alerted allies. Resquín also makes a slow approach, his two battalions of infantry picking their way through Yatayty Corá and Leguizamón passes, while his eight cavalry regiments circle farther east via Minas Pass. The latter reach the allied right first, scattering some

Argentine cavalry squadrons before being bloodily repulsed by the bulk of their infantry. Meanwhile, Resquín's foot soldiers are sighted approaching and driven off with long-range fire. Barrios's is the last Paraguayan column to engage, several hours after this action has begun, and is also driven back. By 4:30 p.m., all four divisions are retiring, having suffered 6,000 killed and 7,000 wounded. Allied casualties are 4,100, but nonetheless their invasion is halted, so the Paraguayans claim victory.

JUNE 10, 1866. Two Paraguayan battalions advance through Yatayty Corá Pass and engage the allied army, still encamped around Tuyutí. They are repelled, and the next day 2,500 Paraguayans return to resume this action, eventually being driven off with 400 casualties, double the invaders' numbers.

JULY 16, 1866. The allied army at Tuyutí launches a surprise attack against the advance Paraguayan defenses around Carapá Island, only to be repulsed

after suffering 1,600 casualties. The same fate befalls its attempt two days later to overrun the Paraguayan defenses at Sauce Ranch; although initially successful, the columns of storm troops are in turn dispossessed by the defenders' counterattack and driven back with 2,500 casualties.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1866. *Curuzú.* To outflank Solano López's entrenchments at Estero Bellaco Norte, the II Brazilian Corps under the Barão de Porto Alegre sails up the Paraguay River from Itapirú, disembarking a mile and a half southwest of Curupaytí to engage 2,500 Paraguayans dug in at Curuzú with 13 cannon. The attackers suffer 800 dead, yet nonetheless kill 700 Paraguayans, wound 1,700, and overrun this position.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1866. *Curupaytí.* Following up their success at Curuzú, the allies advance north-eastward to storm the Paraguayan defenses around Curupaytí, held by 5,000 defenders and 49 guns under Gen. José Eduvigis Díaz. The Brazilian river squadron of Admiral Tamandaré begins a bombardment of these defenses shortly after 8:00 a.m., and by noon signals the awaiting 10,000 Brazilian and 5,000 Argentine troops that Curupaytí's batteries have been silenced.

However, when the allied assault columns break cover, they are almost immediately engulfed in artillery counterfire and suffer heavy casualties while working through the mangroves. The attack is therefore called off after 4,000 men fall—compared to only 92 Paraguayans—and by 5:00 p.m. the allies have returned into Curuzú.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1866. General Flores returns into Uruguay because of its unstable political situation.

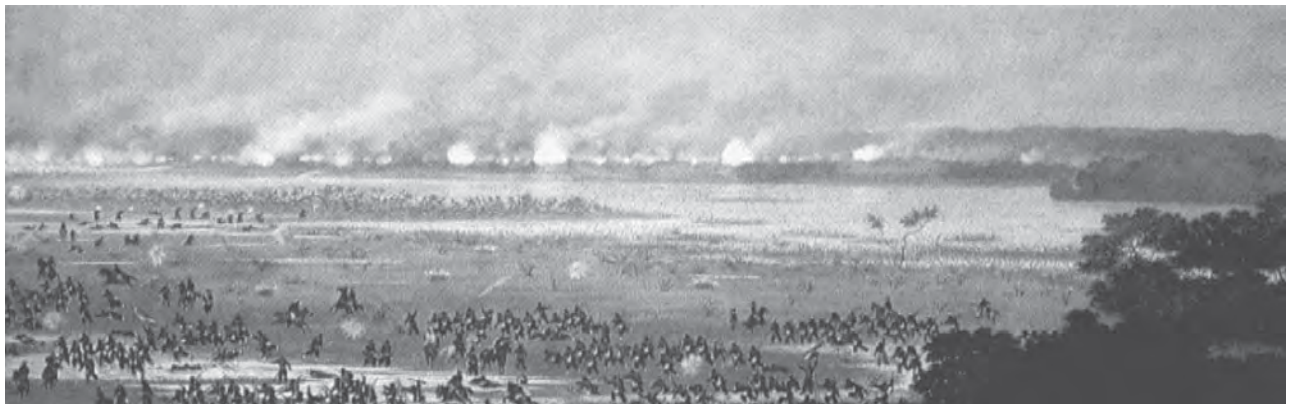
OCTOBER 1866. The 63-year-old general Luís Alves de Lima e Silva, Marquês (later Duke) de Caxias, replaces General Osório as commander in chief of the Brazilian forces in Paraguay.

NOVEMBER 9, 1866. An anti-liberal government revolt breaks out in Argentina's western province of Mendoza, started by impressed conscripts destined for service in Paraguay. The veteran leaders Juan and Felipe Sáa (*see* "November 16, 1860" entry in "Buenos Aires versus the Argentine Confederation"), plus colonels Juan de Dios Videla and Felipe Varela, return from exile with two battalions of Chilean volunteers to take control of this uprising, calling for peace to be made in Paraguay and the transfer of rural western Argentina to Chilean control.

General Paunero is instructed by the liberal administration in Buenos Aires to gather troops at Río Cuarto to mount a pacification campaign, while Col. Julio Campos advances from La Rioja with another 1,200 men for this same purpose.

DECEMBER 4, 1866. Shortly after Paunero's "Army of the Interior" marches out of Río Cuarto (Argentina), the 7th Cavalry Regiment—ordered to join his liberal ranks—also mutinies against the government.

JANUARY 2, 1867. The Argentine rebel colonel Varela defeats a liberal government force under



Paraguayan artillery salvos firing from the far side of the river at the Battle of Curupaytí, by Cándido López. The painter, a young Argentine subaltern at the time of this encounter, was badly wounded during the assault and his right forearm was later amputated, compelling him to learn to paint with his left hand. (Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires)

Commander Linares at Guandacol, thereby gaining control of La Rioja Province.

JANUARY 5, 1867. At Rinconada del Pocito (Argentina), Colonel Videla's rebel contingent defeats Campos's liberal troops, compelling the latter to flee into San Luis with only 200 followers. News of this disaster prompts Paunero to halt his drive against Mendoza at Desaguadero, where he is hounded by guerrillas under Felipe Saa. He finally decides to retrace his steps into Río Cuarto by February 5.

LATE JANUARY 1867. Because of Argentina's political unrest, Col. José Miguel Arredondo returns from the Paraguayan front with 3,500 troops and is ordered to reinforce Paunero's "Army of the Interior" with four liberal battalions—1,600 men—and two fieldpieces.

FEBRUARY 1867. President Mitre—commander in chief of the allied forces and in the field with Argentina's invasion army in Paraguay—returns home because of the growing seriousness of the anti-liberal revolt, which has now spread throughout San Luis, Mendoza, San Juan, Catamarca, and La Rioja provinces.

MARCH 4, 1867. The governor of Catamarca, Col. Melitón Córdoba, is defeated by a rebel contingent out of La Rioja Province.

MARCH 19, 1867. Argentine government troops reoccupy the rebel city of La Rioja.

MARCH 26, 1867. A cholera epidemic strikes the allied army in Paraguay, 2,400 troops dying at Curuzú alone. By early May, 13,000 Brazilian troops lie sick at Tuyutí.

LATE MARCH 1867. Having been reinforced by Arredondo, Paunero's 3,000-man army once again marches into San Luis Province with 10 fieldpieces to resume putting down its rebellion. During this advance, Arredondo is sent ahead toward Mercedes with a 1,600-man vanguard.

APRIL 1, 1867. *San Ignacio.* At San Ignacio Ford over the Quinto River (Argentina), Arredondo's 1,600 government troops encounter 3,500 rebel irregulars with eight fieldpieces under Juan Saa. The latter are defeated and dispersed by nightfall, so Paunero's main body reenters the city of San

Luis three days later and reclaims Mendoza by April 14.

APRIL 10, 1867. *Pozo de Vargas.* A mile and a half north of the city of La Rioja (Argentina), Gen. Antonino Taboada's 2,100 government troops are attacked by 4,000 rebels—including a battalion of Chilean volunteers—under Colonel Varela. In a sharp fight, the latter are routed, fleeing toward Jáchal. This victory effectively ends the antigovernment revolt in western Argentina.

EARLY MAY 1867. A 5,000-man Brazilian contingent, advancing from Mato Grosso Province into Paraguay under Colonel Camisao, is trapped south of the Apa River by Paraguayan troops and exterminated with the help of cholera and starvation.

MAY 25, 1867. The Paraguay River overflows its banks, flooding the miserable allied encampment at Curuzú and forcing its survivors to seek shelter at Tuyutí.

JUNE 5, 1867. A flying column of 400 Argentine government troops under Commander Charras drives Varela's rebels out of Jáchal and, by August 4, forces Varela to cross the border into exile in Bolivia with 1,000 followers.

JUNE 29, 1867. To break out of their Tuyutí deadlock, an allied contingent circles east of the Paraguayans' main defenses at Estero Bellaco Norte, gaining Tuyú Cué and sending 1,500 riders three miles farther north toward San Solano.

AUGUST 16, 1867. A brief insurrection occurs in Córdoba; Argentina's war minister is detained until a column of government troops can approach this city under General Conesa, causing this uprising to collapse.

AUGUST 29, 1867. The Argentine rebel Varela—having recrossed the border from Bolivia—defeats government colonel Pedro J. Frías at Rincón de Amaicha, then the next day administers a second reverse in Molino Valley.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1867. A Brazilian supply train carrying provisions from Tuyutí toward the allied flanking army at Tuyú Cué is ambushed by Paraguayan guerrillas, suffering 200 killed (as opposed to 80 attackers killed).



Uruguayan encampment during the War of the Triple Alliance. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Montevideo)

OCTOBER 3, 1867. At Tayí, a clash between advancing Brazilian forces and Paraguayan raiders results in 500 of the former being killed, and 300 of the latter.

OCTOBER 10, 1867. The Argentine rebel Varela fights his way into Salta, losing 125 men, as opposed to 15 defenders. Soon afterward, he is forced to abandon this city because of the approach of government troops under General Navarro, withdrawing toward Jujuy. Eventually, Varela is chased back into Bolivia, where his guerrillas are disarmed by that country's authorities.

OCTOBER 28, 1867. At Obella Ranch, the Brazilian army, while working its way around the Paraguayan's eastern flank, is ambushed, suffering 370 killed as opposed to 140 Paraguayan dead.

NOVEMBER 2, 1867. The Brazilian flanking army overruns 400 Paraguayans defending Guardia Tayí, killing them almost to the last man.

NOVEMBER 3, 1867. *Tuyutí (Second Battle).* To pressure the allies into recalling their eastern flank-

ing army, Solano López decides to launch a dawn attack with 8,000 Paraguayan troops against the 13,000 invaders still encamped at Tuyutí. Initially, this proves a great success, the attackers surprising the allied front lines and causing four Brazilian battalions to break and flee in disorder toward Itapirú. Much damage is then inflicted upon the supply dumps, which are looted and fired, the flames eventually spreading throughout half the allied encampment. Nevertheless, heavy Brazilian and Argentine counterattacks finally drive back the raiders, inflicting 2,500 casualties—double the defenders' numbers. Despite their more numerous losses, the Paraguayans come away claiming victory, feeling that they have dealt the invading host a crippling blow, thus slowing the progress of their penetration upriver.

DECEMBER 22, 1867. The garrison at Santa Fe (Argentina) mutinies under Col. José Rodríguez to protest the rule of Governor Oroño. The same occurs at Rosario two days later under Col. Patricio Rodríguez. Both incidents are resolved without bloodshed.

JANUARY 14, 1868. Mitre must return to Buenos Aires because of the death of his vice president.

FEBRUARY 6, 1868. In Montevideo, Col. Fortunato Flores—the 24-year-old son of the acting governor Venancio Flores—leads a revolt against his father, causing foreign warships anchored in the harbor to disembark troops to protect their national interests. The elder Flores eludes capture, thus, realizing that he has missed his chance, his son agrees to sail for Buenos Aires the next evening with a few adherents aboard the merchant steamer *Charrúa*. The foreign troops withdraw by February 8.

FEBRUARY 19, 1868. Uruguayan followers of Bernardo Prudencio Berro assassinate Venancio Flores in his carriage at Montevideo, sparking two days of rioting that culminate when Flores's sons kill Berro in revenge.

This same day of February 19, the Brazilian river squadron of Adm. José Joaquim Inácio fights its way past the well-fortified Paraguayan complex at Humaitá, thus gaining control of the Paraguay River. Inácio even detaches two ironclads and a monitor under Capt. Delfin Carlos de Carvalho to bombard the outskirts of its capital Asunción (population 15,000) five days later. This thrust, coupled with the Brazilian encirclement slowly closing in overland from the east, threatens a fatal interruption in Solano López's flow of supplies and compels the Paraguayan leader to at last begin evacuating his Estero Bellaco Norte defenses—the so-called *Cuadrilátero* or “Quadrilateral” stronghold—by early March.

Paraguayan contingents begin retiring north to establish a temporary defensive line on the Tebicuary River, and a more permanent one at Pikiciry Creek 20 miles below Asunción, while still fighting delaying actions at their old positions. Eventually, Solano López rebuilds his army to 18,000 men and 71 cannon, 5,000 being stationed on the Pikiciry, 8,000 being fortified at Itaibaté in the Valentinas Hills, and 5,000 and a dozen fieldpieces serving as a mobile reserve under 39-year-old general Bernardino Caballero. Despite the numbers, these Paraguayan forces include half-starved soldiers as young as 11 and as old as 60, with scant equipment or supplies.

MARCH 21, 1868. A Brazilian assault against the Sauce Ranch defenses, at the western end of Solano López's Estero Bellaco Norte entrenchments, finds only 100 defenders, who are easily overwhelmed. This is the first concrete sign of a general Paraguayan retreat and is followed by a gradual allied advance against the 3,000-man garrison still holding nearby Humaitá.

MAY 29, 1868. Faced with financial insolvency and an inland rebellion raised by Gen. Francisco Caraballo, the recently installed Uruguayan leader, Gen. Lorenzo Batlle, allows 1,100 foreign troops to disembark at Montevideo to maintain order until June 9.

JULY 15, 1868. *Fall of Humaitá.* After a brief siege, Brazilian troops storm this strategic Paraguayan river town, only to be repelled with 1,200 casualties. Nevertheless, its defense is doomed by a lack of supplies, and on the night of July 22–23, women, children, and noncombatants are stealthily evacuated by canoe to its opposite banks. Noisy celebrations are then held within Humaitá on July 24—Solano López's birthday—masking the garrison's intent to escape this same night. When the allies finally enter the town, they find it abandoned except for 180 cannon and 600 rifles.

AUGUST 5, 1868. The allies overtake a Paraguayan contingent fleeing from Humaitá, surrounding them and thereby receiving the surrender of 1,000 troops, 300 convalescents, 5 cannon, and 800 firearms.

AUTUMN 1868. After delegating 6,500 Argentine, 2,200 Brazilian, and 800 Uruguayan troops to maintain pressure upon Solano López's new defensive line from Angostura up the Pikiciry Creek, General Caxias slips across the Paraguay River at Las Palmas with 18,500 Brazilian soldiers to commence an advance up the western banks and take the enemy from the rear.

DECEMBER 6, 1868. *Itororó.* After recrossing the Paraguay River at San Antonio, Caxias's 18,500 Brazilians are checked at Itororó Creek by General Caballero's mobile reserve of 5,000 Paraguayans, rushed north to meet this threat. The attackers make a frontal assault directly across this stream, suffering 2,400 casualties—double the defenders' numbers—but still pushing back the overmatched Paraguayans.

DECEMBER 11, 1868. *Avahy.* Caballero's small Paraguayan army is annihilated after being overtaken on the southern banks of Avahy Creek by Caxias's Brazilians. The latter suffer 770 killed, as opposed to 3,500 killed and 1,000 captured (including 600 wounded) among the former's ranks. This victory allows Caxias to rest and reorganize his weary army at Villeta before pressing southeast toward the enemy concentration in the Valentinas Hills.

DECEMBER 21, 1868. *Itaibaté.* After recuperating at Villeta, Caxias's Brazilian army attacks Solano López's 8,000 troops at Itaibaté, seemingly carrying the defenses by sheer weight of numbers until the Acaamoroí Regiment—the Paraguayan leader's last reserves—turns the tide of battle by driving these storm columns back out of the trenches, leaving 1,000 Brazilian dead and 3,250 wounded. A simultaneous allied offensive against the 2,000 Paraguayans holding Pikiciry Creek fails to materialize, the main frontal assault under Gen. Juan Andrés Gelly y Obes being recalled after eight hours' wait in swampy terrain because Gen. João Manuel Menna Barreto's eastern flanking movement does not appear. At 5:00 p.m., however, this overdue contingent finally bursts out of a nearby woods and devastates the Paraguayan defense single-handedly, killing 680, wounding 100, capturing 100, and sending its survivors scurrying into the town of Angostura.

Six days later, after Caxias's main army has been reintegrated with 7,000 allied soldiers from Gelly y Obes's and Menna Barreto's contingents, a second attempt is made against Solano López's 4,000 remaining troops at Itaibaté. This time, the Paraguayans are routed, 1,500 being killed and a like number captured, compared to 467 dead among the 23,000 attackers. Solano López escapes toward his new capital of Luque with a small following, leaving Angostura to surrender the 1,200-man garrison under English-born colonel George H. Thompson by December 30.

JANUARY 5, 1869. Caxias's allied army takes and loots Asunción, while Solano López sets up a new government east of there—first at Luque, then at Piribebuy. Paraguayan resistance is reduced to guerrilla warfare, and Caxias decides to return to Brazil shortly thereafter.

JANUARY 12, 1869. Having invaded Argentina from Bolivia one last time—albeit with only 100 followers—rebel colonel Varela is defeated at Pastos Grandes in Salta Province by a government contingent under Col. Pedro Corvalán. Fleeing into Chile, he dies by 1870.

APRIL 16, 1869. The marshal Guilherme Xavier de Sousa is succeeded at Luque as commander in chief of the Brazilian occupying forces by the 27-year-old, French-born prince Louis Philippe Marie Ferdinand d'Orléans, Comte d'Eu, who is married to Pedro II's eldest daughter.

LATE MAY 1869. *Piribebuy.* After a lull in active campaigning, 20,000 allied troops under Brazilian general Conde d'Eu drive eastward against the last Paraguayan stronghold at Azcurra Pass, in the hill country 30 miles from Asunción. Artillery fire pins down the overmatched defenders, allowing Mitre to slide north and turn the Paraguayan right, while the Brazilians circle southeastward through Valenzuela to

Elisa Lynch

Elizabeth Alicia Lynch was born on June 3, 1835, in County Cork (Ireland), the daughter of a physician named John Lynch. Young Elisa, as she was known, seemed to have received a promising education before the family moved to join her eldest sister, Corinne, in France in 1847. On her 15th birthday, Elisa married a French military surgeon named Jean-Louis Armand de Quatrefages, moving with him to Algiers, before their unhappy union ended in divorce in 1853.

Returning to live in Paris with her mother, Adelaide (and possibly a Russian nobleman), Elisa met Francisco Solano López, eldest son of the Paraguayan dictator. In Europe to purchase armaments, steamers, and a railway for his South American nation, the 26-year-old officer was smitten by her beauty, and they became lovers. Ignoring protests from his younger brother Benigno, Solano left money and instructions for his pregnant mistress to follow him across the Atlantic when he returned home to become war minister in 1855.

During her layover in Buenos Aires that October, Elisa gave birth to their first son, who was baptized Juan Francisco after she reached Asunción that December. Although received with such antipathy from Solano's family and high society that they would never marry, Elisa lived in great luxury and style. After giving birth to a daughter named Corina Adelaida, Elisa bore Solano five more sons. Upon becoming president in 1862, he showered riches upon her, including 26 city properties, several large ranches, and more than 20 million acres of land.

She was spared during his descent into madness amid his military defeats a few years later, when Solano condemned even his own mother and brothers to death. After burying his body in March 1870, she was allowed to depart for Paris, allegedly with more than \$500,000 in jewels, gold, and cash. She returned to Paraguay five years later, at the invitation of President Juan B. Gil, to settle claims about her confiscated lands. Unable to reach any agreement, she was deported once more, dying forgotten and poor in Paris in 1886.

threaten Solano López's makeshift capital of Piribebuy from the rear. They overrun it on August 12, Piribebuy's 1,800 defenders suffering 700 killed and 1,000 captured, compared to 53 fatalities among the assault forces (including General Menna Barreto).

In a desperate bid to stem this envelopment long enough for his tattered army to escape northeastward, Solano López four days later orders a stand made at Acosta Ñu near the village of Barrero Grande by his rearguard of 4,500 boys, women, and old men under Caballero. They are overwhelmed by allied cavalry charges after a desperate resistance known to Brazilian historians as the "Battle of Campo Grande," enduring 2,000 killed and 2,300 captured. On August 18, Solano López's remaining 2,500 troops are chased across the Hondo River toward Caraguatay.

AUGUST 15, 1869. The allies establish a provisional government at Asunción.

AUGUST 18, 1869. Having pushed upriver toward Caraguatay, past the remnants of the Paraguayan steamer *Paraguari* (scuttled four days previously at the confluence of the Yhaguy and Manduvirá rivers), the allied squadron sights the anchored *Rio Apa*, *Yporá*, *Salto del Guairá*, *Amambay*, *Piraveve*, *Matei*, *Yberá*, and *Ybyrei*. All these Paraguayan steamers are torched and sunk rather than surrendered.

MARCH 1, 1870. At Corá Hill near the confluence of the Aquidabán and Nigui creeks in northeastern Paraguay, Solano López's last band of 100–200 soldiers and approximately 300 civilian followers is discovered by a Brazilian cavalry battalion sent by Gen. José Antônio Correia da Câmara and is wiped out. The president and his 18-year-old son, Juan Francisco or "Pancho," the vice president, cabinet ministers, and numerous military officers are all killed, only a handful of troopers and civilians surviving to be taken prisoner. Solano López's common-law wife, Elisa Lynch, buries his body, along with their son's, in a shallow grave dug with her own hands by sundown.

JUNE 20, 1870. Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay sign a preliminary accord formally ending this war. By its terms, Brazil gains the district between the Branco and Apa rivers, while Argentina acquires undisputed title over Misiones, as well as pushing the Chaco borderline as far north as the Pilcomayo River. Paraguay thus loses 38 percent of its territory, where all its heavy and most of its light industry is located.

Although free elections are promised within three months, the last Brazilian troops do not evacuate Paraguay until six years later, while Argentina continues to administer Villa Occidental until 1878 when—through the arbitration of U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes—it is restored to local control.

FENIAN RAIDS (1866–1870)

In October 1858, the "Fenian Brotherhood"—an American offshoot of the older Irish Republican Brotherhood—is secretly formed in New York City to help win Ireland's independence from British rule. For a few years after the conclusion of the American Civil War, one of its factions even prepares for cross-border raids into Canada as a means of pressuring Great Britain.

MARCH 7, 1866. Anticipating trouble from the increasingly belligerent Irish American organizations on Saint Patrick's Day, Lt. Gen. Sir John Michel—commander in chief of all British forces in Canada—orders 10,000 volunteer militiamen mobilized, only to have this day pass without incident.

MAY 27, 1866. Col. John O'Neill—formerly a Union captain in the 11th U.S. Cavalry Regiment—moves north by train out of Nashville with his 13th

Fenian Regiment and arrives in Buffalo two days later, having gathered further reinforcements en route. By May 31, approximately 1,500 Fenians are marshalled in anticipation of advancing across the Niagara River into Canada. British authorities respond by calling up 14,000 militia volunteers, plus another 6,000 two days later.

MAY 31, 1866. This night, Colonel O'Neill takes 800 Fenians aboard two steamers and four canal barges

Fenians

The hundreds of thousands of Irish immigrants who reached North America during the mid-19th century included many nationalists opposed to British rule over their homeland. These radicals were known, both in Ireland and abroad, as “Fenians”—a name derived from the Celtic *Na Fianna* or *Na Fianna Éireann*, a mythical band of ancient warriors formed to defend that island. In 1850, a young fugitive in Paris named James Stephens created an “Irish Republican Brotherhood,” hoping to forge a global movement based upon the Jacobin model from the French Revolution.

Eight years later, he endorsed the emergence of an American branch called the “Fenian Brotherhood.” This secret society was organized in New York City by John O’Mahony and Michael Doheny. The latter was a captain (later colonel) in the 9th New York State Militia, while O’Mahony soon became colonel of the mainly Irish American 69th Infantry Regiment. Both units served in the Union cause during the Civil War.

The Fenian Brotherhood held a convention in Chicago in November 1863, its 82 delegates agreeing to raise funds to purchase arms by selling bonds, which could be redeemed “six months after the recognition of the independence of Ireland.” After the American Civil War ended in the spring of 1865, some discharged veterans even answered Stephens’s appeal to return and try to set Ireland free, only to be arrested there.

A rival faction sprang up within the Fenian Brotherhood in October 1865, however, led by the wealthy businessman William R. Roberts. He called instead for cross-border raids into the neighboring British colony of Canada. Their aim would be to seize a few transportation hubs, establish a foothold (giving their movement a vaguely defined “belligerent status”), and then exchange them for the liberation of Ireland. Federal authorities in Washington did little to discourage these Fenian preparations, as official resentment against London’s lackluster support of the Union during the Civil War still lingered.

Yet when O’Mahony, anxious to outdo his challenger Roberts, raised his own small force in April 1866 and pushed across the border from Eastport (Maine) to seize the Canadian island of Campobello, American officials reacted quickly. His munition ship, the *Ocean Spray*, was impounded, deflating this attempt. Humiliated by his so-called Eastport Fizzle, O’Mahony resigned the Fenian presidency on May 11, clearing the way for Roberts to launch his own attempt.

at Lower Black Road (New York), disembarking the next dawn at Fort Erie (Ontario) to commence his invasion of Canada.

Realizing that the Welland Canal will be this enemy’s likely objective, British major general George Napier concentrates 850 men of Lt. Col. Alfred Booker’s 2nd Battalion (Queen’s Own Rifles), the 13th Battalion (Hamilton Infantry), and the York and Caledonia Rifle Companies at Port Colborne at its southern end, while Col. George Peacocke’s 16th Regiment, three companies of the 47th Regiment, and a detachment of artillery muster at Saint Catherine’s to its north—later being joined by the 10th Royal Regiment, Lincoln militiamen, two more companies of regulars, and the governor general’s bodyguard.

JUNE 2, 1866. *Ridgeway.* After detraining at dawn, Booker’s troops advance up Ridge Road toward Stevensville (Ontario), only to be unexpectedly fired upon a mile and a half away by O’Neill’s Fenians, who have occupied positions along Limestone Ridge. After three hours of long-range exchanges, the 500 invaders are about to retreat when the Canadians mistakenly form into squares, believing that they are about to be outflanked by enemy

cavalry (of which the Fenians have none). The invaders therefore fire upon this easy target, at which Booker’s redcoats break and flee in the general direction of Fort Erie, having suffered 9 dead, 32 wounded, and 6 prisoners.

Later this same day, O’Neill overruns Fort Erie, enduring 9 killed and 14 wounded while capturing its 42-man British garrison (6 of whom are injured). But realizing that their prospects are now dim, the Fenians thereupon reembark for Buffalo, only to have their barge intercepted by the U.S. gunboat *Michigan*, which arrests virtually all participants in O’Neill’s adventure.

JUNE 7, 1866. Another force of 500–1,000 Fenians crosses the frontier near Saint Armand (Missisquoi Bay, Quebec) under Brig. Gen. Samuel Spier, occupying this town plus Pigeon Hill, Cooks Corners, Frelighsburg, and Stanbridge. The British dispatch the Prince Consort’s Own Rifle Brigade, the 25th Regiment, the 7th Regiment, the Royal Guides, border volunteers, and the No. 2 (Hochelaga) Field Battery to confront this incursion.

JUNE 9, 1866. This afternoon, British defense forces enter deserted Saint Armand, and the Royal

Guides overtake 200 Fenians retiring southward into the United States, killing several and capturing 16.

JUNE 22, 1866. A small body of Fenians returns to Pigeon Hill near Saint Armand (Quebec), firing ineffectively upon the 21st Battalion of the Richelieu Light Infantry before withdrawing. Most Fenian captives held by the U.S. authorities are released after posting nominal bonds, and are even given free rail tickets home upon promising that they will never try to invade Canada again.

MAY 22, 1870. After a four-year hiatus, British lieutenant colonel W. Osborne Smith receives notice to expect another round of Fenian raids—despite the fact that Canada is no longer officially a British colony but, rather, an independent nation since July 1, 1867 (although still allied to London).

MAY 25, 1870. *Stanbridge.* Fenian general O'Neill advances from his base camp at Franklin (Vermont), threatening the Quebec border near Saint Armand. Smith departs Montreal by rail for Saint Jean with companies of the 1st Prince of Wales Rifles, the 3rd Victoria Rifles, the 5th Royal Light Infantry, the

6th Hochelaga Light Infantry, and the Montreal Troop of Cavalry.

Disembarking at Saint Jean, Smith presses on eight miles farther into Stanbridge with the Victoria Rifles and Montreal Cavalry alone, reinforcing the handful of defenders ensconced atop Eccles Hill, three miles east of Pigeon Hill. A couple of hours later, 350–400 Fenians charge across the border at double-time, immediately drawing fire from Lt. Col. Brown Chamberlain's advance British detachment. Breaking for cover, the Fenians and British then snipe at long range throughout most of this day, until the invaders attempt to wield a fieldpiece into position at 5:00 p.m. Smith immediately directs a rapid advance in skirmishing order, causing the Fenians to flee in disarray, the engagement ending by 6:00 p.m. Fenian losses are estimated at 5 dead and 15–18 wounded, while the Canadians suffer no casualties.

MAY 27, 1870. Another small force of Fenians advances up the Trout River and crosses into Canada near Holbrooks Corners (Quebec). They are confronted by seven militia companies of the 50th Battalion (Huntingdon Borderers) and one of the 69th Regiment regulars, advancing from nearby



Encampment of the 60th Canadian Battalion at Pigeon, or Eccles, Hill. (National Archives of Canada)

Huntingdon to engage. Advancing at the double and firing as they move, the Canadians and British drive the Fenians back across the border, killing three, capturing one, and wounding several, while

suffering no casualties of their own. Aside from an attempted invasion of Pembina, Manitoba, in October of the next year, the Fenians never again attack Canada.

RED RIVER EXPEDITION (1870)

By 1869, Britain's private Hudson's Bay Company completes negotiations with the two-year-old Canadian government of Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald to sell its vast territory—called "Rupert's Land"—which will become incorporated into this new dominion. However, the local French and Indian residents (known as *Métis*) have not been properly consulted about this change, so they form their own provisional government under Louis David Riel to deal directly with Ottawa. Setting up his headquarters at Fort Garry (modern Winnipeg), Riel draws up a list of conditions, most of which are accepted when Canada passes the Manitoba Act on May 12, 1870.

Nevertheless, during the standoff, an Ontario settler named Thomas Scott has been executed by a *Métis* firing squad, so Macdonald orders Col. Garnet J. Wolseley, quartermaster-general of the British forces in Canada, to lead an expedition to the Red River mouth and depose Riel, as well as quell any further outbursts.

EARLY MAY 1870. Wolseley departs Toronto by train, his expedition consisting of 250 regulars of the 60th Regiment under Lt. Col. Randle Joseph Feilden, 370 militiamen apiece from the 1st Ontario Rifles under Lt. Col. Samuel Peters Jarvis and 2nd Quebec Rifles under Lt. Col. Louis Adolphe Casault, plus a Royal Artillery detachment under Lt. James Alleyne and a contingent of Royal Engineers under Lieutenant Heneage. They travel to Collingwood on Georgian Bay, where they transfer aboard the steamers *Algoma* and *Chicora*, reaching Fort William on Lake Superior by the morning of May 25.

JUNE 4, 1870. After gathering 150 boats, 280 local guides and voyageurs, plus abundant provisions, the advance elements of Wolseley's 1,400-man expedition begin departing Fort William westward on an epic 500-mile march over wilderness trails.

AUGUST 4, 1870. After an exhausting series of portages, Wolseley reaches Fort Francis and refreshes before pressing on toward Fort Garry.

AUGUST 20, 1870. Wolseley reaches Fort Alexander to find his vanguard—the regulars of the 60th Regiment, plus gunners and engineers—awaiting him. Rather than give time for his trailing militia—



Lord Wolseley. (National Archives of Canada)

Garnet Wolseley

Garnet Joseph Wolseley Jr. was born on June 4, 1833, at Golden Bridge House in County Dublin (Ireland). He was the eldest of seven children of a major in the 25th "King's Own Borderers" Regiment of Foot. His father died when Garnet was seven, so his mother struggled to raise the large family alone. Bright and inquisitive, Garnet worked briefly in a surveyor's office before being commissioned on March 12, 1852, as an ensign in the 12th Regiment of Foot. He entered "without purchase" because of his father's past military service and his own lack of funds.

Garnet soon transferred to the 80th Foot to see active duty in India, initiating a career that carried him to the farthest corners of Queen Victoria's empire. While fighting in the Second Burmese War, he was severely wounded in a thigh, promoted to lieutenant in May 1853, and sent home to recuperate. The next year, he joined the 90th Light Infantry and went to Crimea, serving as assistant engineer at the siege of Sebastopol, and was so seriously wounded that he lost the sight in his right eye. Still, Wolseley finished this war as a captain, a deputy assistant quartermaster-general of the Light Division, and a recipient of the French *Légion d'Honneur* (5th Class), and was recommended for the Victoria Cross.

After six months of peacetime duty at Aldershot, he shipped out again with the 90th in March 1857 for India and was wrecked in the Strait of Banka, before gaining Singapore and hastening on to Calcutta to help put down the Great Mutiny. In addition to his exceptional bravery and energy, Wolseley was also unusually intellectual for a line officer. He served as quartermaster under Maj. Gen. Sir James Hope Grant in India, as well as three years later in China, and was promoted to lieutenant colonel by the age of 25. Wolseley furthermore published his first book upon returning, *A Narrative of the War with China*.

Wolseley was sent to Canada amid the *Trent* diplomatic confrontation, arriving on January 5, 1862. When this incident was resolved, he remained at Canadian headquarters in Montreal and traveled into the United States to meet with commanders on both sides of the Civil War. Wolseley also continued his studies and writing and was promoted to full colonel by June 5, 1865. He improved Canadian militia training and helped repel Fenian raids during the summer of 1866. When his Canadian appointment ended, he returned to England in April 1867 and married, only to be sent back to Montreal that same September as deputy quartermaster-general. When it became obvious early in 1870 that an expedition was to be sent to the Red River to oversee the transfer of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories from Hudson Bay Company rule, Wolseley submitted such a detailed plan of operation that he was given command.

Upon its successful conclusion, he returned to England in October 1870 and received a couple of knighthoods. Wolseley helped reform the War Office the next year, as assistant adjutant-general. His meticulous planning of the expedition that he would lead against the Ashanti in Ghana in West Africa in September 1873 drew great praise. He was promoted to major general, showered with honors, and immortalized in Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta *Pirates of Penzance* as "the very model of a modern major general, with information vegetable, animal, and mineral." Garnet Wolseley died a field marshal and viscount and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in London.

men to catch up, the colonel the next day decides to proceed into Fort Garry with only this strength.

AUGUST 22, 1870. Wolseley's vanguard reaches the Red River mouth and the next evening sights Fort Garry, bivouacking outside until August 24 when he enters and finds it empty—Riel and his followers having withdrawn southward into the United States.

As early as August 29, Wolseley begins withdrawing the first of his regulars, who return into their barracks by October, leaving Fort Garry to the Canadian militiamen and the governor designate Adams Archibald. Riel eventually returns to his farm at Saint Vital, south of Saint Boniface, and quietly resumes agrarian life over the next few years before being again declared an outlaw in 1875.

ARGENTINE UNREST (1870–1890)

This South American nation continues to be racked by factionalism, military coups, and civil war between the *Unitarios*—now more commonly referred to as *Liberales*, who largely represent the white elites—and the *Federales* or “Federalists,” comprised of rural *mestizo* cattlemen and laborers.

APRIL 11, 1870. After nightfall, a band of disgruntled federalists under the Cordoban renegade Simón Luengo push their way into San José Estate and assassinate the now discredited general Urquiza, governor of Entre Ríos Province. Instead, his 47-year-old military subordinate Gen. Ricardo López Jordán is proclaimed as federalist governor three days later at the capital of Concepción del Uruguay by a narrow vote in the provincial legislature. The national liberal president, Domingo F. Sarmiento, refuses to recognize this succession, though, so both sides begin marshalling their armies for a confrontation.

MAY 20, 1870. *Arroyo Sauce.* López Jordán, having advanced toward the Paraná River, is confronted at Sauce Creek (a branch of the Nogoyá River) by 1,700 government cavalrymen, 1,200 infantrymen, and 160 gunners manning a half-dozen fieldpieces under General Conesa. Although the former commands 9,000 riders, they prove to be so ill disciplined that they are easily scattered by the better-armed regular soldiers.

JULY 7, 1870. Government troops from General Gelly y Obes’s “Corrientes Army” occupy Concordia.

JULY 12, 1870. López Jordán reoccupies his capital of Concepción del Uruguay.

JULY 14, 1870. Government troops reach the liberal stronghold of Gualeguaychú and, five days later, beat off an assault by some of López Jordán’s federalist followers.

OCTOBER 12, 1870. *Santa Rosa.* After avoiding action for the past several months, López Jordán’s 9,000 men attack Col. Ignacio Rivas’s 4,000 government troops at Santa Rosa Creek (an affluent of the Gualeguay River, 20 miles east-southeast of Villaguay). The opening assault is a headlong charge by 3,000 riders against Rivas’s left, followed by another 1,000 troopers against his right.

Nevertheless, the superior weaponry of the government forces—Remington rifles and Krupp cannon—allow them to drive off these attacks, as well as an attempt to fall upon the government rear by another 3,000 insurgents. After a hard-fought, three-hour battle, López Jordán withdraws, having killed 36 and wounded 103 government soldiers, while suffering about three times as many casualties among his own ranks.

NOVEMBER 18, 1870. Some 1,200 López Jordán followers wrest Gualeguaychú from its 200-man government garrison under Colonel Villar. The defenders suffer 32 dead, while slaying 150 assaulters. As a result of this setback, President Sarmiento appoints Colonel Arredondo—a notoriously callous, even brutal commander—to lead all government forces in Entre Ríos, with “unlimited power to pacify the province at all cost.”

DECEMBER 5, 1870. Col. Francisco Borges’s government garrison successfully defends the city of Paraná against 3,000 of López Jordán’s partisans, led by Col. Carmelo Campos.

JANUARY 26, 1871. *Ñaembé.* Desperate to break out of his encirclement in Entre Ríos Province, López Jordán marches northward into neighboring Corrientes with 6,000 riders, 1,000 infantrymen, and nine fieldpieces. Seven miles east of Goya, on the southern banks of Ñaembé Lagoon, he falls upon its provincial governor—Col. Santiago Baibiene—who is busily mustering 2,000 government foot soldiers, 1,000 cavalrymen, and a half-dozen cannon.

Despite his surprise, Baibiene immediately advances with his infantry, hoping to bottle up López Jordán’s larger army before it can fully deploy. When the latter’s mounted vanguard streams back in defeat, this retirement disrupts other rebel formations marching into battle. At this critical moment, Baibiene strikes frontally with his foot soldiers, plus along both flanks with his cavalry. López Jordán’s



Argentine troops. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

ill-disciplined army is broken and chased all the way back to the Corrientes River, leaving behind 600 dead, 550 prisoners, all their artillery, and 52 supply wagons. Government losses total 190 casualties.

FEBRUARY 14, 1871. Arredondo defeats 1,500 of López Jordán's followers under Col. Carmelo Campos at Gená Creek, an affluent of the Guauguaychú River, killing 20 and capturing 100.

MARCH 6, 1871. Liberal government colonel Donato Alvarez, commanding 620 troopers, defeats 900 insurgents under Colonel Leiva at Punta del Monte in the Department of Guauguay. This action effectively marks an end to López Jordán's first rebellion, the leader fleeing into Brazil with 1,000 surviving followers, where they are disarmed.

JANUARY 1, 1872. In the early hours before dawn, *gaucho* followers of a mystic named Gerónimo E. "Tata Dios" Solané—adorned in scarlet, the color of the federalists, as opposed to the blue of the liberals—

murder more than 30 immigrant farmers and their families in the remote frontier town of Tandil.

EARLY MARCH 1872. *Indian Wars.* The Araucano chieftain Calfucurá raises his people in revolt against Argentine incursions into their desert tribal lands, sacking the towns of Alvear, 25 de Mayo, and 9 de Julio with his 3,500 warriors. Rivas overtakes these raiders with his 1,800 troops, defeating them after several hours of hard fighting around San Carlos fortress, near Bolívar (170 miles southeast of Buenos Aires).

MAY 1, 1873. López Jordán returns from Brazilian exile to invade his native Entre Ríos Province, toppling its liberal governor. President Sarmiento dispatches Col. Luis María Campos to deal with this second rural rebellion, and the latter skirmishes against López Jordán's elusive partisans at Guauguaychú on May 9, at Arroyo Ayuí four days later, at Arroyo Lucas north of Villaguay on June 29, at Guauguaychú once more on October 17, and at Arroyo Atencio (a branch of the Feliciano River)

on October 25, without being able to deal this insurrection a crushing blow.

OCTOBER 31, 1873. The 500-man government garrison holding La Paz under Lieutenant Colonel Méndez, frantically evacuates this city upon the approach of 3,000 rebels. Méndez loses half his troops to enemy action or drowning and is subsequently court-martialed and demoted.

DECEMBER 8, 1873. *Don Gonzalo.* The liberal government colonel Juan Ayala, who has also been actively campaigning against López Jordán's *gaucho* followers, comes upon a 2,000-man rebel concentration under Col. Carmelo Campos at Talita Creek (a branch of the Alcaraz River), killing 200 and capturing 170 before scattering the remainder. Nearby at Don Gonzalo Creek, an affluent of the Feliciano River, lies López Jordán's main body of 5,000 riders, 1,000 infantrymen, plus 500 gunners and auxiliaries to man 8–10 ancient fieldpieces.

Col. Martín de Gainza—Argentina's minister of war, who is serving in the field—strikes across the Alcaraz this same night and, the next day, closes in upon López Jordán's army. The battle begins at 3:00 p.m. on December 9 with an hour-long artillery exchange, after which the rebels attempt an enveloping movement against Gainza's right flank with three cavalry regiments, an infantry battalion, and two cannon. Thanks to their superior Remington rifles and battlefield discipline, the government troops are able to break this assault, then drive López Jordán's column back to the far side of Molle Creek in disarray. The rebels fare no better in the center, nor farther west, being pushed across Don Gonzalo Creek by 7:30 p.m., leaving behind 250 dead, 250 prisoners, and all their artillery. (Another 300 insurgents drown while attempting to ford the creek.) Gainza suffers some 100 killed.

DECEMBER 22, 1873. Government colonel Villar's 300 troopers defeat double this number of insurgents under General Carballo at Nogoyá. A few more minor skirmishes occur, but López Jordán's second rebellion is concluded, the leader retiring into Uruguay.

MARCH 15, 1874. A rupture in the unitarian movement is healed when the Autonomist Party of Vice President Adolfo Alsina Maza merges with the Nationalist Party of Nicolás Avellaneda, creating the united Partido Autonomista Nacional. One month

Julio Roca

Alejo Julio Argentino Roca Paz was born in the northwestern city of San Miguel de Tucumán on July 17, 1843. The son of a former aide to Marshal Santa Cruz, Roca's family moved to the small city of Concepción del Uruguay in Argentina's Entre Ríos Province. At the age of 13, young Julio was enrolled as a cadet in the Colegio Nacional. By mid-March 1858, he was serving as a subaltern in the Army of the Confederation. The next year, Roca campaigned in Urquiza's ranks against the unitarians of Buenos Aires, climaxing with a victory at Cepeda. Roca also commanded a fieldpiece during the Confederate defeat at Pavón in September 1861, without losing his cannon.

After serving briefly as secretary to his uncle, Dr. Marcos Paz, he switched his allegiance to the unitarian cause. Roca fought with the 6th Line Infantry Regiment of Lt. Col. José Miguel Arredondo against Peñaloza's federalist revolt of 1862–1863. Roca then achieved such distinction at the Battle of Curupaytí and other actions during the War of the Triple Alliance (in which his father and two brothers died), that he ended it assigned as lieutenant colonel of the 7th Line Infantry Regiment at Salta. When the federalist López Jordán raised yet another anti-unitarian revolt in April 1870, Roca marched his regiment from Córdoba to reinforce Arredondo in the Mesopotamia district. At the Battle of Ñaembé, he won promotion to full colonel.

Named in 1872 to command the garrison at Río Cuarto, Roca married a wealthy woman from Córdoba. When Mitre's revolt erupted two years later, he moved swiftly with his Army of the North, defeating his former commander Arredondo at Santa Rosa in December 1874. Promoted to general by a grateful president, Avellaneda, Roca became a leading figure in the newly created Partido Autonomista Nacional. Three years later, his chief rival Adolfo Alsina died on campaign, so Roca succeeded him as minister of war. In 1879, he launched the ruthless "Conquest of the Desert," which propelled him to the presidency at 37 years of age.

later, the latter wins the presidential election amid charges of widespread fraud.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1874. *Mitre's Revolution.* After five months of bitter arguments following the fraud-ridden election of April 14, Mitre's Nationalist Party encourages an uprising to prevent Sarmiento's succession by Avellaneda. When the Buenos Aires newspaper *La Prensa* is closed for preaching such sedition, the 115-man crew of the 4-gun, 550-ton, British-built gunboat *Paraná* mutinies under marine



Julio Roca, during his second presidential term. (Author's Collection)

colonel Erasmo Obligado, followed by Colonel Rivas's division south of the capital, as well as General Arredondo's garrison at Villa Mercedes in San Luis Province—which in the process also kills its commander, General Ivanowski.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1874. Arredondo reaches Río Cuarto after a three-day forced march, hoping to surprise its Autonomist garrison under his former subordinate, Col. Julio A. Roca. Instead, he finds the city empty.

OCTOBER 3, 1874. Arredondo's Nationalist forces enter Córdoba, but soon depart this city toward Villa Mercedes upon finding no support, plus Roca is closing in from Bell Ville with a gradually increasing army.

OCTOBER 29, 1874. *Santa Rosa (First Battle).* While marching upon Mendoza, Arredondo's 2,500 Nationalist troops are intercepted 45 miles south-

east of the city by 2,000 Autonomist troops under Lt. Col. Amaro Catalán. Arredondo smashes through the defenders' southern flank and disperses them after two hours of hard fighting, during which Catalán succumbs. A total of 350 casualties are inflicted upon both sides, the victors furthermore capturing 80 prisoners. Arredondo then enters Mendoza three days later.

NOVEMBER 2, 1874. Mitre joins Rivas's rebel division at Médanos, 25 miles west of Tuyú, plus 1,500 Indians under Chief Catriel. The next day, they proceed westward, hoping to join forces with Arredondo around Mendoza.

NOVEMBER 3, 1874. San Juan Province rises in favor of the Autonomists.

NOVEMBER 10, 1874. Mitre's Nationalist vanguard under Lt. Col. Francisco Leyría scatters an Autonomist concentration under Col. Julio Campos at Gualicho Creek, south of Las Flores, killing 180 defenders.

NOVEMBER 13, 1874. Learning that Roca is approaching with a large Autonomist army, Arredondo exits Mendoza and takes up a defensive position at Santa Rosa.

NOVEMBER 14, 1874. Mitre's Nationalist army reaches Tapalqué, but because it is closely pursued by Autonomist forces under colonels Julio and Luis María Campos, it continues this same day toward Olavarría and San Carlos. Morale is now starting to fade among Mitre's followers, thus four days later 600 of his Indian supporters switch allegiance.

NOVEMBER 24, 1874. *La Verde.* At dawn, Autonomist lieutenant colonel Arias enters the hamlet of La Verde and learns that he is directly in the path of Mitre's approaching Nationalist army. Realizing that the latter is closely followed by other Autonomist forces, Arias decides to dig in with his 550 infantrymen—all well-armed with Remingtons—and 350 carbine-toting troopers to check this enemy progress.

Two days later, Mitre's 5,500 followers appear and launch a four-pronged assault against the hill-top ranch and orchard held by the Autonomists. Without artillery or other modern weaponry, the assault columns are unable to discomfit the defenders and quickly suffer 260 casualties before giving

up in despair. Mitre orders his army to continue their march westward, but that same night at least 1,500 of his men desert.

DECEMBER 2, 1874. Arias overtakes Mitre's remaining 2,500 followers at Junín and receives the ex-president's surrender.

DECEMBER 6, 1874. *Santa Rosa (Second Battle).* Roca's 4,500 Autonomist troops arrive at Santa Rosa to find Arredondo's similar-sized Nationalist army dug in along the Tunuyán River bank, with three cannon and two machine guns—having furthermore flooded the fields to the north of this entrenchment in the mistaken belief that their enemy will prove much more numerous. Despite such obstacles, Roca leaves a small detachment to threaten Arredondo's front, while making a nocturnal encirclement to the Nationalist rear.

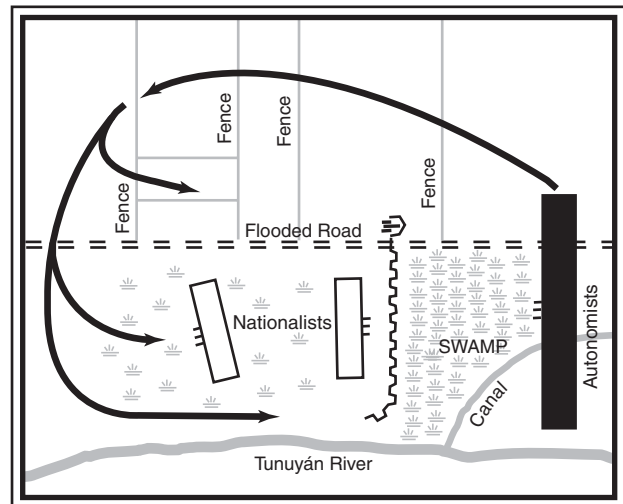
By 7:00 a.m. on December 7, his main Autonomist army is stationed two and a half miles behind Arredondo and launches its attack. Caught off guard, the Nationalists deploy their reserve to counter this assault, while also fearing an attack from their front. Because of soggy terrain, cavalry prove of little use, so within three hours the Nationalists are routed, suffering 300 casualties and 2,000 prisoners (including Arredondo), as well as the loss of all their artillery and equipment. Roca's ranks suffer 200 casualties.

JANUARY 1, 1876. A pursuit column under Lt. Col. Lorenzo Wintter defeats the combined Indian bands of chiefs Catriel and Manuel Namuncurá at Tigra Lagoon, southeast of Olavarría, capturing tens of thousands of their cattle and livestock. The next day, Col. Conrado Villegas inflicts a similar setback upon 200 natives at San Carlos near Tapalqué.

MARCH 10, 1876. Troopers under Col. Salvador Maldonado defeat 2,000 warriors at Horqueta del Sauce, at the southern extreme of Buenos Aires Province, who are returning from a raid into Argentine territory.

MARCH 18, 1876. Col. Nicolás Levalle defeats 3,000 warriors at Paragüil Lagoon, 50 miles west of Juárez, before they can invade Argentine territory.

MARCH 20, 1876. A month-long operation begins, involving 3,700 cavalymen in five distinct columns, pushing Argentine control farther south into Indian



Second Battle of Santa Rosa.

territory, as well as digging a 360-mile trench between Bahía Blanca and the southern portions of Córdoba Province to impede native movements.

NOVEMBER 27, 1876. López Jordán reenters Entre Ríos Province from exile in Uruguay with a handful of followers. After clashing with a government cavalry patrol, they penetrate into the interior and attempt to raise a third federalist revolt.

DECEMBER 7, 1876. At Alcaracito south of La Paz, López Jordán's followers—now numbering 800 men—are surprised by government colonel Juan Ayala's vanguard and dispersed after a brisk hour-long fight. Discouraged, López Jordán proceeds into Corrientes Province, where he is arrested. (He eventually escapes confinement at Rosario, returning into exile in Uruguay.)

APRIL 2, 1879. *Roca's Desert Campaign.* As a climax to Argentina's lengthy struggle to clear and claim its southwestern desert tribelands for development by homesteaders, War Minister Roca initiates a coordinated sweep intended to pitilessly hunt down and eliminate any native resistance within this region. Almost 5,200 troopers armed with Remington rifles are employed and divided into five columns, which strike out between April 2 and May 10: the 4th Cavalry Regiment under Lt. Col. Napoleón Uriburu departing San Rafael in Mendoza Province; the 3rd Cavalry Regiment under Col. Eduardo Racedo riding out of Villa Mercedes in San Luis Province; the 5th Cavalry Regiment

under Col. Hilario Lagos proceeding out of Trenque Lauquen in the province of Buenos Aires; the 2nd Cavalry Regiment under Col. Nicolás Levalle leaving from Carhué in the province of Buenos; while Roca himself heads out of Azul in the province of Buenos Aires with the 1st Cavalry Regiment. These columns are furthermore accompanied by 820 Indian allies.

In a three-month campaign, 1,600 Indians will be killed or captured, and another 11,500 will submit as vassals. Argentine cattle ranches spring up throughout these newly conquered lands.

APRIL 1880. Largely because of his celebrated “Conquest of the Desert,” General Roca wins the presidential election to succeed Avellaneda, although his opponent—Dr. Carlos Tejedor, governor of Buenos Aires—refuses to acknowledge this fact and threatens civil war. On May 10, both men meet aboard the gunboat *Pilcomayo* to attempt to resolve this impasse, but fail.

JUNE 2, 1880. A shipment of 3,500 Mauser rifles reaches Buenos Aires, which outgoing President Avellaneda has ordered impounded. Instead, they are brought ashore and used to arm Tejedor’s followers; hence, two days later Roca declares Belgrano to be his new capital and Tejedor in a state of rebellion.

JUNE 17, 1880. Col. José Inocencio Arias—marching to join the Buenos Aires troop concentration at Mercedes—is overtaken by two opposing cavalry regiments under Colonel Racedo at Olivera, between Mercedes and Luján. Arias succeeds in dispersing them, suffering some losses in a brief pursuit, before resuming his progress toward the rendezvous. His numbers soon swell to 7,000 men, with whom he marches east toward the capital the next day.

JUNE 20, 1880. *Buenos Aires Assault.* Forces loyal to President-elect Roca close in upon the capital, an 800-man cavalry column under Colonel Levalle being one of the first to test its perimeter by being repelled in a probe against Barracas Bridge.

The next day, Racedo’s troops storm Alsina Bridge from the south, forcing Arias to redeploy at Los Corrales (modern Patricios Park) after a bloody engagement that inflicts 1,200 casualties on both sides. The defenders are again forced to retreat by afternoon, this time into Buenos Aires proper, which

is moreover blockaded by the Argentine Navy on its seaward side. Tejedor requests terms two days later and, after a week’s negotiations, resigns as governor.

OCTOBER 12, 1880. General Roca is officially sworn in as Argentina’s new president.

MARCH 8, 1881. General Villegas leads 1,700 Argentine troopers—divided into three brigades—in a sweep through the Neuquén and Río Negro districts, converging upon Nahuel Huapi and driving various nomad native bands across the border into Chile.

NOVEMBER 15, 1882. The first of three Argentine cavalry columns sets out under Col. Nicolás Palacios from Chocle-Choel Island in the Negro River to pacify Indian resistance in the foothills of the Andes around Neuquén, Río Hondo, and



Chief Manuel Namuncurá, wearing an Argentine officer's uniform after his surrender. (Archivo General de la Nación, Argentina)

Chubut. Eventually, a total of 1,400 troopers are deployed under the overall command of General Villegas, killing 360 natives and capturing 1,730 by March 1883 in a campaign that blocks the Andean passes with border posts and results in the creation of Neuquén Province.

JANUARY 1, 1884. While probing deep into the Indian territory of Patagonia, Lt. Col. Lino Oris de Roa's 100 troopers are ambushed in Alto Senguer Valley by 300 natives, but they repel this attack.

MARCH 24, 1884. The native chief Namuncurá accepts the amnesty terms offered by the Argentine government, surrendering along with his 300 remaining followers to Lt. Col. Pablo Belisle. This marks an end to most native resistance in the south.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1884. The first of five military columns strikes northward into the untamed Chaco district to push Argentina's northern border as far as the Bermejo River.

JULY 26, 1890. *Campos's Coup.* With Argentina in the grip of a dire economic crisis, Gen. Manuel J. Campos gathers 1,300 troops—three battalions of infantry, the 1st Artillery Regiment, an engineering battalion, and senior cadets from various military academies—in Buenos Aires's Artillería Park (site of the modern Tribunales Palace) to proclaim a revolt against President Dr. Miguel Juárez Celman. The naval squadron offshore also joins in, prompting Juárez Celman to flee the capital by train toward Rosario, while leaving his vice president, Dr. Carlos Pellegrini, to deal with this crisis.

Loyal troops quickly attack the rebels, trapping them in Artillería Park and setting off a night of bloody fighting, during which more than 1,000 people lose their lives. At dawn of July 27, Campos requests a truce to tend to the wounded, then surrenders two days later.

AUGUST 6, 1890. The disgraced president Juárez Celman tenders his resignation and is succeeded in office by Pellegrini.

PORFIRIAN DICTATORSHIP (1876–1897)

Political turmoil continues to wrack Mexico, especially when the increasingly unpopular Juárez announces in 1871 that he will seek yet another term as president. A group of officers—Negrete, Toledo, Cosío Pontones, Chavarría, and others—stage a coup on October 1, seizing the arsenals in Belén Jail and La Ciudadela at Mexico City, while calling for a general insurrection. They are quickly put down by troops loyal to the government under generals Alejandro García, Rocha, and 39-year-old Donato Guerra. But then retired general Porfirio Díaz, hero of the struggle against the French, also proclaims his opposition to the president's reelection from his ranch at La Noria in Oaxaca.

Although crushed both in his home state and Zacatecas, Díaz and Juárez's other enemies persist with guerrilla campaigns until the president dies of natural causes on July 18, 1872, leaving 49-year-old Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada as his successor. The latter retains power, a 2,250-man army under Ramón Corona defeating 6,000 rebels under Manuel Lozada at La Mojonera in the state of Jalisco in late October 1873.

However, when Lerdo de Tejada announces that he, too, will run for another term three years later—thus perpetuating his faction's stranglehold over power—Díaz again raises the banner of revolt, proclaiming the "Tuxtepec Plan" on January 10, 1876, which calls for no further reelections of Mexican presidents.

NOVEMBER 16, 1876. A small rebel army under Díaz defeats troops loyal to Lerdo de Tejada's government at Tecoac, prompting the president to resign from office four days later.

NOVEMBER 26, 1876. Lerdo de Tejada flees Mexico City toward Veracruz, taking ship to New York (where he dies in exile 13 years later).

MAY 1877. Díaz is elected president of Mexico, gradually beginning the task of overhauling its bankrupt administration while installing loyal placemen throughout all departments.

JUNE 24, 1879. This evening, nine opposition leaders in Veracruz are arrested and executed the next day by Gov. Luis Mier y Terán, on Díaz's orders.

DECEMBER 1, 1880. One-armed veteran general Manuel González—a protégé of Díaz—is elected president of Mexico.

DECEMBER 1, 1884. Despite his earlier opposition to presidential reelections, Díaz is once more installed into office, which he will hold uninterrupted for another 26 years (being elected eight times in all and serving six full terms).

JANUARY 28, 1885. *Yaqui Wars.* A native war party under Loreto Molina attacks the home of 47-year-old Yaqui leader Cajeme (whose Hispanicized name is José María Leyva) at Guamúchiles, in the remote northwestern state of Sinaloa. Failing to find

this chieftain, they arrest several of his followers, beat his family, then loot and torch his household before withdrawing. In revenge, Cajeme declares war against his rivals, and a tribal civil war erupts.

Mexico's authorities—who because of past difficulties have ignored the Yaqui, allowing them to live autonomously—now decide to reimpose their rule over this troubled region. An expedition of 2,200 men is assembled and divided into two columns, one under Gen. José Guillermo Carbó, the other under Gen. Bonifacio Topete. While the former remains around Guaymas, the latter penetrates into the Sierra Madre Range, until checked by the Yaqui mountain fast at El Añil (near Vicam, Sonora). Despite bombarding its moat, stakes, and palisades with a small fieldpiece, Topete is unable to carry this stronghold. By July, he retires because of the onset of torrid summer weather.

OCTOBER 1885. Carbó dies, being temporarily succeeded by Gen. Marcos Carrillo, before Ángel Martínez arrives in January of the following year to assume command over all Mexican forces in Sonora and Sinaloa.



Mexican infantry parading through a northern garrison town in 1889, by Frederic Remington. (Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas)

MARCH 1886. General Carrillo marches east out of Guaymas (Sonora) with 1,200 soldiers to reduce El Añil, while Martínez proceeds southeastward with 1,500 to subdue the neighboring Mayo tribes.

MAY 5, 1886. After a fierce struggle, Carrillo compels Cajeme's Yaqui to quit their mountain stronghold of El Añil, although most of the natives escape farther northeastward into the mountains.

MAY 11, 1886. *Buatachive.* Cajeme concentrates 4,000 Yaqui tribesmen at another mountain stronghold: Buatachive, located 10 miles north of Tórim in the Bacatete Range (Sonora). Martínez approaches with 1,400 troops, finding its three-and-a-half-mile perimeter protected by a system of trenches and stone walls.

This night, however, Col. Lorenzo Torres leads 300 Mexican soldiers to the heights above Buatachive, and when Martínez sees his company become engaged the next dawn, he attacks with his main army divided into four assault columns, supported by artillery. The Yaqui are defeated, suffering 200 dead and more than 2,000 noncombatants captured, while Cajeme again escapes deeper into the mountains with a band of survivors. Mexican casualties total 21 dead and 48 wounded.

MAY 27, 1886. A number of Yaqui and Mayo chieftains submit to the Mexican authorities at Tórim (Sonora).

JUNE 22, 1886. *Guichamoco.* At Guichamoco Beach, Colonel Torres encounters Cajeme, who is leading 1,500 Yaqui warriors across open country for a surprise attack against Gen. Juan Hernández's Mexican garrison at nearby Médano (Sonora), in hopes of gaining desperately needed weapons. Torres charges and easily scatters this poorly armed host, killing 62 and effectively ending organized Yaqui resistance under Cajeme.

APRIL 12, 1887. After living in Guaymas for two months under an assumed name, Cajeme is betrayed to Torres and Martínez by an Indian woman and arrested at dawn. The chief is then taken aboard the frigate *Demócrata* on the night of April 21, sailed up the Yaqui River, and executed at Córorit four days later as a disincentive to his adherents.

MAY 20, 1887. The Yaqui chieftain Anastasio Cuca—Cajeme's second-in-command—is extradited

from Tucson (Arizona) and returned into Sonora to be executed.

JUNE 1887. Believing the Yaquis to be pacified, Martínez withdraws his troops, only to have Córorit overrun two days later by their new leader, Tetabiate (whose Hispanicized name is Juan Maldonado).

JULY 1887. Torres is appointed governor of Sonora, delegating the wealthy 33-year-old local landowner Ramón Corral to actually carry out these duties.

JANUARY 5, 1888. Heraclio Bernal Zazueta, a brigand and would-be revolutionary popular among the citizenry of the state of Sinaloa for "robbing from the rich to give to the poor," is killed in a battle with Mexican Army troops.



Surrender of Teobiate outside Guaymas. (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico)

FEBRUARY 1889. After a year and a half of sporadic Yaqui raids, the newly appointed military commander for this district—Gen. Julio M. Cervantes—offers the rebels a general amnesty, which is ignored.

MARCH 1890. Marcos Carrillo replaces Cervantes and resumes the Mexican Army's patrols against rebel Yaqui bands in the mountains of Sonora and Sinaloa.

FEBRUARY 1892. Carrillo dies at Tórim (Sonora), being replaced the next month by Gen. Abraham Bandala.

OCTOBER 29, 1892. Porfirian *federales* wipe out the rebellious town of Tomochic in Chihuahua, killing or arresting all its inhabitants.

DECEMBER 1896. Col. Francisco Peinado, commander of the 5th Cavalry Regiment, begins a cor-

respondence with the renegade Yaqui chieftain Teobiate in the Sierra Madre Range, proposing an armistice. Four months later, this chief and 400 of his warriors accept the colonel's amnesty, meeting at La Cieneguita between Bacatete and Tetacombiato to finalize terms.

MAY 15, 1897. At a ceremony held at Ortiz Station outside Guaymas, Teobiate's rebel band arrives from La Misa with a cavalry escort from Peinado's 5th Dragoon Regiment and submits to Gov. Luis E. Torres.

Ironically, Díaz's original opposition to presidential reelections will instead see him remain in power until early 1911, his military and political might helping convert him into the so-called Strong Man of the Americas. The early part of his reign is buoyed by many Mexicans' desire for peace and stable government after so many decades of fractious rule; however, his stranglehold eventually results in the cataclysmic explosion called the Mexican Revolution.

WAR OF THE PACIFIC (1879–1883)

Years of bitter wrangling between Bolivia and Chile over the arid but nitrate-rich Atacama Desert are reignited when the 38-year-old Bolivian dictator general Hilarión Daza—his impoverished Andean nation faced yet again with bankruptcy—violates the existing arrangement by levying a heavy new tax in February 1878 upon the Chilean Nitrate Company operations at Antofagasta.

NOVEMBER 8, 1878. Chile's president Aníbal Pinto Garmendia—beset with considerable economic woes of his own due to collapsing metal prices, drought, and a lack of currency—sends a diplomatic note to protest Daza's tax increase, who responds by calling for even stiffer measures. When the Chilean manager at Antofagasta refuses to pay the increased levies, he is imprisoned and the Nitrate Company's properties are seized.

NOVEMBER 16, 1878. While entering the senate chamber in Lima, Peru's 44-year-old ex-president Manuel Pardo is assassinated by Sgt. Melchor Montoya, who is disgruntled at his failure to secure an officer's commission.

LATE DECEMBER 1878. The Chilean government dispatches the battleship *Blanco Encalada* to Antofagasta.

FEBRUARY 1, 1879. After months of diplomatic exchanges and in protest to the visit to Antofagasta by the Chilean battleship, the Bolivian government announces that it will officially expropriate all nitrate operations, selling off their leases along with its railway two weeks later.

FEBRUARY 10, 1879. Santiago severs diplomatic relations with La Paz.

FEBRUARY 14, 1879. The Chilean battleship *Cochrane* and corvette *O'Higgins* under the 52-year-old admiral Juan Williams Rebolledo advance northward from Caldera and deposit Col. Emilio Sotomayor Baeza with 700 marines and soldiers in Antofagasta to prevent the Bolivian authorities from auctioning off the impounded properties of Chile's Nitrate Company. The 60-man Bolivian garrison retires toward Cobija and Tocopilla, without offering resistance.

Atacama Desert

The Atacama is known as “the driest place on Earth” and is 50 times more arid than California’s Death Valley. Its desolate landscape covers 70,000 square miles of mostly sand, salt basins, and lava flows. This desert is often described as “moon-like.” Its rainless plateau runs inland for roughly 100 miles between the Pacific and the Andean foothills, and more than 600 miles north to south between latitudes 18° and 26° S.

Not surprisingly, such daunting terrain held no attraction for Spanish settlers. Throughout the colonial era, it was recorded on maps as the *despoblado de Atacama* or “uninhabited Atacama.” It acted as a natural barrier, separating Peru from Chile. All communications had to circle around by ship, except for the few vessels calling every year at Arica to service the rich mining districts in the Bolivian highlands.

During the mid-18th century, a few thousand Chileans began settling along the Atacama’s southern fringe, founding the city of Copiapó by 1746. Local mining began, and small quantities of *salitre* or nitrates were extracted from farther north in the desert around Tarapacá. Overseas demand for nitrates boomed during the late 1830s as the Industrial Revolution gained speed. More than 30 ships departed Huasco in 1838, bearing minerals for plants in Europe or North America. Exports multiplied so fast that a railway was laid between Copiapó and its new outlet of Caldera in 1851. Within three years, that port’s population reached 2,000 inhabitants, while Copiapó’s stood at 12,500.

Chileans and their foreign backers dominated the nitrate business, probing ever higher into the harsh Atacama for new deposits. Up in the Andes, Bolivia sought to reassert ownership over its once-worthless Pacific coastline by contesting Chile’s claim to control as far up as latitude 23° S. After wrangling for a few years, an agreement was struck in 1866, tacitly recognizing Bolivia’s claim by establishing a boundary at latitude 24° S.

However, the Chilean and British-funded operations soon reached that line. A major new nitrate plant went into production by October 1869, drawing raw ore from both sides of the border and exporting vast amounts through a railway completed two years later between La Noria and the port of Iquique. Bolivia therefore protested once again in 1872, so a new agreement had to be made two years later. Taxes on all Chilean operations between latitude 23° S and 25° S were to be split equally between both nations for 25 years. In February 1878, the bankrupt government at La Paz violated this arrangement for a third time, finally leading to open war.

FEBRUARY 20, 1879. Daza learns of the Chilean occupation of Antofagasta and replies five days later by requesting aid from his secret ally Peru, before declaring war against Santiago on March 1. The Chilean government—contemptuous of Bolivia’s poverty and lack of military resources—ignores this declaration until April 5, while Peru (reluctant to become drawn into the conflict) instead offers to mediate. Its diplomatic mission, though, is threatened by angry mobs in the Chilean capital on March 7 for siding with Bolivia.

MARCH 23, 1879. Colonel Sotomayor advances from the mining town of Caracoles with 540 men and defeats a hastily assembled force of Bolivian militiamen under Col. Ladislao Cabrera at Calama on the Loa River. Shortly thereafter, Chilean warships also occupy Cobija and Tocopilla, being rejoined at this latter port by Sotomayor’s land column and bringing his total strength to 1,400 men.

APRIL 2, 1879. Having learned of the secret protocol existing since 1873 between Bolivia and Peru,

Chile prepares to sever diplomatic relations with Lima the next day, then officially declares war against both countries on April 5. None of the three nations is really capable of sustaining hostilities. Bolivia’s population of 2 million maintains a standing army of only 2,300 ill-equipped regulars, Peru (population 2.7 million) maintains an army of 5,250 soldiers, while Chile’s 2.5 million people support 2,900 soldiers. The Chileans’ great advantage lies in their pair of modern, 3,500-ton, 300-man, English-built ironclads, the *Almirante Cochrane* and the *Blanco Encalada*, which their opponents cannot equal.

APRIL 5, 1879. Despite having been ordered to attack Peru’s main naval base of Callao in a preemptive strike, the Chilean admiral Williams anchors off the port of Iquique instead with his battle squadron, instituting a close blockade in hopes of compelling his naval foes to seek battle. Infirm and obsessed with winning the Conservative Party’s nomination for Chile’s presidential elections two years hence, Williams will act with excessive caution throughout the forthcoming campaign.



Chilean troops paraded at Antofagasta. (Museo del Morro de Arica, Chile)

Meanwhile, Chilean columns pushing out of Antofagasta clear the Atacama Desert of the last Bolivian troops, easily driving them up into the Andes.

APRIL 12, 1879. Four days after Peruvian captain Aurelio García y García has sailed from Callao with the aim of disrupting Chilean sea communications south of Iquique with the 16-gun, 1,600-ton, French-built, wooden corvette *Unión* of Capt. Nicolás del Portal and the 7-gun, 700-ton, English-built gunboat *Pilcomayo* of Capt. Antonio C. de la Guerra, they sight the 4-gun, 950-ton, English-built Chilean corvette *Magallanes* of Capt. Juan José Latorre Benavente off Punta Chipana. The latter immediately flees northwestward. The pair of Peruvian warships pursue, although only the *Unión* can overtake and open fire at a range of two miles by 10:50 a.m. Ineffectual salvos are exchanged until 1:00 p.m., when the *Unión's* engines fail. That *Magallanes* regains the main Chilean squadron concentrated off Iquique, while the *Pilcomayo* puts into Ilo for coal and the *Unión* limps toward Callao for repairs.

MAY 16, 1879. Stung by public criticism of his inactivity, the Chilean admiral Williams leaves the elderly, 12-gun, 200-man, 850-ton, wooden corvette *Esmeralda* and 4-gun wooden gunboat *Covadonga* to maintain his blockade of Iquique and sails his battle squadron in a feint against Arica, then continuing past to invest his originally intended target of Callao. During his passage northward he unwittingly misses a Peruvian squadron steaming in the opposite direction under 45-year-old captain Miguel Grau Seminario, who intends to lift the blockade of Iquique.

MAY 21, 1879. *Iquique.* Grau appears off this port with his 5-gun, 1,130-ton, 200-man turreted flagship *Huáscar* and the 22-gun, 2,000-ton ironclad *Independencia* of Capt. Juan Guillermo Moore. Both Peruvian vessels are quite old, yet nonetheless more than a match for the wooden Chilean blockaders *Esmeralda* and *Covadonga*, which they pursue. However, the *Independencia* runs aground near Punta Gruesa, then is totally lost when Capt. Carlos Condell de la Haza's *Covadonga* turns and shells it into a wreck. (The chagrined Moore later quits the

Peruvian Navy in disgrace, eventually vindicating his honor by a heroic stand in defense of Arica; see “June 1, 1880” entry.) The *Huáscar* meanwhile rams the *Esmeralda*, whose 31-year-old captain Arturo Prat Chacón bravely leaps aboard the Peruvian flagship with a single follower, only to be shot down while his vessel sinks.

A few days after this encounter, Admiral Williams arrives off Callao and learns of his detachment’s defeat. This news prompts him to return southeastward, searching for Grau. The latter slips past the Chileans again and reenters Callao by early June for a refit, in anticipation of launching more seaborne raids.

JULY 6, 1879. Grau departs Callao with the *Huáscar* and a few auxiliaries, surprising the blockaders *Abtao* and *Magallanes* off Iquique three days later and almost sinking the armed transport *Matías Cousiño* before being driven off toward Arica by the arrival of the powerful Chilean warship *Cochrane*.

JULY 17, 1879. Grau puts to sea again, his *Huáscar* seizing the Chilean frigate *Adelaida Rojas* two days later off Antofagasta, then wreaking havoc among the boats of Chanaral on July 20 and at Huasco the

next day. On July 22, he also captures the cargo vessel *Adriana Lucía*.

Then on July 23, Grau’s *Huáscar*—in concert with the *Unión*—intercepts the Chilean troop transport *Rímac* of Capt. Ignacio Luis Gana, which is bearing 260 cavalry troopers and 215 mounts of the Yuncay Carabineers Regiment of Lt. Col. Manuel Bulnes. The *Unión* is subsequently detached still farther south to Punta Arenas to intercept war matériel reaching Chile around the Strait of Magellan, while the *Huáscar* reverses course northward to shell Antofagasta, as well as to attack the ports of Caldera, Coquimbo, Taltal, Tocopilla, and Tongoy.

These distractions in turn allow other Peruvian vessels to carry supplies for Gen. Juan Buendía’s military buildup at Tarapacá, who is to be joined at nearby Arica by 7,000 poorly armed Bolivians marching down out of the Andes under Daza. Given the failure of Chile’s navy to secure control over the seas, Admiral Williams—completely outclassed by his Peruvian counterpart Grau—is compelled to resign in favor of Adm. Galvarino Riveros Cárdenas.

OCTOBER 7, 1879. *Angamos.* After three months of successful hit-and-run raids against Chilean tar-



Peruvian ironclad *Huáscar* narrowly avoids being rammed by the Chilean warship *Cochrane* at right, while the *Blanco Encalada* hastens to join the action at left, by Thomas Somerscales. (Museo Naval de Chile)

gets, Grau is steaming northward when he reappears off Antofagasta with the *Huáscar* and the even swifter *Unión* of Capt. Aurelio García. He silently penetrates its harbor with his flagship at 1:10 a.m. to find it empty. The Peruvian warships therefore reunite at 3:00 a.m. and continue northward, little realizing that five of their Chilean pursuers—the *Blanco Encalada*, the *Cochrane* under Capt. Latorre Benavente, the 412-ton *Covadonga* under Capt. Joaquín Orella, the 1,100-ton *O'Higgins* under Capt. Jorge Montt, and the 1,675-ton transport *Loa* under Capt. Javier Molina—have been alerted at nearby Mejillones and are preparing to intercept.

At daybreak of October 7, the *Huáscar* and the *Unión* sight the Chilean *Blanco Encalada*, *Covadonga*, and *Loa* 40 miles north of Antofagasta, and use their superior speed to circle past their opponents. However, off Angamos Point by 7:00 a.m., they realize that they are being driven toward the *Cochrane* and the *O'Higgins*. The fast-steaming *Unión* is able to race past, being chased by the *O'Higgins* and the *Loa*, but the Peruvian flagship is pressed against the coast.

Cornered, the *Huáscar* bravely opens fire at 9:25 a.m., striking the *Cochrane*, but not a crippling blow. The *Cochrane's* countervolleys of armor-piercing shells, starting 15 minutes later after it closes to within a mile, quickly incapacitates the steering aboard Grau's flagship, as well as kills the Peruvian admiral along with his second-in-command, Capt. Elías Aguirre. The *Blanco Encalada* also comes up by 10:15 a.m., and both Chilean men-of-war attempt to ram the *Huáscar*, narrowly missing it and each other. However, their combined fire so fiercely rakes the Peruvian vessel that several fires break out, three-quarters of its crew are either killed or wounded, and its flag is hauled down by 10:55 a.m. Exultant Chilean boarding parties come aboard to find the *Huáscar's* sea valves open, but they are able to close them and steam their prize into Mejillones, from where it will be taken to Valparaíso for repairs and eventually become incorporated into the Chilean Navy.

OCTOBER 28, 1879. *Pisagua.* Having gained complete mastery over the seas with the death of Grau, the 63-year-old brigadier general Erasmo Escala Arriagada departs Antofagasta with a 9,500-man Chilean expedition, intending to outflank the Peruvian and Bolivian armies with a surprise disembarkation at Pisagua and Junín.

At dawn of November 2, the unprepared garrison at Pisagua—900 Bolivian infantrymen of the

Independencia and Victoria battalions under colonels Pedro Pablo Vargas and Juan Granier, as well as 400 Peruvian artillerymen under Col. Isaac Recabarren—are astonished to behold the Chilean fleet entering their bay. The warship *Cochrane* silences the single 100-pound gun in the northern harbor castle with its opening salvo at 7:15 a.m., before proceeding to engage the southern fort. Yet despite pummeling the shoreline, the first disembarkation of 450 Chilean troops at Playa Blanca is greeted at 10:00 a.m. by heavy gunfire, and the 8,000 invaders suffer 330 killed or wounded before eventually fighting their way atop the bluffs at Alto Hospicio. Another 1,500 come ashore without loss at nearby Junín, thereby establishing a Chilean beachhead for an overland encirclement of Iquique.

Over the next couple of weeks, the Peruvians and Bolivians will fall back along the railroad line as the invaders press inland. Finally, the Peruvian commander in chief Buendía gathers perhaps 10,000 troops with which to march northward from Iquique to catch Escala from both the front and rear in conjunction with Daza's 7,000 Bolivians, who are advancing southward across the desert from Arica.

NOVEMBER 18, 1879. *Pozo Dolores or San Francisco.* After occupying the oasis at Dolores Railway Station, an advance Chilean contingent from Escala's army detects the approaching host of Peruvian and Bolivian troops under Buendía. This 6,000-man Chilean vanguard—the Coquimbo, 4th Line, and Atacama regiments under Colonel Sotomayor, as well as some chasseur and grenadier cavalry squadrons—hastily throws up a defensive line extending for almost two miles below a small mountain crowned with their artillery, overlooking the Dolores well at San Francisco.

At dawn of November 19, the first of the approaching columns crests Chiniquiray Hill, and Buendía begins deploying his 4,200 Peruvians and 3,200 Bolivians for battle, along with 18 fieldpieces. A few chance exchanges spark a general round of fighting prematurely, ill-coordinated Peruvian and Bolivian thrusts being decimated by the defenders' 34 modern pieces of Krupp artillery, directed by mercenary German officers who are veterans of the Franco-Prussian War. An attempt by the 2nd Bolivian Division of Gen. Pedro Villamil to circle westward around the Chileans' position is checked by artillery fire from atop Dolores Hill, and all the attackers eventually grow discouraged. By afternoon, Buendía disappears from the battlefield, leaving his

regimental commanders to lead their men off into the night in defeat. They circle southeastward toward Tarapacá in the hope of slipping northward through the Andean foothills to join the main allied concentration at Tacna. Daza's army has turned back as well because of heat and the lack of any logistical support.

The triumphant Escala therefore resumes his advance and occupies the abandoned port city of Iquique by November 23, from where he detaches Col. Luis Arteaga with 3,900 men to go in pursuit of Buendía's defeated army.

NOVEMBER 27, 1879. *Tarapacá.* At dawn, Colonel Arteaga with his Chacabuco Battalion, as well as five battalions from the 2nd Chilean Line Regiment of Lt. Col. Eleuterio Ramírez and the Sapper Regiment of Cmdr. Ricardo Santa Cruz, plus a squadron of mounted grenadiers and 10 fieldpieces, appears in the hills west of the city of Tarapacá, believing—through faulty intelligence and overconfidence—that they are about to rout a demoralized segment of Buendía's disintegrated army. Arteaga therefore prepares to launch an immediate frontal assault against the city with one of his columns, while a second under Ramírez seizes the vital Huaracina wells, and a third under Santa Cruz hastens to cut off any escape through Quillaguasa Pass.

Instead, the 3,000 forewarned defenders of the 2nd Peruvian Division under Col. Andrés Avelino Cáceres of the Zepita Regiment move swiftly out of the city to counterattack the surprised Chileans at 9:15 a.m., driving Arteaga back for a couple of miles. Another 1,400 Peruvian troops then join in, having hurried back from their more distant encampments, to produce a full-scale engagement that ends with 800 Chilean casualties (including the death of Lieutenant Colonel Ramírez) as well as the loss of all their artillery. The Peruvians suffer 500 casualties of their own, colonels Cáceres and the elderly Francisco Bolognesi having distinguished themselves during this clash; however, they break off their pursuit at Minta Hill to resume their retirement northwest toward Tacna. After an arduous march through the desert, they arrive there on December 18.

DECEMBER 18, 1879. Having deposed Buendía and left Rear Adm. Lizardo Montero in overall command of the armies in southern Peru, while himself returning from Tacna into Lima, the Peruvian president Mariano Ignacio Prado unexpectedly sets sail from his capital for Europe to raise funds, ships, and



Soldier of the 2nd Chilean Line Regiment. (Museo del Morro de Arica, Chile)

other matériel needed to sustain his nation's war effort. Three days later, his vice president, Gen. Luis La Puerta, is overthrown by a popular uprising, and Prado's longtime political rival Nicolás de Piérola is installed into office as the new president on December 23, promptly branding his predecessor a traitor for desertion.

DECEMBER 27, 1879. Disgraced by his abysmal performance in the field, Daza is deposed in a coup at Tacna directed by Col. Heliodoro Camacho and replaced in office at La Paz by the popular general Narciso Campero. Under the latter's rule, Bolivia will attempt to revive its military fortunes, although its efforts continue to be feeble.

DECEMBER 31, 1879. The 500-man Lautaro Battalion of Lt. Col. Arístides Martínez is landed at Ilo, brushing aside its few startled Peruvian defenders before riding the railway to Moquegua, then withdrawing on January 2, 1880.

LATE FEBRUARY 1880. A 12,000-man Chilean expedition under Escala quits Iquique and Pisagua, sailing north-northwestward to disembark at Pacha near Ilo, from where it is to advance inland and threaten the main Peruvian concentration at Tacna, while the Chilean fleet blockades its supply port of Arica. Through such a strategy, the outnumbered invaders hope to draw the defenders out into the open for battle, where the superior weaponry and discipline of the Chileans can excel.

MARCH 9, 1880. A Chilean raiding force comprised of the 3rd Line Regiment, the Naval Regiment, as well as some sappers and chasseurs disembarks at the port of Mollendo and sweeps aside its 100 Peruvian defenders, before sacking the buildings and tearing up railway lines.

MARCH 12, 1880. The 57-year-old brigadier general Manuel Baquedano, commanding Escala's spearhead, strikes inland across the desert toward Moquegua, which he occupies on March 20 in the hope of provoking a Peruvian counterattack.

MARCH 21–22, 1880. *Cuesta de los Ángeles.* A short distance beyond Moquegua, the vanguard of

Baquedano's advancing Chilean army encounters 2,000 Peruvians under Col. Agustín Gamero dug in across a defile called Cuesta de los Ángeles, which proves to be such an unusually strong position that it will have to be taken by storm. Therefore, the Atacama Regiment stealthily circles around the Peruvian right overnight and scales the heights, surprising the hilltop defenders from their rear at 6:15 a.m. on March 22, just as the 2nd Chilean Line and Santiago regiments launch a direct assault against the positions lower down at Quilin-Quilin. Caught between two fires and being shelled by the invaders' artillery, the Peruvians are overwhelmed, although Baquedano's troops suffer heavy losses in gaining this victory.

MARCH 28, 1880. Disappointed with the performance of elderly general Escala, Chile's war minister Rafael Sotomayor Baeza forces his resignation, replacing him with the more vigorous Baquedano.

APRIL 8, 1880. Still unable to lure Montero's main army out of its defenses around Tacna, Baquedano gradually pushes southeast out of Moquegua across the desert, arriving within 20 miles of his objective one month later.

Manuel Baquedano

Manuel Jesús Baquedano González was born in the Chilean capital on January 1, 1823. The son of a cavalry colonel, he studied at the Juan de Dios Romo School and Chilean National Institute until the age of 15. When his father's chasseur regiment shipped out to fight in the War of the Peru-Bolivia Confederation, he stowed away. Discovered after several days at sea, the youthful Baquedano was allowed to take part in clashes on Peruvian soil. He even received a temporary commission as ensign in August 1838.

After hostilities ceased, he returned home and completed his military studies. Baquedano became a lieutenant in his father's regiment in January 1845, then transferred to the mounted grenadiers in December. Promoted to captain five years later, Baquedano was in command of a company at the La Moneda presidential palace when Col. Pedro Urriola attempted a liberal coup on April 20, 1851. Baquedano successfully resisted on behalf of conservative president Manuel Bulnes and also fought loyally beside him when a second liberal revolt erupted that September. It concluded with a conservative victory at Loncomilla on December 8, even though his own father and brother Eleuterio were among the rebel ranks.

In April 1854, Baquedano himself was implicated in a barracks uprising so was posted to La Frontera. Rather than waste away on such a remote station, he retired from active duty, becoming a prosperous rancher near the small city of Los Ángeles. Baquedano also remained involved in militia affairs, so was recalled to duty as a lieutenant colonel late in 1868 to help to put down a native rebellion. He was rewarded with command of his father's old cavalry regiment in September 1869 and returned into Santiago to begin a steady rise up through the ranks.

When the War of the Pacific began a decade later, he was a wealthy and well-connected brigadier general. He distinguished himself so well during the storming of Los Ángeles Defile, that War Minister Rafael Sotomayor promoted him in the field to replace General Escala. (Exasperated with Escala's conduct of the campaign, the minister even added that, "Wherever Baquedano goes, there is no gossip.") Despite his subsequent string of victories, the headstrong Baquedano was criticized by contemporaries and historians alike for his lack of tactical subtlety. He often launched direct assaults against fixed positions, resulting in excessive casualties.

MAY 16, 1880. The Chilean war minister Sotomayor reaches Baquedano's encampment at Yaras, near Tacna, but four days later suffers a fatal heart attack during lunch.

MAY 25, 1880. *Tacna.* After a few Chilean teamsters have been captured by the Junín Hussars and taken before the new Bolivian president and allied commander in chief, General Campero, some 13,650 Peruvians and Bolivians advance this evening from their encampment atop a promontory christened *Alto de la Alianza* or "Alliance Height," intending to surprise the approaching 14,000 Chileans within a deep ravine called Quebrada Honda on the road into Tacna. However, the allies' nocturnal progression proves so ponderous and confused that they instead return into their original camp, where Baquedano finds them the next morning and initiates a long-range bombardment, while deploying his columns for a frontal assault.

The 1st Division of Col. Santiago Amengual engages the allied right wing under Rear Admiral

Montero at 9:00 a.m. Other Chilean units are committed to the attack piecemeal, so they become bogged down and suffer considerable casualties before running low on ammunition around 12:30 p.m. and having to withdraw under fire. The allies are prevented from pursuing by the maneuvers of the Chilean cavalry, giving Baquedano time to rearm his soldiers, then launch a coordinated assault with the full weight of his entire army, which rolls up the overmatched defenders by 3:00 p.m. Chilean casualties total 2,000 men, compared to 2,800 and another 2,000 taken prisoner among the Peruvians and Bolivians, whose armies utterly disintegrate in the wake of this defeat, fleeing toward Puno and Arequipa.

JUNE 1, 1880. *Arica.* The victorious Baquedano detaches 5,380 men of the Buin, 3rd and 4th Line, Lautaro, and Bulnes regiments, as well as four cavalry squadrons and four field batteries, all under Col. Pedro Lagos, to take the nearby port of Arica before its 2,000-man garrison can escape. The mounted



Photograph of the Chilean flag being raised over El Morro Citadel above Arica early on the morning of June 7, 1880. Note the dead and wounded still littering the ground. (Museo del Morro de Arica, Chile)

Chilean troops depart on June 1 under Cmdr. Rafael Vargas, followed shortly thereafter by Lagos's main body.

Three days later, the army arrives outside blockaded Arica and installs its artillery northeast of the city, while Lagos sends an emissary to call upon the defenders' commander, Colonel Bolognesi, to surrender. He proudly responds with the words, "*Tengo deberes sagrados que cumplir y los cumpliré hasta quemar el ultimo cartucho*" ("I have sacred duties to perform, which I shall perform until the last cartridge is spent"). The siege batteries thus open fire by June 5, being answered by Peruvian guns ensconced atop Arica's towering El Morro headland and manned by naval gunners from the lost warship *Independencia* of Captain Moore.

Before dawn on June 7, the 3rd and 4th Chilean Line regiments steal down Azapa Valley and, under cover of darkness, storm Arica's citadel and Fuerte Este, which they carry amid great slaughter, before charging up El Morro and securing it as well within less than an hour. Infuriated by the mines detonated by the defenders, the Chilean troops kill Bolognesi, Moore, and some 60 percent of their men before Lagos's staff can restore order. Meanwhile, Arica is looted and gutted by fires. In one last act of defiance, the twin-gunned, 2,100-ton, American-built Peruvian monitor *Manco Cápac* is scuttled out in the harbor by its crew upon perceiving the Chilean flag being hoisted atop El Morro.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1880. While foreign governments attempt to mediate an end to the hostilities, the 55-year-old naval vice admiral Patricio Javier de los Dolores Lynch uses the Chilean Navy's superiority at sea to depart Arica with a 2,600-man seaborne expedition—including 1,900 infantrymen, 400 cavalry troopers, and three Krupp howitzers—to make a series of descents in northern Peru. Six days later, they disembark in the port of Chimbote without resistance, roaming the countryside and destroying large estates that refuse to pay ransom. Lynch then shifts his expedition to Supe, which suffers the same fate, before the Chileans reembark on September 17 and move to Paiza, destroying its railroad installations before returning to Arica in triumph.

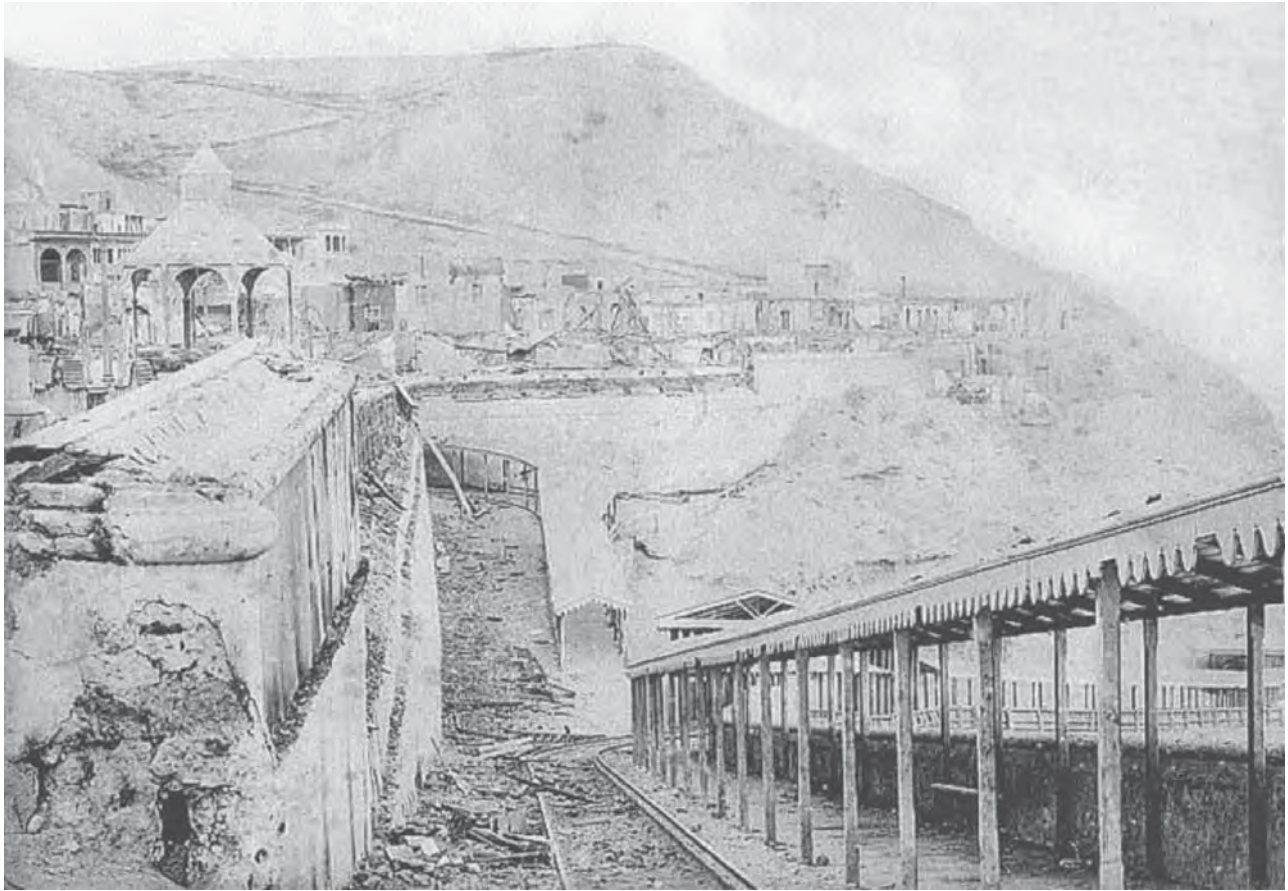
DECEMBER 18, 1880. After the collapse of peace talks and Chilean general José A. Villagrán's landing at Curayaco to seize the nearby Peruvian port of Chilca as an advance bridgehead, Baquedano begins bringing another 20,000 men ashore two days later

farther southeast at Pisco, to unite with Villagrán and jointly invade Lima.

After two weeks of preparation, the invaders begin their overland push, reaching the southern banks of the Lurín River by late December. On the opposite side looms a hastily constructed line of fortifications running for eight and a half miles to the San Juan foothills, held by a total of 22,000 Peruvian defenders—mostly raw militiamen and civilian recruits. The Chileans decide to feign an intent with 2,000 men under Colonel Barbosa at the central position of San Juan, while directing their main efforts against the Peruvian defenses near the coast at Miraflores.

JANUARY 12, 1881. Chorrillos-Miraflores. This evening, Baquedano's 24,000 Chileans begin a silent advance to strike across the Lurín River the next dawn in four columns, their main thrust being directed by a division under Lynch (now promoted to army brigadier general) against the Santa Teresa and Morro Solar strongholds in the resort town of Chorrillos, defended by Peruvian general Miguel Iglesias. Despite heavy losses—800 dead and 2,500 wounded—the invaders overwhelm the defenders by midday of January 13, killing almost 4,000, capturing 1,500, and sending thousands more streaming back toward Lima in disarray. The Chileans meanwhile fall to looting among the wealthy summer homes throughout this district, then the next day visit a like treatment upon Barranco, allowing the defenders time to recuperate from their setback.

Some 5,000 Peruvians reassemble in their last four-mile-long defense line along the Surco River, two and a half miles outside of Lima proper. A delegation of international diplomats led by the Salvadoran ambassador Jorge Tezanos Pinto also intercedes, arranging a brief ceasefire and peace conference at the resort town of Miraflores in the no-man's-land between both armies for January 15. Peruvian president de Piérola and the Chilean commander in chief Baquedano attend, only to be interrupted shortly after 2:00 p.m. by gunfire. Although the invading army has agreed to a ceasefire, its units have nonetheless continued to redeploy for their final assault against the defenders' line, prompting a jittery Peruvian company to open fire when a Chilean artillery battery begins unlimbering within point-blank range. Spontaneous fire erupts all up and down both battle lines, as well as from Chilean warships offshore, while the diplomats flee for their lives. By nightfall, the Peruvian army is



Destruction around the railway station and upper reaches of the resort town of Chorrillos after the Chilean assault of January 1881; photograph by Eugenio Courret. (Author's Collection)

shattered. Col. Juan Martín Echenique is later blamed for his failure to commit the 6,000-man reserve, although it is unlikely to have stemmed the Chilean onslaught.

As defeated Peruvian troops retreat through the capital's streets, rioting and pillage ensue. De Piérola gallops toward Chócas, Tarma, and then on to Jauja to continue the resistance in Peru's mountainous interior, and Mayor Rufino Torrico is left to surrender Lima to the victors on the morning of January 16. A select regiment of 3,000 well-disciplined Chilean troops under Gen. Cornelio Saavedra enters the next day at 2:00 p.m., and order is restored. The nearby port of Callao capitulates by January 18.

The conquest of the Peruvian capital brings a virtual end to large-scale fighting, most of Baquedano's expedition reembarking for Chile in March. The discredited de Piérola retreats into Ayacucho and appoints Cáceres military commander for the central highlands, with Admiral Montero acting in a similar capacity farther northwest at Cajamarca. Although

Cáceres in particular eventually organizes a successful guerrilla campaign in the La Breña district, these efforts cannot break Chile's stranglehold over coastal Peru. Further complicating matters is the creation on March 12, 1881, of a rival provisional government under the lawyer Dr. Francisco García Calderón in the La Magdalena suburb of occupied Lima, which enters into peace negotiations with the invaders.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1881. As the peace talks mediated by the United States begin to collapse, the military governor of Lima—Admiral Lynch—orders the deposal of provisional president García Calderón, who is later arrested and sent as a prisoner to Chile on November 6.

OCTOBER 1, 1881. At Arequipa in southern Peru, several thousand troops mutiny against de Piérola's authority, being visited a little more than a month later by Admiral Montero, who proclaims himself the new acting president. When Cáceres and his

Occupation of Lima

As the Peruvian army fell apart on the evening of January 15, 1881, the capital's 101,000 residents panicked. Thousands fled, as looting and arson raged in its darkened streets. Mayor Rufino Torrico was left alone to surrender his city to the victors at dawn of January 16. Hoping to avoid the violence that was experienced at Chorrillos, Baquedano was persuaded by neutral diplomats to send in 3,000 well-disciplined Chilean troops under Gen. Cornelio Saavedra at 2:00 p.m. the next day to properly secure Lima. Its nearby seaport of Callao also capitulated on January 18, after Adm. Manuel Villar scuttled the last eight Peruvian warships.

The few wealthy *Limeños* who stayed saved their homes by bribing Chilean officers. The poor begged for food. Crime persisted, therefore Saavedra asked the courts to reconvene on January 20, 1881. They could not, so he declared martial law as of February 9. Chilean military tribunals were used to punish criminals. Minor felons were flogged, while major crimes were punished by firing squads in La Salud or San Lázaro squares. Residents seldom ventured outdoors, fearing the Chilean soldiers.

The invaders crowded into the city, with the officers taking over the best hotels: Morín, Maury, Americano, Cardinal, and Francia e Inglaterra. Troops were housed in large buildings, and a disturbing trend soon began. A month after Col. Pedro Lagos's battalion occupied the National Library, he was ordered from Santiago to remove the best of its 50,000 volumes. Lima was stripped bare to help offset Chile's war costs. Some 10,000 16th- and 17th-century books and manuscripts were therefore removed. Many other institutions shared this same fate: the senate, the chamber of deputies, the municipality, the University of San Marcos, the botanical gardens, the museum of natural history, the engineering school, and the 1872 Palacio de la Exposición. Even presses were hauled away from the national print offices, while private factories had their machinery removed.

Although Baquedano sailed for home with 6,000 Chilean troops in March 1881, Lima remained strongly garrisoned and off limits. When the lawyer Dr. Francisco García Calderón was allowed to create a provisional Peruvian government that same month, it had to meet in the La Magdalena suburb. The new Congress had to hold sessions in Chorrillos. Admiral Lynch replaced Saavedra as governor of Lima on May 4, and another three and a half years of occupation ensued for the gutted city. Many empty homes collapsed from neglect. The ancient La Recoleta Church burned on March 21, 1882, as did the Teatro Principal one year later. When the German visitor Hugo Zöller arrived at Christmas 1883, he found Lima lifeless, only a single theater offering entertainment for its Chilean garrison.

montonero or “mountaineer” guerrillas in the central highlands also reject de Piérola, the latter has no choice but to resign the presidency at Tarma on November 28 and go into exile.

Over the next two years, dispersed Peruvian units do their best to contain minor Chilean incursions into the Andes, but without seriously discomfiting the invaders' occupation along the coastline. Cáceres wins numerous small-scale encounters—such as at Caxacamara in September 1882—only to finally be defeated at Huamachaca that following July, while Montero has already been chased out of Arequipa.

Convinced that peace must be reestablished for Peru to revive, the war-hero Iglesias then convokes a congress at Cajamarca that proclaims him presi-

dent, in spite of rival claims by Cáceres in the center of the country and by Montero in its south. Iglesias next proceeds to Ancón, a small seaside community a short distance northwest of Lima, and after considerable negotiation, signs a treaty on October 23, 1883, ending hostilities with Chile. Cáceres and Montero refuse to ratify this agreement until June 1884, and Bolivia concurs only after being threatened with a Chilean invasion.

The victors withdraw their occupying forces by August 1884. Chile has vastly expanded its territory by annexing the provinces of Atacama and Tarapacá, thereby gaining a monopoly over the world's nitrate deposits. Cáceres assaults Lima on August 27, 1884, launching a yearlong struggle to drive Iglesias from office.

RIEL REBELLION (1885)

Fifteen years after the Red River Expedition (*see* “Red River Expedition”), the Métis and Indians of Manitoba once again rise in revolt against the Canadian government, this time disappointed by the erosion of their former way of life. Riel is recalled from exile in the United States and travels to the main Métis community of Batoche to organize yet another protest movement.

MARCH 11, 1885. Leif Crozier, superintendent of the Northwest Mounted Police outpost 30 miles west of Batoche at Fort Carlton, informs Ottawa that a native rebellion is imminent.

MARCH 19, 1885. Riel proclaims himself president of a provisional government and two days later sends a party to demand the surrender of Fort Carlton.

MARCH 26, 1885. *Duck Lake.* Crozier, with 98 mounted policemen and volunteers, attacks a Métis concentration under Gabriel Dumont at Duck Lake, only to be soundly beaten; 12 Canadians are killed, as opposed to 5 Métis. Crozier thereupon retreats into Fort Carlton, to be reinforced by another 90 Northwest Mounted Police from Red River under Commissioner Acheson Irvine, who assumes overall command. Feeling that he cannot hold this position, Irvine subsequently orders a retirement down the North Saskatchewan River into Prince Albert.

MARCH 27, 1885. The 60-year-old British major general Frederick Dobson Middleton, commander in chief of Canada’s militia forces, reaches Winnipeg by train to begin organizing its defenses.

MARCH 30, 1885. Warriors under the Cree chief Poundmaker depart Cut Knife Creek reservation and attack the Canadian settlement at Battleford. The residents seek refuge in its Northwest Mounted Police barracks, while their homes are looted and burned.

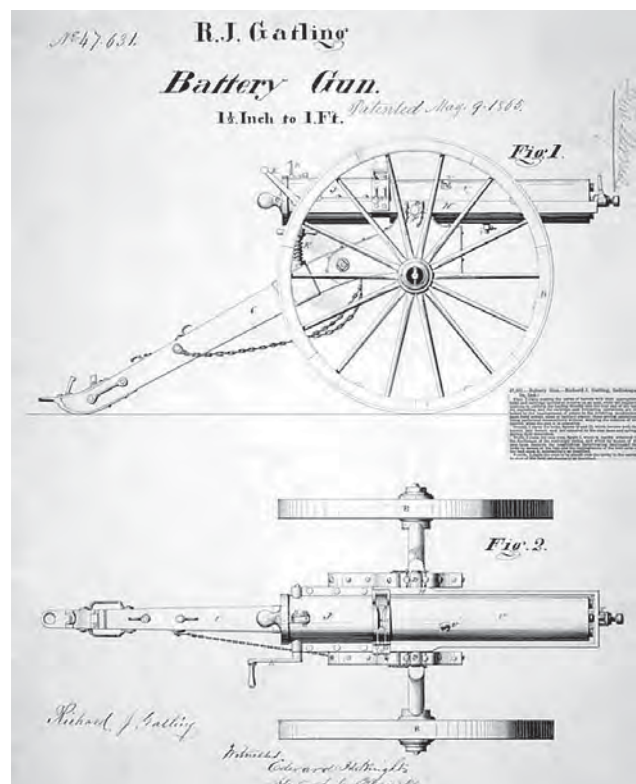
APRIL 2, 1885. Cree braves under Chief Wandering Spirit attack Canadian settlers at Frog Lake, killing nine and capturing several others.

APRIL 7, 1885. Some 600 Canadian militiamen reach Winnipeg, having departed Toronto a week earlier.

APRIL 12, 1885. Lt. Col. William Otter reaches Swift Current by train, to continue 130 miles far-

ther north and lift the siege of Battleford with 273 troops of the Queen’s Own Rifles under Lt. Col. Augustus Miller, 50 members of “C” Company of the Toronto Infantry School, 100 gunners from “B” Battery of the Kingston Artillery Regiment under Maj. Charles Short, plus a couple of hundred teamsters. This force is backed by a pair of nine-pounders under Capt. Robert Rutherford, as well as a Gatling gun under U.S. lieutenant Arthur Howard. Because water in the South Saskatchewan River is running low, though, Otter’s advance is delayed for two days before he can proceed overland.

APRIL 14, 1885. Otter’s expedition is joined at Saskatchewan crossing by 50 Northwest Mounted



Original patent of the Gatling gun. (U.S. National Archives)

Police under Superintendent William Herchmer aboard the steamer *Northcote*.

APRIL 21, 1885. Canadian scouts from Battleford encounter refugees traveling downriver from Fort Pitt under Northwest Mounted Police inspector Francis Dickens (son of the famous Victorian novelist Charles Dickens).

Gatling Gun

Improvements in steel and other technological innovations allowed 19th-century weapons manufacturers to experiment with multiple-shot firearms. The concept was tried as long ago as 1718, when the British lawyer James Puckle unveiled a tripod-mounted, single-barreled, flint-lock gun that was fed by a revolving cylinder of prepared charges. A hand-held version known as a "Pepperbox pistol" emerged by the early 1830s. It was followed by the "revolver," patented in the United States by 21-year-old Samuel Colt in February 1836.

Fifteen years later, the French Army unveiled a large battlefield model, based upon a Belgian design. Dubbed a *mitrailleuse*, it consisted of several rifle barrels clustered into a cylinder atop a gun carriage. Each barrel was loaded simultaneously from a fitted packet of charges, then fired in succession by working a lever or crank. (Because of its appearance, the *mitrailleuse* was nicknamed a *moulin à café* or "coffee grinder.") Reloading and firing in the field, though, proved to be slow and difficult, while its one-ton weight limited mobility.

When the American Civil War erupted in April 1861, the 42-year-old inventor Dr. Richard J. Gatling revealed an improved version with 6 steel rifle barrels (later increased to 10). Each included its own finely crafted firing mechanism, revolving around a shaft and being fed rounds continuously through a hopper. Although Gatling received a patent and opened his "Gatling Gun Company" factory in Indianapolis the next year, the U.S. government did not order any of them because of the first guns' poor accuracy, frequent jams, and weight.

Gatling persisted, refining his weapon until Gen. Benjamin Butler bought a dozen in 1864. He apparently used a pair to good effect on the Petersburg front. Union and Confederate onlookers were impressed by the Gatling gun's power, yet only a few more were acquired by Union forces before hostilities ceased the next year. However, improved models continued to appear, eventually making the "Gat" a military success story. It was often copied and upgraded by other manufacturers around the world.

APRIL 22, 1885. One of Herchmer's scouts carries word to the 500 beleaguered residents of Battleford that Otter's relief column is nearby.

APRIL 24, 1885. Otter relieves Battleford, its native besiegers having withdrawn. Simultaneously, news is received that Middleton has fought an indecisive engagement against Dumont at Fish Creek south of Batoche, where 11 men were killed and 48 wounded.

MAY 2, 1885. *Cut Knife Creek.* Having left a garrison to hold Battleford, Otter ventures forth with 300 men in search of Poundmaker's main Cree camp. At dawn on May 2, he stumbles upon it, shortly afterward fording Cut Knife Creek and ascending a hill. Neither side is prepared for battle, yet fighting gradually spreads on all sides. Rather than charge the surprised Indians, Otter chooses to make a stand atop the hill, where his men are surrounded and shot at from every direction. The young Cree chief Fine Day directs his warriors from a hill south of this battlefield, signaling them with a mirror.

By 11:00 a.m., Otter is so hard-pressed as to order a portion of his troops to retreat, then take up covering positions farther to the rear. When his front lines subsequently follow at noon, the action abruptly ceases. Eight Canadian troops have been killed and 14 wounded, as opposed to 6 Cree dead and 3 injured. Otter abandons his ammunition train and returns into Battleford by 10:00 p.m., claiming victory.

MAY 9, 1885. Middleton's column—including the 90 Winnipeg Rifles—arrives outside Batoche, and three days later charges its rifle pits, compelling the Métis defenders to flee.

MAY 15, 1885. His followers scattered, Riel surrenders to Middleton, who then presses on into Battleford.

MAY 23, 1885. Chief Poundmaker and 150 Cree warriors surrender to Middleton.

JUNE 3, 1885. Inspector Samuel Steele of the Northwest Mounted Police—leading the vanguard of Major General Strange's column marching eastward, having previously relieved Edmonton in May—defeats Chief Big Bear's Cree concentration at Frenchman's Butte, near Fort Pitt on the North Saskatchewan River.

JULY 2, 1885. After a lengthy pursuit, Big Bear surrenders at Fort Carlton.

Determined to put an end to Métis resistance, the Canadian authorities hang Riel at Regina on November 16, followed by Wandering Spirit and

seven other native leaders outside Fort Battleford on November 27. Poundmaker and Big Bear are condemned to three-year terms in Stony Mountain Penitentiary, although released early because of their ill health. They die shortly thereafter.

BRAZILIAN STRIFE (1889–1897)

After a half-century of living in relative isolation under its emperor Pedro II, this giant South American nation at last begins to stir, throwing off the monarchy and gradually struggling into the modern world.

NOVEMBER 15, 1889. *Collapse of Empire.* At day-break, 2,500 men of the 1st and 9th Cavalry regiments, and the 2nd Artillery Battalion revolt at São Cristóvão outside Rio de Janeiro, marching into the capital to confront the government. Liberal prime minister Affonso Celso, Visconde de Ouro Preto, quickly dispatches units to put down the rebels, but these loyal forces instead join the mutineers.

The disgruntled 62-year-old marshal Manuel Deodoro da Fonseca is behind this movement, intended to replace Brazil's monarchy with a republic. The emperor arrives from his palace at Petrópolis that afternoon, yet is powerless to intervene. The next day, he is informed of his banishment, so he sails to exile in France aboard a Brazilian warship at 8:00 a.m. on November 17. Meanwhile, Deodoro da Fonseca declares martial law and installs a provisional government with himself at its head.

NOVEMBER 3, 1891. Plagued by economic deficiencies and growing political resentment, Deodoro da Fonseca sends troops to dissolve Brazil's Congress.

NOVEMBER 23, 1891. Rear Adm. Custódio José de Melo's squadron revolts against the Deodoro da Fonseca regime, firing a single shell into Rio de Janeiro from his 5,700-ton anchored battleship *Riachuelo* (named for a famous Brazilian naval victory; see "June 10, 1865" entry in "War of the Triple Alliance"). Knowing himself to be surrounded by numerous other enemies, the dictator resigns rather than mount a futile resistance and the next day retires from active service. He is succeeded by his 52-year-old vice president, the adjutant general Floriano Peixoto.

JANUARY 19, 1892. Sgt. Silvino de Macedo leads a populist revolt at Fort Santa Cruz, in Guanabara Bay opposite Rio de Janeiro, being joined shortly thereafter by the garrison of nearby Fortress Laje. Peixoto quickly deploys loyal forces and crushes these upstarts.

MARCH 31, 1892. A group of 13 high-ranking Brazilian officers send Peixoto a threatening manifesto, urging quick presidential elections. He dismisses all 13 from the service, and when they organize a riot in Rio de Janeiro 10 days later, he arrests and deports many of the ringleaders by April 11.

JUNE 17, 1892. Youthful Júlio Prates de Castilhos leads a bloodless coup in Rio Grande do Sul Province in support of a central Brazilian state.

JULY 1892. Anti-centralist lieutenant Santos Lara revolts at Pôrto Alegre, shelling this city before capitulating a few days later.

FEBRUARY 9, 1893. *Rio Grandese Revolt.* Anti-centralist Brazilian exiles under their civilian leader Gumerindo Saraiva cross into Rio Grande do Sul Province from Uruguay to overthrow de Castilhos's rival regime. They are soon joined by other bands, and these 3,000 united guerrillas come under the command of Col. João Nunes da Silva Tavares.

After overrunning the town of Dom Pedrito, they march upon Santana do Livramento, but break off their approach upon learning that it is about to be reinforced by federal troops. They are then repulsed outside Pôrto Alegre, but gain fresh armaments at Quaraí and come under the command of

Col. Oliveira Salgado after he defects from the federal cause and supersedes Silva Tavares.

Shortly thereafter, the rebels are overtaken on the banks of Inhanduí Creek and defeated by Gen. Pinheiro Machado. Salgado and Silva Tavares retreat into Uruguay, pursued by the triumphant republicans, but Saraiva persists with guerrilla hit-and-run raids within Brazil.

JULY 6, 1893. Adm. Eduardo Wandenkolk—one of the 13 high-ranking officers dismissed by Peixoto (see “March 31, 1892” entry)—commandeers the ammunition ship *Jupiter* outside Rio de Janeiro, then diverts it southwest to the port of Rio Grande, where he gathers some followers and calls for a more widespread antigovernment revolt. Receiving scant support, he surrenders shortly thereafter off Santa Catarina Island to the new, 1,300-ton, British-built cruiser *República* of Capt. Álvaro Belfor.

AUGUST 1893. Rebel colonel Salgado returns into Rio Grande do Sul from Uruguay, joins forces with

Saraiva, then launches a guerrilla campaign throughout this province.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1893. *Naval Rebellion.* Disaffected by the army’s misrule, Admiral de Melo this evening goes aboard the English-built, 4,950-ton cruiser *Aquidabã* with his staff and some federal deputies, raising the white flag of revolt the next dawn. He is joined by the 1,400 officers and men aboard the remaining 15 warships and 18 auxiliaries lying at anchor before Rio de Janeiro, plus the naval base of Niterói opposite.

Expecting an easy capitulation as on November 23, 1891, the mutineers are instead disappointed to find the harbor castles remaining loyal to Marshal Peixoto and no sympathetic insurrections occurring elsewhere in Brazil. Moreover, the powerful battleship *Riachuelo* is undergoing repairs in Europe, and the rest of the squadron is in such poor material condition that only five vessels can actually move under their own power. As a crowning complication, foreign warships present in the harbor band



The Brazilian cruiser Aquidabão at anchor inside Rio de Janeiro's Guanabara Bay during peacetime; photograph by Marc Ferrez. (Author's Collection)

together under a French rear admiral aboard the 3,665-ton cruiser *Aréthuse* to protect their nationals' interests, restricting de Melo's actions (although not before he manages to commandeer about 30 merchantmen to act as supply ships).

Fighting between the rebels and federal forces flares on September 10, ending the next afternoon. Another outburst occurs at 9:00 a.m. on September 13; before dawn of September 17, the mutinous admiral detaches his cruiser *República* under Capt. Federico de Lorena and the 725-ton torpedo-boat *Primeiro de Março*, covering their escape past the batteries with a bombardment by the *Aquidabã* so that they might proceed south to Destêro (modern Florianópolis, capital of Santa Catarina Province) to foment a more widespread rebellion. Meanwhile, Peixoto has patiently mustered 5,000 troops at Santana and reinforced Rio's defenses, so a lengthy stalemate ensues, punctuated by occasional exchanges of gunfire with de Melo's anchored squadron.

During this interlude, numerous foreign powers rush warships to Rio, most notably the United States, whose president, Grover Cleveland, is determined to exert American influence against European interference in this theater. Despite an embarrassingly slow start because of certain deficiencies, the 3,730-ton cruiser USS *Charleston* of Capt. Henry F. Picking eventually arrives on September 27, followed by the 4,083-ton cruiser *Newark* of Capt. Silas Terry, the brand-new 8,150-ton *New York* of Capt. John W. Philip and the 2,094-ton *Detroit* of Cmdr. Willard H. Brownson, plus the 500-ton wooden steam corvette *Yantic* of Lt. Cmdr. Henry W. Lyon (soon superseded by Lt. Cmdr. Seth M. Ackley).

This deployment gives the U.S. contingent a marked superiority over all other warships present in Rio's harbor: two British ships (flag: HMS *Sirius* of Capt. William L. Lang), two French ships (flag: the *Aréthuse*), the 3,300-ton Italian cruiser *Giovanni Bausan* and 2,200-ton *Dogali*, two Portuguese ships, one German ship, the 1,160-ton Spanish cruiser *Cristóbal Colón*, and the Argentine *Nueva de Mayo*. However, the first American commander—Commo. Oscar F. Stanton—compromises himself at the very outset by saluting the rebel flag upon entering port aboard the *Newark*, thereby sparking a formal protest from Peixoto's government, which leads to Stanton's recall by early October and replacement by Rear Admiral Benham.

Also in late October, the Brazilian garrison of Fort Villegaignon joins the mutineer cause, although

the loyalists score a victory in November when the ironclad *Javari* is sunk by their shore batteries. Hoping to revive his flagging fortunes by personally heading southwest to raise another insurrection, de Melo breaks out of Rio on December 1 with his flagship *Aquidabã* under Capt. Lt. Alexandrino Faria de Alencar, leaving his fellow conspirator admiral Luís Filipe de Saldanha da Gama (former commandant of Brazil's Naval College) to maintain pressure upon the capital. De Melo eventually disembarks in Santa Catarina Province to organize further rebel activities, while Saldanha grows increasingly frustrated at his idled squadron's impotence against loyalist encroachments around Rio.

Consequently, this second admiral leads 500 men ashore on February 9, 1894, under covering fire from his ships, to attempt to capture the eastern town of Niterói. Although initially successful, Saldanha is soon thrown back from its center by loyal troops under colonels Fonseca Ramos and Argolo, then trapped on Armação Point. After a vicious firefight during which Saldanha is wounded, the rebels are defeated and driven back aboard their ships, marking a virtual end to their resistance within the harbor. A few days later, the *Aquidabã*—which has returned some time previously after depositing de Melo in Santa Catarina—again breaks out of the bay, steaming toward Destêro.

The remaining mutineer ships learn on March 11 that a small loyal squadron—many of its vessels recently purchased, armed, and manned in the United States—is approaching Rio from Pernambuco under retired admiral Jerônimo Gonçalves. Their morale shattered, Saldanha and almost 500 of his men seek asylum aboard the tiny Portuguese corvettes *Mindelo* and *Afonso Albuquerque* of Cmdr. Augusto de Castilhos, so that when Gonçalves enters Rio's harbor two days later, he finds its naval rebellion already ended. Peixoto demands the return of the mutineers, but de Castilhos refuses, instead exiting the harbor and setting sail for the neutral River Plate. (Because Saldanha and many of his followers subsequently cross the border to join the provincial rebellion in Rio Grande do Sul, Peixoto accuses de Castilhos of sympathizing with the insurrectionists and severs diplomatic relations with Portugal.)

EARLY NOVEMBER 1893. After a 750-mile jungle campaign against the loyal Northern Division of Pinheiro Machado, rebel leaders Salgado and Saraiva fight their way across the Pelotas River into Santa Catarina Province, seizing the coastal Laguna rail

center. From there, Salgado entrains to join de Melo's naval mutineers at Destêrro, while Saraiva strikes north toward Lajes, shifting the main theater of operations northeastward out of Rio Grande do Sul Province.

NOVEMBER 24, 1893. After recapturing the town of Quaraí and defeating a republican force at Río Negro—decapitating his captives after this latter battle—rebel colonel Silva Tavares lays siege to loyal general Carlos Teles within Bagé. He finally disperses his followers into several columns after a month and a half of fruitless watch.

MARCH 28, 1894. *De Melo's Last Gasp.* His revolution having lost momentum because of recent military setbacks near São Paulo and general dissension among its leadership, Admiral de Melo departs

the captured port of Paranaguá with some contingents, heads south, and is reinforced by the cruiser *República* and four armed merchant vessels out of Destêrro. Together, they give him a landing force of 2,000 men, with which he intends to capture the port of Rio Grande.

However, after crossing the bar, this attempt, too, ends in failure, so the discouraged renegades instead seek to disembark in neighboring Uruguay. When they are interrupted by the local authorities, de Melo chooses to sail on for Buenos Aires, surrendering the remnants of his fleet to Argentina in exchange for asylum.

APRIL 16, 1894. Loyal admiral Gonçalves arrives outside the Bay of Santa Catarina with his new 500-ton, English-built torpedo boat *Gustavo Sampaio* under Capt. Lt. Altino de Miranda Correia and



One of the heavy army artillery pieces that duelled against the Brazilian cruiser *Aquidabão* inside Rio de Janeiro's anchorage during the autumn of 1893; photograph by Marc Ferrez. (Author's Collection)

sinks the rebel battleship *Aquidabã*. (It is later refloated and repaired in Stettin, Germany.)

AUGUST 10, 1894. The rebel chieftain Saraiva is killed in a skirmish, and guerrilla activity declines precipitously as 2,000 tattered fighters seek asylum in Uruguay and Argentina. Peixoto emerges triumphant, becoming nicknamed the “Iron Marshal,” while numerous executions ensue.

NOVEMBER 15, 1894. The lawyer Prudente José de Moraes e Barros succeeds Peixoto as Brazil’s first civilian president, while the latter retires modestly into private life, then dies seven months later at his country estate.

MARCH 1895. Cadets at Rio de Janeiro’s military academy rise up against their commandant, suspecting him of being anti-Peixoto. The government quickly represses this outburst, discharging the insubordinate students.

JUNE 8, 1895. Gen. Inocêncio Galvão de Queirós arrives from Rio de Janeiro and sets up his headquarters at Pelotas to pacify the remaining insurrectionists in Rio Grande do Sul Province. Exiled admiral Saldanha da Gama crosses the frontier from Uruguay to attempt to keep this revolt alive.

JUNE 24, 1895. Saldanha’s 150 rebel navy riflemen and 550 guerrillas are attacked north of the Quaraí River near Pedro Osório by much larger federal forces under Gen. Hipólito Ribeiro, and are easily defeated and their leader slain.

JULY 1895. Britain occupies the island of Trinidad, 700 miles east of Vitória, prompting diplomatic protests from Rio de Janeiro. After a year of negotiations, the island is restored to Brazil.

JULY 1, 1895. Rebel colonel Silva Tavares negotiates an armistice, then visits General Galvão at Piratinim nine days later.

OCTOBER 11, 1895. The Brazilian Congress votes a general amnesty for all rebels of the recent disturbances, despite opposition from more rancorous factions.

FEBRUARY 21, 1897. After two previous attempts by a small police force and then a 543-man military expedition under Maj. Febrônio de Brito have both

been repulsed by the conservative religious sect of 66-year-old Antônio Conselheiro headquartered 200 miles north of Salvador (Bahia) at Canudos, the government decides to send in a larger force: 1,000 soldiers under Col. Moreira César, including a cavalry squadron and artillery train. However, on February 21 the government forces are ambushed and routed and their commander is killed, thereby provoking an outburst of antigovernment rioting in Rio de Janeiro.

MAY 26, 1897. Cadets at Rio de Janeiro’s military academy mutiny against President de Moraes, considering his government weak. They are quickly surrounded by loyal units, subjugated, and discharged.

OCTOBER 5, 1897. *Canudos.* After the commitment of 6,000 troops in several columns under Gen. Artur Oscar has failed to subdue the fanatical Canudos rebels, the war minister—the marshal Carlos Machado Bittencourt—personally assumes command



Brazilian general Carlos Eugênio de Andrade Guimarães and some of his staff, prior to departing from their Monte Santo base to campaign against the Canudos rebels; photograph by Flavio de Barros. (Author's Collection)

over this operation, and his armies gradually fight their way into the outskirts of that embattled town. Resistance finally ceases on October 5, no survivors being found among Conselheiro's followers, and Canudos itself given over to flames. It is estimated that this campaign has cost the lives of nearly 5,000 Brazilian soldiers through disease and combat since its initiation a year before.

NOVEMBER 5, 1897. While reviewing some of the battalions returning from the Canudos campaign at Rio de Janeiro's arsenal, President de Moraes is attacked by a young soldier named Marcelino Bispo and saved by the personal intervention of Marshal Machado Bittencourt (who is fatally stabbed). A purge of antigovernment politicians and military officers ensues.

GERMAN OVERTURES (1890–1898)

On March 18, 1890, the veteran chancellor Otto, Prinz von Bismarck, is obliged to resign from office in Berlin, less than two weeks short of his 75th birthday. Affairs of state pass into the hands of the 31-year-old kaiser Wilhelm II, who becomes an enthusiastic proponent of sea power. Although careful never to directly challenge the United States, Britain, or France in the New World, Germany will nonetheless soon signal its rise as an imperial player.

As long ago as the winter of 1869–1870, a German squadron consisting of the 12-gun, 380-man, 1,930-ton steam corvette *Arcona*; the 9-gun, 70-man, 350-ton steam gunboat *Meteor*; and the 12-gun, 240-man, 1,300-ton sailing frigate *Niobe* had successfully blockaded Venezuela under Lt. Eduard von Knorr in retaliation for the detention of the merchantmen *Franz* and *Marie Sophie* at Maracaibo. Yet despite this early precedent—plus the presence of several hundred thousand German migrants settled throughout South America and military officers advising its governments—Bismarck has prevented any further adventurism, until Wilhelm II ascends the throne.

APRIL 1891. The kaiser orders his Far East Squadron—the 432-man, 3,930-ton light cruiser *Leipzig*, plus the 290-man, 2,160-ton corvettes *Alexandrine* and *Sophie*—to sail from Asia and visit Valparaíso to uphold German prestige following the detention and destruction of two of its merchantmen during Chile's civil war.

AUGUST 23, 1893. During an outbreak of unrest at Puerto Cabello (Venezuela), 100 German nationals must seek succor from French and Spanish warships in its harbor, the new German warship *Arcona* not arriving until six days later.

DECEMBER 1893. Berlin dispatches the 12-gun, 450-man, 2,850-ton frigates *Stein* and *Stosch* on a prestige visit to La Guaira, timed to coincide with the inauguration of the German-owned and German-operated Great Venezuela Railroad in February 1894.

OCTOBER 1897. Disturbances in Guatemala prompt the kaiser to wish to dispatch a warship to protect

German nationals' interests, only to discover that the sole vessel available is a school ship for cadets. Rather than send such an unprepossessing representative, he cancels his order, then requests an increase in the naval construction budget from the Reichstag.

DECEMBER 6, 1897. The German warship *Stein* and the 13-gun, 480-man, 3,300-ton corvette *Charlotte* appear off Port-au-Prince to intimidate Haitian president Tirésias Augustin Simon Sam into rescinding a fine levied against an alleged German national, Emil Lüders.

APRIL 1898. In Europe, Germany's state secretary of the navy, Adm. Alfred von Tirpitz, uses the numerous requests for patrols in South American waters as a pretext to help pass an immense naval bill authorizing the construction of 19 new battleships, 8 armored cruisers, plus 12 large and 30 light cruisers—a figure then almost doubled by the appropriations bill of June 1900. The subsequent naval buildup becomes a primary cause of the First World War.

Monroe Doctrine

After several years of hesitation, in 1822 the United States recognized the new Latin American republics of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico. The next year, Spain and France discussed jointly recuperating their New World colonies with help from Russia, Prussia, or Austria. Great Britain objected. Its foreign minister George Canning even proposed to President James Monroe that London and Washington should warn against any such interference.

Thomas Jefferson and James Madison urged Monroe to accept this British offer, yet the president's secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, favored a more independent course. During a cabinet meeting on November 7, 1823, he said: "It would be more candid, as well as more dignified, to avow our principles explicitly to Russia and France, than to come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." Convinced, Monroe added a statement into his seventh State of the Union Address on December 2, declaring that any effort to restore European political influence in the Western Hemisphere would be considered "dangerous to our peace and safety."

While America remained militarily weak, this so-called Monroe Doctrine had little effect. But when the U.S. government—fully mobilized with powerful fleets and armies at the end of the Civil War in 1865—threatened the French puppet regime in neighboring Mexico, Napoleon III quickly withdrew his troops. Grant also extended the Monroe Doctrine during his presidency in the 1870s by stating that the United States would not tolerate any American colony being transferred from one European power to another.

As any real possibility of overseas interference faded toward the end of the 19th century, the Monroe Doctrine came to be applied even more aggressively. Secretary of State Richard Olney announced in 1895 that it gave the United States the right to mediate border disputes in South America. Nine years later, President Theodore Roosevelt even claimed that it permitted direct American intervention anywhere in Latin America.

CHILEAN CIVIL WAR AND ANTI-AMERICAN ANTAGONISM (1891)

Toward the end of his five-year term in office, the flamboyant, 50-year-old liberal president Dr. José Manuel Balmaceda Fernández announces on January 1, 1891, that he will henceforth rule without Chile's recalcitrant Congress, which censured one of his cabinet ministers the previous year, and he refuses to approve his governmental budget. The Congress replies by declaring Balmaceda deposed that very same day, then on January 6 places the Chilean Navy under the command of the 44-year-old veteran commodore Jorge Montt Álvarez.

JANUARY 7, 1891. Units of the Chilean Navy exit Valparaíso under Montt's orders, moreover bearing the senatorial vice president Waldo Silva and the head of Chile's chamber of deputies, Ramón Barros Luco, to organize opposition to Balmaceda from Quintero. The president responds by proclaiming a state of martial law, and civil war officially begins the next day. The Congressionalist forces control most of the navy, as the warships *Blanco Encalada*, *Cochrane*, *O'Higgins*, *Esmeralda*, and *Magallanes* quickly assemble under Montt's leadership, while the elderly monitor *Huáscar* is towed out of Valparaíso to Las Salinas to have its engines reinstalled. The merchant steamer *Aconcagua* is also seized the next day to serve as a supply ship, and 4,500 Mannlicher rifles des-

tined for the Chilean Army are expropriated from the German ship *Cleopatra*.

Balmaceda retains support from most of the army, granting its soldiers immediate 50 percent pay raises to help ensure their loyalty. Only Gen. Gregorio Urrutia and a few isolated units join the Congressionalist cause. Internationally, Great Britain—whose investments, principally in Chile's rich nitrate deposits to the north, are threatened by Balmaceda's nationalistic policies—favors the Congressionalist rebels, prompting the United States to support President Balmaceda.

JANUARY 8, 1891. The *Cochrane* and the *Magallanes* convey Deputy Barros Luco toward Iquique

and Pisagua to seize those ports for the Congressional cause, thereby tapping the revenues from mineral-rich Tarapacá Province.

JANUARY 10, 1891. The *O'Higgins* sails with the transport *Amazonas* for Coquimbo, La Serena, and Ovalle to seize those ports and gather weapons for the upcoming confrontation. The remaining Congressionalist warships at Quintero meanwhile begin intercepting merchantmen outside nearby Valparaíso, sending at least 18 prizes to their anchorage with coal and supplies.

JANUARY 16, 1891. Presidentialist batteries near Valparaíso open fire against the anchored *Blanco Encalada*, damaging this Congressionalist warship.

JANUARY 19, 1891. Coquimbo's military garrison under Col. Estanislao del Canto Arteaga has joined the Congressionalist cause; they are therefore attacked around the Cruz de Zapiga nitrate offices by troops loyal to the president. After a confused melee, the colonel retires to Pisagua, and his opponents go to Negreiros.

A second, equally confused clash occurs four days afterward at Alto Hospicio above Pisagua, the Presi-

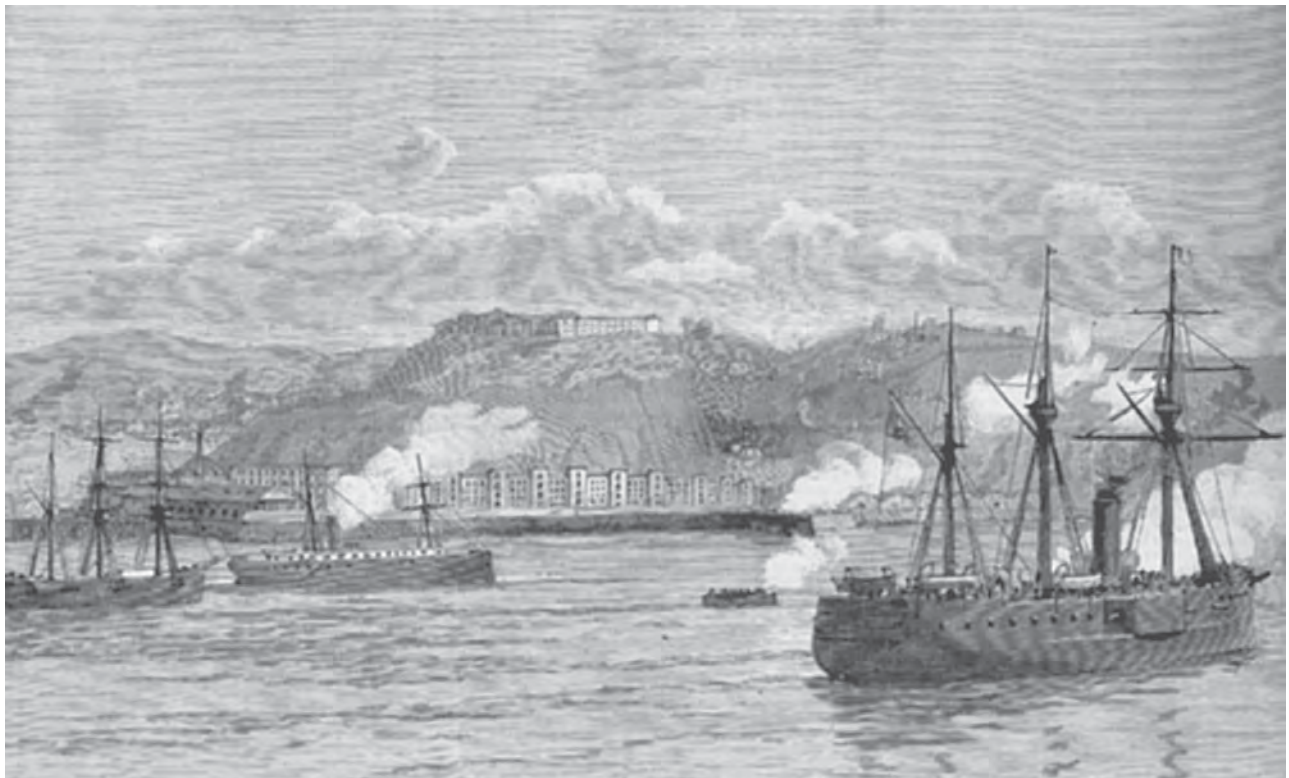
dentialist forces seemingly offering to surrender, then capturing most of the Congressionalists when they mix together. Survivors flee to go aboard the blockading rebel warships, yet when the victorious Presidentialist forces enter the town, they in turn are captured—after which the Congressionalists abandon Pisagua altogether on January 26.

JANUARY 23, 1891. The Congressionalist *Huáscar* and *Amazonas* seize the tiny port of Tal-Tal.

JANUARY 27, 1891. Presidentialist land forces recapture the ports of Coquimbo and Pisagua from Congressionalist control.

FEBRUARY 5, 1891. An hour before midnight, the Congressionalist warships *Cochrane* and *O'Higgins*, accompanied by the transports *Amazonas* and *Cachapoal*, weigh anchor to join the blockading *Huáscar* off Pisagua the next dawn and reclaim that port from its 350-man Presidentialist garrison under Lieutenant Colonel Valenzuela.

The warships open fire at 6:00 a.m. on February 6, covering the disembarkation of 290 armed men under naval captain Vicente Merino Jarpa at Playa Blanca and another three companies at Punta



Loyalist artillery shelling the rebel flagship *Blanco Encalada* near Valparaíso. (Illustrated London News)

Pichalo. These forces close in upon the pair of artillery pieces defended by 40 soldiers and a few mounted grenadiers atop Alto Hospicio Hill, from both the north and the south. Naval gunnery pins down the 250 Presidentialist infantrymen and 40 artillerymen holding Pisagua proper, as well as damaging their train. Once the high ground at Alto Hospicio is seized, the Congressional forces overrun Pisagua, capturing almost its entire garrison.

FEBRUARY 10, 1891. Col. Miguel Arrate Larraín disembarks at Sama from the transport *Luis Cousiño* with 400 Presidentialist troops, initiating a cross-desert trek 50 miles southward to reinforce Tacna and Arica.

FEBRUARY 13, 1891. Col. Eugenio Robles disembarks at Sama from the transport *Imperial* with 600 Presidentialist troops of Col. Emilio Gana's division, detaching half of them this evening on a cross-desert march 50 miles southward to reinforce Tacna, while personally leading the other 300 troopers against the Congressional foothold at Pisagua.

Robles encamps at Santa Catalina by nightfall of February 14, and the next dawn, his opponent, Colonel del Canto, sorties from Alto Hospicio outside Pisagua by train with the 1st "Constitución" Infantry Battalion, the 2nd Marine Battalion of Valparaíso, the 3rd Marine Battalion of Pisagua, a naval battery and armed seamen, a squadron of the 1st "Libertad" Cavalry Regiment, plus two field guns.

Having received a few local reinforcements, Robles takes up a defensive position with his 339 Presidentialist troopers atop Dolores Hill, above the San Francisco de Dolores railway station. The Congressional army de-trains below, initiating its attack against their outnumbered opponents by 3:00 p.m. on the afternoon of February 15. Within three hours, the Presidentialist force is routed, Robles barely managing to escape with 108 survivors toward the Negreiros railway station. The victors set off in pursuit through Rosario del Huara.

FEBRUARY 17, 1891. Robles's second-in-command, Col. José María Soto, withdraws the entire 600-man Presidentialist garrison from Iquique to join his superior and his San Francisco survivors at the Santa Rosa de Huara railway station. There, they are overtaken this afternoon by 1,200 Congressional pursuers, now under the command of General

Urrutia. A second battle erupts at 3:30 p.m., when Soto sends two runaway locomotives smashing into the Congressional train convoy, followed immediately by a cavalry charge that drives in Urrutia's flanks. The defeated Congressionals beat a hasty retreat, leaving behind 240 dead (all prisoners are shot).

Yet despite this setback, Cmdr. Luis Alberto Goñi Simpson has been able to land from his monitor *Huáscar* at undefended Iquique, claiming this valuable harbor (the main seaport for Chile's wealthy nitrate trade) by installing a Congressional garrison under Captain Merino. Upon learning of the seizure of this strategic anchorage, Montt's squadron steams northward from Quintero.

FEBRUARY 19, 1891. Panic grips Iquique at 3:00 a.m. when it is learned that a Presidentialist column is approaching to recuperate the town. Some Congressionals retreat aboard their anchored warships, leaving Captain Merino fortified within the sturdy customs house with only 40 armed seamen. Two hours later, the approaching Colonel Soto reaches El Molle—only three and a half miles away—and can see the *Blanco Encalada's* searchlights illuminating the surrounding hills. Having only been allowed by his superior Robles to bring 200 Presidentialist infantrymen, 15 riders, a small fieldpiece, and a machine gun, Soto takes advantage of the early morning fog to slip into Iquique's streets, closing upon the customs house and opening fire at 6:15 a.m.

Forty-five minutes later, Merino's defenders are reinforced by an additional 40 sailors, and the mist burns off sufficiently by 8:00 a.m. for the anchored warships to open fire with their heavy ordinance and machine guns, driving Soto's soldiers back. Daylong exchanges start numerous fires in hapless Iquique, until the neutral British rear admiral Charles F. Hotham of HMS *Warspite* proposes a 20-hour truce at 4:00 p.m. As more Congressional forces continue to appear, Soto chooses to surrender aboard the British warship by noon of February 20 rather than renew a hopeless struggle.

FEBRUARY 23, 1891. Col. Hermógenes Camus disembarks at Antofagasta with the Buin, Linares, and Andes battalions, which travel by train to Calama and then strike out across the desert on March 3 to join Robles's main Presidentialist army.

FEBRUARY 25, 1891. Robles and the 560-man 5th Line Infantry Regiment are joined at Zapiga by

the divisions of Gana and Arrate, yet the Presidentialist field commander still does not feel capable of mounting an offensive. Instead he orders a defensive concentration at Pozo Almonte.

FEBRUARY 27, 1891. Congressionalist forces mass at El Molle, Colonel del Canto's army from two weeks earlier (see "February 13, 1891" entry) having since been further augmented by the 4th Tal-Tal Infantry Battalion, the 5th Chañaral Battalion, an Armstrong cannon, two Gatling guns, as well as an armored train mounting two machine guns. It is the latter, advancing ahead of the Congressionalist vanguard under marine lieutenant Felipe de la Fuente, that discovers the Presidentialist concentration at Pozo Almonte on March 3.

MARCH 6, 1891. *Pozo Almonte.* The Congressionalist army de-trains and deploys within sight of Robles's defensive positions at Pozo Almonte. The Presidentialist right is held by 413 men of Arrate's 1st Division, backed by some artillery pieces; in the center and right are 389 soldiers of the 2nd Division under Lt. Col. Manuel Ruminot, while 379 troops of the 3rd Division under Lt. Col. Virgilio Méndez constitute a reserve. After examining the terrain, the Congressionalist commander del Canto and his aide Col. Adolfo Holley decide to concentrate their efforts against their enemy's left flank.

At dawn of March 7, their batteries open fire, but their flank attack is checked by the Presidentialists' Angol Battalion and Méndez's reserve. However, a counterattack by Arrate on Robles's right is repulsed by machine gun fire, after which the Presidentialists begin to run low on ammunition by 10:00 a.m. The Congressionalist armored train spearheads a final thrust that collapses the defenders' resolve, and the Presidentialists break and flee after Robles falls mortally wounded. Only 250 survivors will regroup, with a like number of 5th Line infantrymen waiting at Pachica, to begin a headlong retirement into Arica.

Del Canto's resounding triumph secures possession of all of Tarapacá Province for the Congressionalist cause, assuring a steady stream of money, which is furthermore denied to the president. Neighboring Antofagasta Province is cleared of Balmacedistas by the latter part of this same month, Tacna is taken in April, and Atacama, by the end of May. All of northern Chile therefore falls into the hands of the Congressionalist rebels (who establish a provisional

government at Iquique as of April 12), although Balmaceda and his army remain strong in the south. For the latter to prevail, the president needs to acquire the Chilean warships under construction in European yards; for Congress to triumph, its leaders need to buy arms and ammunition abroad to create a land force and directly challenge the army in the field around Santiago.

MARCH 12, 1891. Balmaceda designates Claudio Vicuña to run as his successor in the forthcoming elections, while he arrests political opponents.

APRIL 23, 1891. At 3:30 a.m., two of the few naval vessels loyal to the president—the modern, 750-ton, British-built destroyers *Almirante Lynch* under Capt. Alberto Fuentes and the *Almirante Condell* under Capt. Carlos Moraga Suzarte—steal around Cabeza de Vaca Point from Huasco and a half-hour later torpedo the *Blanco Encalada* from a range of less than 100 yards as it lies at anchor inside the Congressionalist harbor of Caldera. The elderly warship rolls over and sinks, taking down 182 crewmen and passengers. (Deputy Barros Luco, who cannot swim, will survive by clinging to the tail of a cow that heads for shore.)

The destroyers return to verify their kill, then exit and steer southward. At 7:00 a.m., they are sighted by Captain Merino's Congressionalist *Aconcagua*, which closes to within a thousand yards and exchanges volleys until 8:20 a.m., when the destroyers escape.

MAY 3, 1891. *Itata Incident.* The lightly armed, 1,200-ton Congressionalist steamer *Itata* of Capt. Alberto Silva Palma reaches San Diego (California) from Arica to clandestinely receive delivery of 5,000 Remington and 45,000 Lee rifles, plus 2 million rounds. Two evenings afterward, this vessel is impounded at the request of Balmaceda's ambassador to President Benjamin Harrison in Washington, while an apprehension order is also issued for the schooner *Robert & Minnie*, which is bringing these arms and ammunition southward from Oakland.

When the U.S. Marshal's tug leaves the *Itata's* side at 4:00 p.m. on May 6 to chase the latter schooner into Mexican waters, the Chilean steamer escapes out to sea. American authorities are outraged by its unauthorized departure. The situation is furthermore exacerbated when the *Robert & Minnie* is seized near San Pedro (California) by the tug *Falcon*



Blanket-wrapped survivors of the 1st Buin Infantry Regiment, part of Camus's defeated Presidentialist Division, retreating into the Andes aboard a train; photograph by Carlos Mandiola Gana. (Author's Collection)

on the evening of May 9—only to be found empty of its cargo, which has been transshipped to the *Itata* off San Clemente Island. The Chilean steamer has set sail for home. The 300-man, 3,700-ton cruiser USS *Charleston* of Capt. George C. Remy is sent in pursuit, and a formal protest is lodged with the rebel leadership at Iquique.

JUNE 3, 1891. The *Itata* reaches Tocopilla, 120 miles south of Iquique, but the next day—before it can offload its military cargo—it is ordered by Congressionalists leaders to surrender to U.S. rear admiral M. B. MacCann. It thus departs northward with the *Charleston* on June 13. Chileans are angered by this interference in their internal affairs, especially when an American court subsequently rules in the *Itata*'s favor.

The Congressionalists are meanwhile left with thousands of unarmed recruits whom they cannot train or deploy, while furthermore apprehensive that the 2,050-ton, Toulon-built cruisers *Presidente Errázuriz* and *Presidente Pinto* will soon join Balmaceda, thereby shifting the balance of naval power in his favor.

JULY 20, 1891. Three Congressionalist troop transports depart Iquique, reaching Caldera four days later

to begin mustering a 10,000-man invasion force at Copiapó.

AUGUST 15–16, 1891. Going over to the offensive, more than 9,300 Congressionalist troops wearing red armbands go aboard nine transports anchored at Huasco and Caldera, then steer southward, escorted by four warships and six supply ships. They arrive at Quintero Bay at dawn of August 20, disembarking their entire force unopposed by 11:00 p.m. (observed from a distance by Adm. George Brown's 4,083-ton cruiser USS *San Francisco*).

AUGUST 21, 1891. *Concón.* At 7:00 a.m., the 32 Congressionalist artillery pieces and six machine guns open fire against the 6,400 Presidentialist troops under Gen. Orozimbo Barbosa holding defensive positions with their 18 guns and four machine guns along the southern banks of the Aconcagua River, mostly concentrated between Concón Bajo and Torquemada Hill. Two and a half hours later, the defenders around Verdejo Ford above Concón Alto break and flee, allowing the Congressionalist 3rd Brigade of Brig. Gen. Enrique del Canto to thrust across the river, after which del Canto's 1st Brigade also pushes inland from Concón Bajo near the river mouth with support fire from the *O'Higgins* and the *Esmeralda*.

After several hours of fierce fighting, the out-flanked Presidentialists scatter by 4:00 p.m. in the direction of Viña del Mar, Quilpué, and Quillota, leaving behind 2,200 dead or wounded, 2,000 prisoners, plus all their guns and ammunition. This victory has claimed more than 522 Congressionalist dead or missing, as well as 600 wounded, yet they soon resume their advance upon the nearby port city of Valparaíso.

The defeated Balmacedistas manage to regroup outside the port, along with fresh reinforcements arriving from Concepción and Santiago, and throw up a new semicircular line of trenches running inland from Fort Callao on the southern shore of Marga Marga Inlet. The morale of these 8,000 men is nevertheless shaken, and ammunition is scarce. When the victorious Congressionalists appear on the evening of August 22, however, they content themselves with merely entrenching a half-mile away and commencing a long-range bombardment the next morning, supplemented by the vessels *Cochrane*, *Esmeralda*, *Aconcagua*, and *Cachapoal* offshore.

The Balmacedista commanders soon withdraw farther inland to prepare more new positions atop Placilla Heights, thus barring the road leading inland to the capital. They also detach a lesser force to hold Quillota. The Congressionalists reply by sending columns of their own to hold Quilpué and cut the railway at Las Cucharas, before following their retreating foes. Significantly, they are joined by various regiments defecting from Balmaceda's cause.

AUGUST 28, 1891. *Placilla.* The Congressionalist army, still 9,300 strong, attacks the 9,200 Presidentialists gathered into trenches around Placilla Heights, backed by 40 fieldpieces. In a brutal struggle, the attackers smash through and kill 1,115 defenders and wound 2,500, while capturing many more. Congressionalist casualties total 2,070 men, but the road into the capital lies open.

AUGUST 29, 1891. In the wake of his army's defeat at Placilla, Balmaceda delegates power to Baquedano as interim president, before fleeing into the



Dead Balmacedista gunners, fallen around their fieldpiece at Placilla; photograph by Emilio Magner. (Author's Collection)

Argentine Embassy. The victorious Congressionalists enter Santiago the next day amid widespread looting and torching of businesses and homes owned by Balmaceda supporters.

Order is restored, and Montt is promoted to vice admiral, being acclaimed as acting president the next day (although he will not actually be elected until October—running unopposed—and installed as of December 26). The trapped Balmaceda commits suicide on September 19, the day after his official term in office expires.

OCTOBER 6, 1891. Released under bond, the *Itata* departs San Diego (California) for Valparaíso.

OCTOBER 16, 1891. Baltimore Incident. This evening, a fight erupts outside the “True Blue” Bar in the red-light district of Valparaíso between a mob of Chileans—angry at American interventions in their country—and some of the 117 sailors on liberty from Capt. Winfield Scott Schley’s anchored 4,400-ton cruiser USS *Baltimore*. Two American sailors are killed and 17 wounded, 5 of them seriously, leading to a serious downturn in diplomatic relations. Eventually, Santiago pays \$75,000 in compensatory damages so that this crisis might be defused.

Pax Americana (1898–1938)



Poor Mexico! So far from God,
and so close to the United States.

—*Mexican president Porfirio Díaz*

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR (1898)

Ever since the beginning of Cuba's latest insurrection in 1895, public opinion in the United States has been building in favor of intervention against Spain, especially after the arrival of a Spanish army (whose numbers eventually swell to 20,000 men) under Gen. Valeriano Weyler—dubbed “the Butcher” by William Randolph Hearst’s jingoistic *New York Journal*—who resorts to mass arrests, concentration camps, and executions to stifle rebel sentiment.

These tactics fail, and Weyler is replaced by Gen. Ramón Blanco y Arenas, while Spanish forces are largely defeated and driven out of Cuba’s rural areas by the winter of 1897–1898, being reduced to merely sustaining garrisons within major towns. By this time, even many members of the land-owning elite also support the notion of an American intervention, simply to restore public order and trade, while the Hearst-Pulitzer newspaper feud in New York City further fans American passions with their sensationalistic, anti-Spanish rhetoric.

JANUARY 1, 1898. The American North Atlantic Squadron of Adm. Montgomery Sicard begins gathering in the Gulf of Mexico, near Florida’s Dry Tortugas.

JANUARY 12, 1898. A pro-Spanish riot occurs in Havana, involving numerous uniformed officers, who ransack independent Cuban newspaper offices and prompt the U.S. consul-general to request protection from Washington.

JANUARY 15, 1898. Spain’s governor general establishes a guard around the U.S. Consulate in Havana to protect it from attacks by Spanish zealots.

JANUARY 24, 1898. The 354-man, 6,700-ton battleship USS *Maine* of Capt. Charles D. Sigsbee is ordered to Havana to protect American interests, arriving the next day.

FEBRUARY 9, 1898. Enrique Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish ambassador in Washington, writes disparagingly of Republican president William McKinley in a private letter, which is published by the American press, thus forcing his resignation.

FEBRUARY 15, 1898. *Loss of the Maine.* At 9:40 p.m., this battleship suddenly explodes at anchor in Havana’s harbor, killing 266 of its crew and

Yellow Journalism

This term was coined during the heated newspaper rivalry between Joseph Pulitzer’s *New York World* and William Randolph Hearst’s *New York Journal*. Both were cheap, mass-circulation dailies vying for readers in New York City at the end of the 19th century by filling their pages with lurid articles. The competition began when Hearst bought the *Journal* in 1895, challenging Pulitzer’s *World* for advertising revenues. By the next year, he was hiring away employees dissatisfied with the ill-tempered Pulitzer. Both newspapers were Democratic Party organs, sympathetic to labor and immigrant causes.

Hearst also embraced the topic of Cuban freedom, so tales of Spanish brutality soon came to dominate the *Journal*’s front pages. Pulitzer’s *World* responded in kind, and both papers resorted to questionable tactics such as offering huge rewards for information on who bombed the USS *Maine*. Together they clamored for armed action against Spain. A week after Washington finally authorized hostilities, Hearst ran the headline “How Do You Like the *Journal*’s War?” before sailing for Cuba to personally report on the fighting as a correspondent.

Yet modern research casts doubt on the publisher’s claim to having ignited the conflict. Both dailies exercised little influence over other publications in the country, and no clout with the conservative Republican administration of President William McKinley in Washington. Their brazen editorializing was mostly confined to working-class New York. America’s intervention sprang from a much broader groundswell of concern over deteriorating conditions on a neighboring island.



The battleship USS Maine entering Havana's harbor for the last time. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

wounding 52 others. A naval court of inquiry is appointed by President McKinley five days later, which travels to Cuba under the 58-year-old captain William Thomas Sampson to investigate.

FEBRUARY 23, 1898. Several American warships begin gathering at Key West, Florida.

MARCH 6, 1898. The 494-man, 10,200-ton battleship USS *Oregon* of Capt. Charles E. Clark departs Puget Sound for San Francisco, then to continue toward Callao and around Cape Horn into the Caribbean theater, accompanied by the 144-man, 1,000-ton gunboat *Marietta*.

MARCH 11, 1898. The American War Department begins mobilization, despite wavering by McKinley.

MARCH 14, 1898. Spanish rear admiral Pascual Cervera y Topete departs Cadiz toward the Cape Verde Islands to begin marshalling an expedition to reinforce Puerto Rico and Cuba.

MARCH 19, 1898. The report of the American court of inquiry into the *Maine* explosion is completed and presented to Congress nine days later. While unable to determine its exact cause, the members do not believe this detonation to have originated within the ship—that is, from unstable ammunition—but rather from outside, suggesting a Spanish mine. The next day, March 29, simultaneous

resolutions declaring war against Spain and recognizing Cuban independence are introduced into Congress, although not passed until April 20.

APRIL 5, 1898. American consuls in Cuba are recalled.

APRIL 9, 1898. Desperately attempting to fend off war, the Spanish foreign minister informs Stewart L. Woodford, American ambassador in Madrid, that his government will grant an immediate armistice to Cuban rebels, submit the *Maine* controversy to arbitration, and accept virtually all of America's demands. Nevertheless, war fever in the United States is too far excited for reconciliation.

APRIL 11, 1898. McKinley asks Congress for a declaration of war, which is passed one week later and signed by the president on April 20, and hostilities are officially authorized to commence the next day.

APRIL 22, 1898. The U.S. Navy's North Atlantic Squadron begins a blockade of Cuba. The first shots of the war are actually fired when the 1,400-ton American gunboat *Nashville* captures the Spanish steamer *Buenaventura* that is approaching Havana out of the Gulf of Mexico. Numerous other interceptions follow.

APRIL 25, 1898. In Washington, the Teller Amendment is added to the American declaration of war,

whereby the U.S. government declares that it will make no attempt to establish control over Cuba.

APRIL 27, 1898. Shortly before 1:00 p.m., acting Rear Admiral Sampson shells the Spanish batteries at Point Rubalcava outside Matanzas in northwestern Cuba for half an hour with his 562-man, 8,150-ton armored cruiser *New York* (flag); 339-man, 3,200-ton cruiser *Cincinnati*; and 230-man, 6,060-ton monitor *Puritan*. Little damage is inflicted.

APRIL 29, 1898. At midnight, Cervera slips out of San Vicente in the Cape Verde Islands with his 7,000-ton cruisers *Infanta María Teresa* (flag), *Vizcaya*, and *Almirante Oquendo*; 6,840-ton *Cristóbal Colón* (formerly the Italian *Giuseppe Garibaldi II*); 380-ton destroyers *Furor*, *Plutón*, and *Terror*, plus the hospital ship *Alicante*. Despite Washington's exaggerated fears as to this squadron's strength and objectives, the Spanish men-of-war are poorly armed and manned—the cruiser *Colón* only having two

dummy 10-inch guns mounted, while the destroyers must be towed across the Atlantic toward the West Indies.

Also on this date, the 262-man, 2,000-ton cruiser *Marblehead* and 64-man, 500-ton armed yacht *Eagle* exchange fire with the Spanish torpedo gunboat *Galicia* and gunboat *Vasco Núñez de Balboa* off Cienfuegos in south central Cuba, causing minor damage.

APRIL 30, 1898. The battleship *Oregon* and gunboat *Marietta* reach Rio de Janeiro and recoil from the 6,000-ton purchased ship *Niterói* (renamed the *Buffalo*), while maintaining a careful watch for the Spanish destroyer *Temerario*, reputedly operating in these same waters.

MAY 8, 1898. The 25-man torpedo boat *Winslow* of Lt. J. B. Bernadou enters Cárdenas Bay in northwestern Cuba, only to be driven out by accurate counterfire from the 40-ton Spanish gunboats *Ligera* and *Alerta*, plus the armed tug *Antonio López*.



Operations in Cuba throughout 1898.

Battle of Manila

On April 21, 1898, the 60-year-old commodore George Dewey was anchored in Hong Kong Bay with the U.S. Asiatic Fleet when he was informed by telegraph that war had been declared against Spain. Three days later, he was instructed to launch a long-planned attack against the naval forces defending Spain's Pacific colonial capital of Manila in the Philippines. Dewey therefore shifted his warships 30 miles east into Mirs Bay on the Chinese coast to prepare for combat and await the latest intelligence being brought from Manila by its displaced American consul, Oscar F. Williams.

Immediately after this diplomat came aboard on April 27, 1898, Dewey set sail, checking Subic Bay three days later. Spanish rear admiral Patricio Montojo y Pasarón had hoped to make a stand inside with his overmatched squadron, but since its shore batteries were incomplete, he had withdrawn into the Spaniards' main anchorage of Cavite (seven miles southwest of the Philippine capital, inside Manila Bay). The American squadron arrived outside that same afternoon, standing in through the Boca Grande southern channel shortly before midnight. They then steamed across Manila Bay's vast expanse until the capital and Cavite came within sight at dawn on Sunday, May 1.

The Spanish defenders opened fire at 5:15 a.m., yet so feebly that Dewey steered directly toward Montojo's anchored warships without replying until a half-hour later. Led by his powerful 410-man, 5,600-ton armored cruiser *Olympia* under Capt. Charles V. Gridley, plus the 4,600-ton cruiser *Baltimore*, 3,200-ton *Raleigh* and *Boston*, and two gunboats, the U.S. squadron outclassed their obsolete, unarmored, wooden foes. A one-sided exchange ensued, lasting almost two hours, the American warships circling and hurling salvoes until Dewey—misinformed that his ships were running low on ammunition—retired a few miles out of range.

Learning that there was in fact no ammunition deficiency, Dewey refreshed his crews with a light meal, then resumed his bombardment at 11:16 a.m. Montojo's few surviving vessels meanwhile crept into the shallows, where they were finished off within the hour. The Spaniards suffered 371 total casualties, compared to only 7 American sailors lightly wounded.

When news of this lopsided victory reached Washington nearly a week later, it was greeted with exultation. Being led to believe that untested U.S. forces might fare badly against European professionals, the American public now lionized Dewey's achievement and wholeheartedly embraced the war. An expedition of 11,000 U.S. troops under Maj. Gen. Wesley Merritt was dispatched to join the distant fleet, taking Manila that same August. Permanent American control was established over the Philippines for several decades.

MAY 11, 1898. Winslow reenters Cárdenas Bay accompanied by the armed revenue cutter *Hudson* of Lieutenant Newcomb, backed up by the 198-man, 1,400-ton gunboat *Wilmington* and 154-man, 1,170-ton cruiser *Machias* farther out at sea. When the lighter U.S. vessels probe into shoal waters, they are ambushed by a masked Spanish battery using smokeless powder. The *Winslow* suffers five killed and a like number wounded during an hour-long exchange, before being towed out of danger by the *Hudson*. The Spaniards suffer two killed and a dozen wounded aboard their armed tug *Antonio López*, which is disabled along with the *Ligera* by long-range American salvoes.

This same day on Cuba's southern coast, the cruiser *Marblehead* and gunboat *Nashville* shell the beach outside Cienfuegos, providing cover fire for an attempt by 55 men aboard four boats to cut its three underwater telegraphic cables. Two are severed, despite three hours of Spanish rifle fire that kills four Americans and injures five more. The armed revenue cutter *Windom* then stands close in-

shore, bringing down Cienfuegos's lighthouse with its four-inch gun.

MAY 12, 1898. *Shelling of San Juan.* Before dawn, Sampson approaches the Puerto Rican capital out of the northeast with the 265-man, 2,000-ton cruiser *Detroit* in his van, followed by the 590-man, 11,300-ton battleships *Iowa* (flag) and 570-man, 10,200-ton *Indiana*; the cruiser *New York*; the 180-man, 4,000-ton monitors *Amphitrite* and *Terror*; the 32-man torpedo boat *Porter*; the 270-man, 2,000-ton cruiser *Montgomery*; plus the 32-man armed tug *Wompatuck*, hoping to catch Cervera inside.

At 5:17 a.m., the *Iowa* opens fire against the outer Spanish defenses and is joined by the other American capital ships, as Sampson's squadron slowly circles offshore for the next three hours. The Spaniards respond with two-dozen artillery pieces; marksmanship is poor on both sides, so only minor damage is inflicted. Realizing that the Spanish battle squadron is not at anchor inside, the American admiral thereupon reverses course westward—unaware

that, this very same day, Cervera has been sighted off Martinique, detaching his destroyer *Terror* and hospital ship *Alicante* into Fort-de-France for repairs before continuing for Curaçao.

MAY 13, 1898. The 11,600-ton armed auxiliary *Saint Louis* of Capt. Caspar F. Goodrich drags the seabed a few miles east of San Juan de Puerto Rico, cutting the underwater telegraphic cable leading to Saint Thomas.

MAY 14, 1898. The 12-year-old, three-masted, 1,130-ton Spanish cruiser *Conde del Venadito* sorties from Havana with the equally ancient, 570-ton torpedo gunboat *Nueva España* to engage American blockaders east of this port. One hour later, they encounter the 135-man, 1,000-ton gunboats *Vicksburg* and *Annapolis*—soon supported by the auxiliaries *Mayflower*, *Wasp*, *Tecumseh*, and *Osceola*—which drive the Spaniards back under the protection of Santa Clara Battery by nightfall.

At 8:00 a.m. this same day, Cervera's flagship and the *Vizcaya* enter Willemstad (Curaçao) for coal and provisions, while the *Oquendo* and two destroyers remain outside. After hastily resupplying, the Spanish squadron departs at 5:15 p.m. of May 15, pretending to steer north-northeast toward Puerto

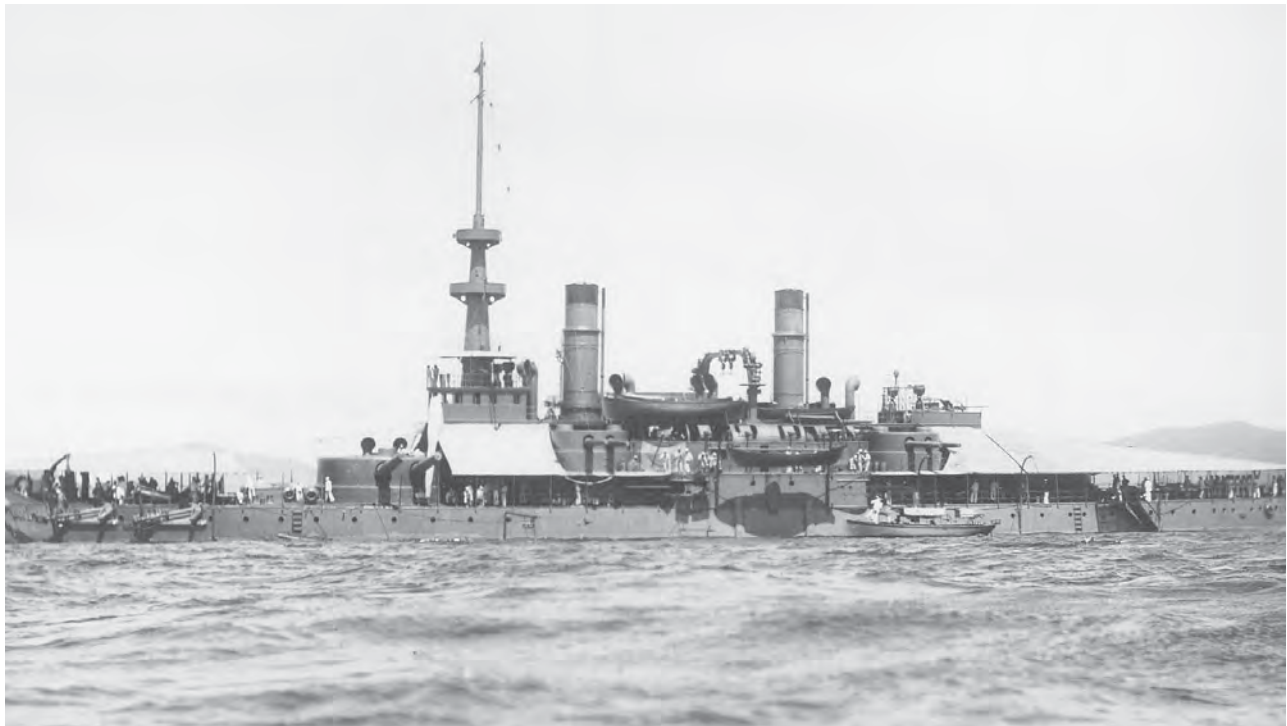
Rico, before altering course northwest toward Santiago de Cuba.

MAY 16, 1898. After nightfall, the *Saint Louis* and the *Wompatuck* stand in close to Santiago, attempting to raise and sever its two underwater telegraphic cables to Jamaica. The batteries open fire, and a pair of Spanish vessels sortie, obliging the Americans to retire out of range.

The next morning at 10:00 a.m., the *Saint Louis* and the *Wompatuck* resume their efforts, cutting one cable before withdrawing eastward. They then try to break the Guantánamo-to-Haiti line as well, only to be chased off by the 106-ton Spanish gunboat *Sandoval*.

MAY 17, 1898. While racing toward Key West for more precise intelligence on Cervera's movements, Sampson's flagship the *New York* intercepts the 750-ton Spanish vessel *Carlos F. Rosas* off Havana. His straggling squadron overtakes the American admiral two days later.

MAY 18, 1898. The battleship *Oregon* reaches Bridgetown (Barbados) alone, having taken two months to sail 14,000 miles around Cape Horn from San Francisco. (This immensely long detour will eventually



The battleship USS Oregon at anchor inside Rio de Janeiro's bay, as photographed in early May 1898 by Marc Ferrez; note how its turrets are swivelled into firing position to cover the harbor entrance in case of a surprise attack. (Author's Collection)

revive Washington's interest in securing a shorter passage, either across southern Nicaragua or the Isthmus of Panama.)

MAY 19, 1898. At 5:30 a.m., Cervera's squadron slips into Santiago de Cuba (population 50,000) and comes to anchor two hours later. The city's beleaguered 9,000-man garrison under Gen. Arsenio Linares—its pay already 10 months in arrears—is ill prepared to meet the demands of an additional 2,200 seamen, plus their warships.

MAY 20, 1898. In international waters three miles off Cap du Môle (northwestern Haiti), the *Wompatuck* cuts the underwater telegraphic cable leading to Guantánamo.

MAY 23, 1898. The Red Cross ship *State of Texas*, with Clara Barton aboard, reaches Tampa in anticipation of a U.S. invasion of Cuba.

MAY 24, 1898. The *Oregon* appears off Jupiter Inlet (Florida) and reports its arrival to Washington.

MAY 26, 1898. Commo. Winfield Scott Schley arrives 20 miles off Santiago with the battleships *Iowa*, the 495-man, 10,200-ton *Massachusetts*, and the 433-man, 6,300-ton *Texas*; the 550-man, 9,100-ton armored cruisers *Brooklyn* (flag) and *Marblehead*; the armed auxiliaries *Vixen* of 165 tons, *Hawk*, and *Eagle*; and the collier *Merrimac* to learn whether Cervera is inside. The 477-man, 8,050-ton cruiser *Minneapolis*, plus the 11,600-ton armed auxiliaries *Saint Paul* and 10,800-ton *Yale* (ex-*Paris*) join him this same evening.

MAY 28, 1898. The U.S. tugs *Uncas* and *Leyden* demolish a Spanish blockhouse five miles east of Cárdenas (Cuba).

MAY 29, 1898. After cruising indecisively off Santiago for three days, Schley sights Cervera's men-of-war lying inside at 7:40 a.m., receiving some rounds at extreme long range from *Colón*.

MAY 31, 1898. Shortly after 1:00 p.m., Schley leads the battleships *Massachusetts* and *Iowa*, plus the recently joined 365-man, 3,600-ton cruiser *New Orleans*, in toward Santiago's harbor mouth and opens fire against its outer defenses and the cruiser *Colón* one hour later. A brief exchange of shots results in no damage.

The next dawn, Sampson arrives to assume command over this U.S. fleet, while the Spaniards stretch a boom across the entrance.

JUNE 3, 1898. At 3:30 a.m., Lt. Richmond P. Hobson steams the collier *Merrimac* into Santiago's entrance and scuttles it under fire, in a vain attempt to block its channel and trap Cervera inside. However, his block ship comes to rest a little out of position, leaving a narrow passage out to sea.

JUNE 6, 1898. At 7:40 a.m., Sampson leads his fleet in two columns against Santiago's outer defenses and opens fire 20 minutes later. Although thousands of shells are expended, only 3 Spaniards are killed and 51 wounded ashore, plus another 5 dead and 14 injured aboard the decrepit Rey Alfonso XII-class cruiser *Reina Mercedes*, after which the Americans withdraw.

JUNE 7, 1898. *Guantánamo.* At dawn, five of Sampson's vessels appear off the town of Caimanera, and the Spanish batteries at Playa del Este—called "Windward Point" by the Americans—and Cayo Toro are destroyed by bombardments from the *Marblehead* under Capt. Bowman H. McCalla; the 282-man, 6,900-ton converted cruiser *Yankee* (ex-mail steamer *El Norte*); and the *Saint Louis*, which together will also force the Spanish gunboat *Sandoval* to seek shelter behind minefields in Guantánamo's shallow upper bay.

The *Saint Louis* then cuts the lower bay's boom, allowing the American squadron to penetrate as far as Fisherman's Point, where it anchors and is contacted from ashore by two Cuban guerrilla officers. These men report that Gen. Calixto García—of "message to García" fame—holds the western side with his rebel forces. The nearest Spanish concentration is the 7,000-man isolated garrison of Gen. Félix Pareja, located 14 miles inland at the town of Guantánamo itself. The Americans therefore decide to remain off Caimanera until a full-fledged U.S. landing force can arrive in their support.

Two days later, on June 9, the *Marblehead* and the 117-man *Dolphin* again fire upon the Spanish defenses, allowing 60 marines from the battleship *Oregon* and the *Marblehead* to establish a beachhead the next dawn at Playa del Este. That same afternoon of June 10, the U.S. troop transport *Panther* (ex-merchantman *Venezuela*) arrives with a 645-man marine battalion and four guns under Lt. Col. Robert W. Huntington and lands them near Caimanera to set up camp. Spanish resistance consists of occasional sniper rounds fired from Cuzco Hill and the surrounding jungle, killing four Americans and wounding another.



Extemporized Spanish shore battery installed at Socapa to cover the west end of Santiago's harbor entrance; it consisted of 6-inch Hontoria rapid-fire guns apparently removed from the cruiser Reina Mercedes. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

A feeble counterattack is launched against the American encampment on June 12, during which two more marines are killed and seven wounded. At dawn on June 14, Huntington advances to circle south around Cuzco Hill, guided by 50 Cuban scouts. This maneuver outflanks the surprised Spaniards at Cuzco Well, allowing the marines and Cubans to drive them inland, inflicting 60 fatalities and capturing 18. Two Cubans are killed, and 3 marines and 2 Cubans are wounded during this exchange.

On June 16, the *Texas* and the *Marblehead* again shell the Spanish fort on Cayo Toro, reducing it to rubble one hour later, which secures Guantánamo Bay as a haven for U.S. naval operations along the entire coast.

JUNE 10, 1898. The *Saint Louis* intercepts the British collier *Twickenham* off Jamaica, carrying 3,000 tons of coal for Cervera.

JUNE 13, 1898. The Spanish torpedo gunboat *Galicia* approaches the *Yankee* off Cienfuegos, apparently mistaking it for an unarmed merchantman.

When the latter opens fire, the Spaniards retire into port, their retreat covered by shore batteries and their consort *Balboa*.

JUNE 14, 1898. The 69-man, 930-ton "dynamite cruiser" *Vesuvius* joins Sampson off Santiago, adding its high-explosive gun-cotton shells to the intermittent bombardment of the shore emplacements.

JUNE 20, 1898. After lengthy delays while assembling at Tampa, the 17,000-man Fifth Corps of 300-pound, 63-year-old, gouty major general William Rufus Shafter arrives off Santiago aboard 32 crowded transports and begins disembarkation 17 miles farther east at Daiquirí two days later, while Sampson's fleet shells various coastal points as a diversion. Daiquirí's 300 Spanish defenders, having no artillery and menaced by Cuban guerrillas in their rear, retire quietly. Late on June 22, the first American units also reach the nearby port of Siboney, eight miles closer to Santiago, thereby gaining a second landing zone for Shafter's army, as well as contacting 4,000 Cuban insurgent allies.

Rough Riders

Upon the outbreak of hostilities against Spain, the vigorous assistant secretary of the U.S. Navy—39-year-old Theodore Roosevelt—resigned and was offered command of one of three volunteer cavalry regiments that were to be raised. Aware of his limited practical military expertise, though, he deferred to his colleague and friend, Col. Leonard E. Wood, a Medal of Honor recipient and a Harvard-trained doctor in the Army Medical Corps.

Yet as lieutenant colonel and second-in-command, Roosevelt traveled through Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico during May 1–21, 1898, recruiting most of the 1,000 officers and men who comprised the 1st U.S. Volunteer Cavalry Regiment. He included ranch hands and Pawnee scouts he had known during his early years in the Dakota Badlands, policemen from whom he had served as New York City police commissioner, plus Ivy League athletes and polo players. Many applicants were turned away before this amateur regiment received less than a month's training at Camp Wood in San Antonio (Texas), then went to Tampa for embarkation toward Cuba by June 14.

Lack of ships meant that only two-thirds of the regiment landed at Daiquirí eight days later, without any horses; yet they acquitted themselves well as infantrymen in a clash against retreating Spanish troops at Las Guásimas on June 24, 1898.

Six days later, Wood was promoted to brigadier general and was given command over the entire cavalry brigade because of the illness of his superior. Roosevelt was moved up to full colonel of the 1st Volunteers, who became known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders." (The nickname apparently derived from Buffalo Bill Cody's popular Wild West show, which featured a "Congress of Rough Riders of the World.")

The next day, July 1, 1898, Roosevelt—the only man on horseback—led his dismounted troopers up Kettle Hill, before veering south and joining the regular 1st and 10th Cavalry regiments in a diversionary charge up San Juan Hill. At considerable cost, the Spaniards were broken and driven back inside Santiago's defenses, capitulating two and a half weeks later. Because Roosevelt and more than a third of his Rough Riders contracted malaria, they were evacuated on August 8 to Montauk on Long Island outside New York City.

Greeted as heroes, they were discharged by September 14. Despite such a short term of service, the volunteer troopers became famous thanks to extensive newspaper coverage, and especially after Roosevelt was elected governor of New York State that same year and went on to be elected president in 1901.

JUNE 22, 1898. While blockading San Juan de Puerto Rico, Captain Sigsbee's 11,600-ton armed auxiliary *Saint Paul* spots the ancient, 1,130-ton cruiser *Isabel II* exiting at 1:00 p.m., followed by the not fully repaired *Terror*. After pausing briefly beneath its batteries, the Spanish destroyer dashes at the *Saint Paul*, only to be hit by heavy counterfire. In a sinking condition, the *Terror's* commander circles back and beaches on Puntilla Shoal (from where his destroyer is eventually refloated), while the *Isabel* retreats into port. Sigsbee is then relieved three days later by the 285-man, 6,200-ton armed auxiliary *Yosemite* (ex-*El Sol*), so he sails the *Saint Paul* toward New York for a refit.

JUNE 24, 1898. *Las Guásimas.* U.S. naval authorities expect Shafter to march due west along Santiago's coastline and capture the harbor castle guarding its sea entrance to permit Sampson's fleet to then enter and annihilate the anchored Spanish squadron. Yet once ashore, the general instead decides to push northwestward and invade the city first, eliminating the military threat posed by its garrison before proceeding against the coastal defenses.

When the American vanguard advances inland from its beachhead, approximately 1,100 dismounted U.S. troopers and Rough Riders overtake a large number of Spaniards three and a half miles away at Las Guásimas, who are hastily retiring behind Linares's defensive positions around Santiago. This retreating column is mauled and suffers 250 losses, as opposed to 16 American dead and 52 wounded.

JUNE 28, 1898. Cuban scouts inform Shafter that 8,000 Spanish troops have broken out of the rebel encirclement at Manzanillo and are marching eastward to bolster Linares. This information prompts the American general to galvanize his preparations for an assault against the Santiago defenses before these reinforcements can arrive.

JUNE 30, 1898. This morning, the 55-man armed yachts *Hornet* and *Hist* push into Niquero Bay in southeastern Cuba, destroying a 40-ton Spanish gunboat at long range. Joined by the tug *Wompatuck*, the American vessels then press northeast toward Manzanillo, opening fire upon its defenses at 3:20 this same afternoon, only to be driven off an hour

and a half later by its batteries and the 135-ton gunboat *Guantánamo*, the 85-ton *Delgado Parejo*, the 65-ton *Guardián*, and the 40-ton *Estrella*.

Also this day, the *Yosemite* intercepts the 3,460-ton Spanish steamer *Antonio López* as it attempts to enter San Juan de Puerto Rico out of the Atlantic. Despite a belated sally by the cruiser *Isabel II* and the gunboat *General Concha*, the approaching vessel is driven aground on Salinas Point.

JULY 1, 1898. *San Juan Hill.* At dawn, Shafter launches a three-pronged attack against the Spanish perimeter defenses outside Santiago, sending a newly arrived half brigade of volunteer infantry in a diversionary move along the beach toward its harbor

castle; an infantry division supported by dismounted cavalrymen up the Siboney road toward San Juan Hill (actually a low ridge just east of the city of Santiago); while Brig. Gen. Henry W. Lawton's 6,200-man 2nd Infantry Division leads the main thrust by circling northward, then storming the isolated village of El Caney on the Guantánamo road.

However, this outpost is held by 520 determined Spaniards, barricaded behind trenches and a blockhouse. For the better part of a day, they check Lawton's flanking maneuver, killing 81 Americans and wounding 360 before they are finally overrun at 4:00 p.m. El Caney's defenders sustain 235 casualties, and almost all survivors are captured. Meanwhile, dismounted elements from five different cavalry



Maj. Gen. Joseph Wheeler and his staff, at left, meeting with Col. Leonard Wood and Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt, at right, in the Tampa embarkation camp, early June 1898. (U.S. National Park Service)

regiments, plus a battery of Gatling guns, carry San Juan Hill this same afternoon after a bitter struggle.

Both sides are greatly shaken by their losses. Shafter—having endured 1,100 total casualties—briefly contemplates retreat, while the Spaniards—whose losses are even heavier—retire into their second line of trenches, despite the fact that these are disadvantageously placed on lower ground. Linares, severely wounded in an arm while trying to hold San Juan Hill, is succeeded by Gen. José Toral.

JULY 2, 1898. Fearful that Cervera's squadron will be lost if Santiago falls, the Spanish authorities order their admiral by telegraph to escape. He therefore recalls the 1,200 sailors who have been helping man the defenses ashore and after nightfall sends the gunboat *Alvarado* to remove six mines from the harbor entrance, thus clearing a passage out to sea.

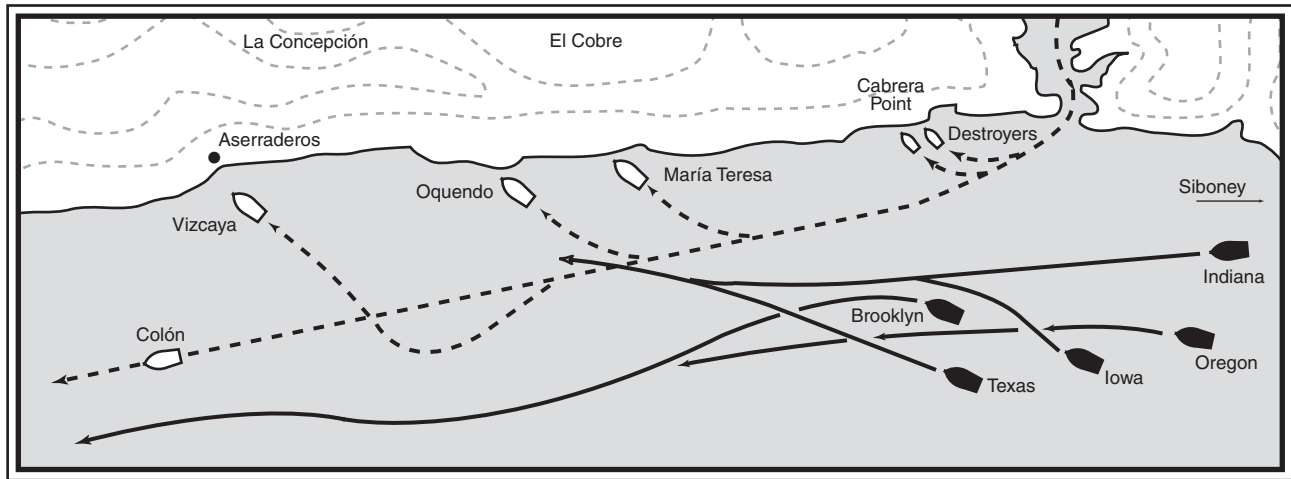
JULY 3, 1898. *Action off Santiago.* Cervera makes a desperate dash at 9:30 this Sunday morning with the

556-man cruiser *Infanta María Teresa* of Flag Capt. Victor María Concas y Palau, the 491-man *Vizcaya* of Capt. Antonio Eulate y Pery, the 487-man *Almirante Oquendo* of Capt. Juan Bautista Lazaga, and the 567-man *Cristóbal Colón* under Commo. José de Paredes y Chacón, plus the 80-man destroyers *Furor* and *Plutón* under Capt. Fernando Villamil. Immediately, they are sighted and pursued by Schley's vice flag *Brooklyn* under Capt. Francis A. Cook, plus the battleships *Iowa*, *Indiana*, *Oregon*, and *Texas* (Sampson is too far east with the *New York* to engage, having gone to confer earlier with Shafter ashore; while the *Massachusetts* is at Guantánamo recoaling).

The *Brooklyn*, the *Texas* of Capt. John "Jack" W. Philip, and the *Iowa* of Capt. Robley D. "Fighting Bob" Evans open fire by 9:40 a.m., before Cervera can even begin turning westward. Both the Spanish flagship and the *Oquendo* are struck repeatedly, salvoes driving them aground 20 minutes later, six and eight miles, respectively, from Santiago's entrance. The *Vizcaya* is set ablaze and runs ashore by 11:15 a.m.



Wrecked remains of the Spanish cruiser Vizcaya ablaze after the Battle of Santiago with the American torpedo boat Ericsson standing by to rescue survivors. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)



Battle of Santiago.

at Aserraderos, 15 miles west of Santiago. Both the *Furor* and the *Plutón* are also destroyed by the *Indiana* and the 93-man, 800-ton armed yacht *Gloucester* of Lt. Cmdr. R. Wainwright, succumbing near Cabrera Point. Lastly, the unarmed *Colón* leads the *Brooklyn* and the *Oregon* on a 50-mile chase before finally being overhauled and forced aground in ruins at 1:20 p.m., 70 miles west of Santiago opposite Turquino Peak. All the Spanish ships are lost and 323 crew members killed, 151 wounded, and 1,700 captured—including Cervera and the *Vizcaya*'s Captain Eulate—while only two American vessels sustain any damage, and a single seaman killed and another injured.

After witnessing this one-sided slaughter, Santiago's garrison is further demoralized when the Manzanillo relief column at last slips through a gap in the besiegers' lines this same evening, proving to be only 3,500 weary troops under Col. Federico Escario rather than the anticipated 8,000.

JULY 4, 1898. To reblock Santiago's entrance following Cervera's sortie, the 11-year-old, 3,042-ton cruiser *Reina Mercedes*—partially disarmed and barely capable of getting up steam—is scuttled in its channel at 11:30 p.m. (Refloated the next year, it is taken to the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1912 as a prize exhibit and used as a barracks ship until scrapped in 1957.)

JULY 5, 1898. At midnight, the 50-man, 545-ton armed yacht *Hawk* intercepts the 4,380-ton mail steamer *Alfonso XIII* seven miles outside Havana and chases it westward. By 1:30 a.m., the Spanish vessel runs hard aground outside Mariel and is abandoned

and shelled the next morning by its pursuer, along with the 153-man, 1,200-ton gunboat *Castine*.

JULY 9, 1898. Having gradually extended his siege lines, Shafter closes off Santiago's last escape route when his right flank reaches the western shores of the bay.

JULY 10, 1898. This afternoon, a firefight erupts between Santiago's defenders and besiegers—joined from offshore by the *Brooklyn*, the *Indiana*, and the *Texas*—that lasts until the next morning. Holding the high ground, the American soldiers suffer only 2 dead and 2 wounded, compared to 7 Spaniards killed and more than 50 injured.

JULY 11, 1898. While the *Brooklyn*, the *New York*, and the *Indiana* continue shelling Aguadores, the 59-year-old major general Nelson Appleton Miles arrives off Siboney with reinforcements for Shafter, visiting his subordinate's headquarters ashore the next day.

JULY 12, 1898. This morning, the *Eagle* pursues the Spanish blockade runner *Santo Domingo* west of Isla de Pinos (modern Juventud Island, off southwestern Cuba), driving it on to Piedras Point and setting it ablaze.

JULY 16, 1898. Cuban insurgents occupy without resistance the small northeastern port of Gibara, supported by the *Nashville*.

JULY 17, 1898. After several days of negotiations, Toral capitulates at noon, surrendering not only

Santiago's 12,000-man garrison and 97 guns but also another 12,000 troops and militiamen scattered around Guantánamo, plus a half-dozen other Spanish outposts throughout eastern Cuba. Wood is installed as Santiago's new military governor three days afterward, this land campaign having cost 243 American dead and 1,445 wounded.

JULY 18, 1898. Early this morning, the *Wilmington* and its 176-man, 1,400-ton sister gunboat *Helena* stand into Manzanillo's northern channel, while the 627-ton armed auxiliary *Scorpion* and the *Osceola* enter through its central channel and the *Hist*, the *Hornet*, and the *Wompatuck* via its southern channel to shell the Spanish shipping inside. Uniting at 7:50 a.m. and opening fire from beyond range of Manzanillo's batteries, the Americans pound the harbor for two and a half hours, destroying or incapacitating its gunboats, the *Cuba Española* of 225 tons, the *Guantánamo*, the *Delgado Parejo*, the *Guardián*, the *Estrella*, and the 35-ton *Centinela*, as well as setting the steamers *Gloria*, *José García*, and *Purísima Concepción* ablaze.

JULY 21, 1898. The *Annapolis* and the 167-man, 1,800-ton gunboat *Topeka*, preceded by the smaller

auxiliaries *Wasp* and *Leyden*, stand into Nipe Bay in northeastern Cuba, discovering its Ramón Point battery to be unarmed. Four and a half miles inside, they also sight the 22-year-old, 146-man, 935-ton dispatch vessel *Jorge Juan*. They open fire on the latter at 12:45 p.m. and sink it one hour later.

This same day, Miles departs Guantánamo with a dozen transports bearing 3,400 fresh troops—the 6th Massachusetts and the 6th Illinois Volunteer Infantry regiments, plus five regular field batteries and other auxiliaries—to gain a foothold on Puerto Rico and await the arrival of further contingents from Tampa and Newport News. This first expedition is escorted by the battleship *Massachusetts* of Capt. F.J. Higginson, the 181-man, 6,100-ton armed auxiliary *Dixie* (ex-*El Sud*), and the *Gloucester*.

JULY 24, 1898. *Puerto Rican Invasion.* Although originally intended to disembark at Cape Fajardo, 25–30 miles east of San Juan, Miles instead changes strategy after this destination is revealed by the U.S. press. After coasting eastward along northern Puerto Rico to deceive Spanish lookouts, his expedition reverses course after nightfall of July 24 and runs without lights around the southwestern tip of the island, to appear the next dawn off its tiny port of

Surrendered Santiago

Cuba's second-largest city suffered during its siege. About half of its prewar populace, some 20,000 civilians, were allowed to evacuate for El Caney. Its buildings were then shelled from the encircling heights until July 14, when General Toral was asked to capitulate. After telegraphing Madrid, he accepted the Americans' terms, so General Shafter raised the Stars and Stripes over the governor's palace by noon on July 17.

The rebel leader García was excluded from this arrangement, however, and his followers were not allowed into the devastated city. Instead, the young Wood was installed as military governor on July 20, 1898, despite objections from rebels who argued that at least its civic administration "should be turned over to Cubans." Shafter grudgingly agreed to share some duties, so the wealthy, French-educated rebel general Demetrio Castillo was temporarily named mayor. But the Americans remained distrustful and contemptuous of the ragtag insurgents, most of whom were black, and believed that only the former Spanish municipal officials could manage the city's resurrection.

Castillo therefore was removed a few days later in favor of Santiago's ex-Spanish mayor, Leonardo Ros. García's aggrieved followers retired into the hills, their vision of Cuban independence having been dashed. As some rebels still wished to avenge years of repression, roads inland remained dangerous for travelers, and no produce reached market. Some defeated Spaniards in turn continued to treat all Cubans with vindictiveness, while the American occupiers often regarded black inhabitants—almost 57 percent of Santiago's peacetime populace—with blatant racism.

Fortunately, Wood proved to be an excellent administrator. He immediately addressed the needs of the few surviving residents, who were still suffering so badly from disease and famine that the death rate exceeded 200 people a day. Water and sewer systems had been destroyed, and no public funds were available. Wood hired citizens to clear streets of bodies and debris, then turned to repairing the docks and bridges. At first, he paid wages with rations, then he issued checks as the economy revived. García was allowed to make a ceremonial visit on September 22, yet the Americans still refused to relinquish control. Wood's authority was even expanded the next month to encompass all of eastern Cuba, with Castillo as his token vice governor.

Guánica, 15 miles west of Ponce. The *Gloucester* stands in and quickly secures its waterfront, allowing Miles's troops to occupy the town without loss. The Americans then press inland on July 26 and gain the main road leading toward Ponce after another bloodless skirmish.

JULY 26, 1898. Spain, through France's Ambassador Cambon in Washington, asks President McKinley to name his peace terms; McKinley responds four days later. These are accepted by Madrid on August 8 and relayed to the U.S. government on August 9.

JULY 27, 1898. Miles is joined off Guánica by another 3,300 troops from the United States: the 16th Pennsylvania, plus the 2nd and 3rd Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry regiments, under Maj. Gen. James H. Wilson. Rather than have them disembark, Miles orders their transports to proceed directly east toward Ponce, which he is about to attack.

The next morning, this convoy—supported inshore by the *Annapolis*, the *Dixie*, and the *Wasp*, plus the *Massachusetts* farther out to sea—penetrates Ponce's harbor in coordination with a land assault, prompting its heavily outnumbered Spanish garrison to flee north toward San Juan after only token resistance. Miles then issues a proclamation promising the Puerto Ricans liberty from Spain, which produces a friendly reception.

JULY 31, 1898. Brig. Gen. Theodore Schwan joins Miles at Ponce with an additional 2,900 regulars from the 11th and 19th U.S. Infantry regiments, plus artillery and cavalrymen.

AUGUST 1, 1898. With the support of the *Gloucester* offshore, Miles's advancing army captures the town of Arroyo. The next day Guayama capitulates as well, after being briefly shelled by the *Cincinnati* and the *Saint Louis*.

AUGUST 3, 1898. Brig. Gen. Peter C. Hains appears off Puerto Rico with 3,700 men of the 3rd Illinois, 4th Ohio, and 4th Pennsylvania Volunteer Infantry regiments, disembarking at Arroyo. They are joined a couple of days later by Maj. Gen. John R. Brooke with another couple of thousand cavalrymen and gunners. Miles's command eventually swells to 17,000 men, facing 8,000 dispirited Spaniards—1,300 of them concentrated inland at Aibonito to block any immediate American advance across its range toward San Juan.

Miles instead opts for a four-pronged offensive, with Schwan marching north along the coast from Guánica; a second column ascending a mountain trail to meet him at Arecibo; Wilson pressuring Aibonito frontally with a third formation; while Brooke circles behind with a fourth detachment out of Arroyo.

AUGUST 6, 1898. A unit from the *Amphitrite* seizes the lighthouse outside San Juan, repulsing—along with the *Cincinnati*—a Spanish counterattack on the night of August 8–9, before withdrawing the next morning.

AUGUST 8, 1898. A minor skirmish occurs four miles north of Guayama, followed by another at Hormigueros two days later, as Miles launches his northern drive. The Americans easily rout the Spaniards on all fronts, sending defeated or outflanked companies reeling back into blockaded San Juan. American losses total only 4 dead and 40 wounded throughout this entire campaign. Schwan's troops, in particular, distinguish themselves by capturing 192 prisoners, before overrunning Mayagüez on August 11.

AUGUST 12, 1898. Goodrich appears outside the Cuban port of Manzanillo with his 393-man, 4,100-ton cruiser *Newark* (flag), *Suwanee*, *Hist*, *Osceola*, and ex-Spanish gunboat *Alvarado*, escorting a marine battalion aboard the transport *Resolute*. After calling upon its governor to surrender, the warships open fire against Manzanillo's batteries at 3:40 p.m., while Cuban insurgents also threaten its garrison from inland. The next morning, fighting ceases when the general peace treaty is announced.

On August 12, 1898, Madrid signs the peace protocols, officially ending hostilities. Although America's victory has been greatly facilitated by the 48,000 rebels fighting beside the invading U.S. forces, Cuba is excluded from the subsequent negotiations in Paris and must accept compromises demanded by Washington.

By the resultant accord signed on December 10, 1898, Spain withdraws from Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other small islands in the West Indies and Pacific, thereby losing the last vestiges of its overseas empire. The United States assumes a protectorate over these newly liberated territories, remaining in Cuba over the next three years to supervise the installation of a national government. It also inserts an amendment by Connecticut senator Orville Platt directly into the Cuban constitution that allows for future U.S. interventions.

WAR OF THE THOUSAND DAYS (1899–1902)

After a precipitate, three-year decline in the world price of coffee, Colombia is plunged into bankruptcy, which in turn sparks civic unrest and riots. The aged, Conservative Party president Manuel Antonio Sanclemente responds by declaring martial law on July 28, 1899, but his Liberal Party opponents nonetheless prepare to challenge him by a recourse to arms. On October 18, the north-eastern department of Santander rises in revolt, and a desultory civil war erupts.

OCTOBER 24, 1899. The government gunboats *Hércules* and *Colombia* overtake a hastily assembled Liberal flotilla moving up the Magdalena River, which has already blocked the channel at Barranquilla and captured the river ports of Magangué and El Banco. In a violent nocturnal action at Los Obispos, the gunboats sink most of the more lightly armed Liberal vessels.

Equally ill-equipped Liberal land forces are also dispersed on November 5 at Nocaima in Cundinamarca Department, resulting in the death of their general, Zenón Figueredo. Furthermore, when the former doctor—now promoted to general—Rafael Uribe Uribe assaults Bucaramanga in Santander Department six days later. Some 1,000 Liberals are lost, as compared to fewer than 100 of its Conservative defenders. Yet another Liberal setback occurs at Manta on November 20.

DECEMBER 15, 1899. *Peralonso.* A large but fragmented government army under Gen. Manuel Casabianca closes in upon the main Liberal concentration under generals Uribe, Benjamín Herrera, and Justo L. Durán in the Peralonso River Valley, west of Cúcuta in Santander Department near the Venezuelan border. An indecisive action thereupon ensues around La Laja Bridge, which separates both armies, until finally Uribe personally leads a charge on the afternoon of December 16 that routs his Conservative opponents.

By nightfall, the government army is in full retreat, abandoning arms, supplies, horses, and hundreds of deserters. Despite this victory, the Liberals do not follow up their advantage by marching directly upon the national capital of Bogotá but rather—at the suggestion of Gen. Gabriel Vargas Santos—choose to retire into Cúcuta to consolidate smaller local gains.

MAY 11, 1900. *Palonegro.* After rebuilding their strength, some 14,000 government troops under Gen. Próspero Pinzón bear down upon slightly fewer than 8,000 Liberals under Uribe, Herrera, and Vargas Santos, who are waiting in the steamy, mountainous

terrain around Palonegro amid the Canta foothills near Bucaramanga and Lebrija. During the first three days of this encounter—the largest in modern South American history, with battle lines eventually extending for 15 miles—the defenders launch savage attacks against the Conservatives' positions, fighting their more numerous and better-equipped opponents to a standstill. However, Pinzón begins to turn the tide by May 14, and the next day disperses Uribe's increasingly desperate counterthrusts.

Both armies thereupon dig in, stubbornly refusing to abandon the field, while maintaining limited probing attacks throughout daylight hours and vicious patrol actions at night. Total Liberal deaths are estimated at 1,500, compared to 1,000 for the Conservatives, yet with the passage of time disease begins claiming more lives than combat operations. Eventually, the stalemate is broken when the government side receives several thousand reinforcements and a plentiful resupply of ammunition on May 23, compelling the overmatched Liberals to retreat three days afterward. The latter never recuperate from this setback. Uribe, Herrera, and Vargas Santos are individually defeated by the end of this same year and are obliged to flee Colombia.

JULY 31, 1900. Gen. Jorge Moya Vásquez, garrison commander at Soacha (west-southwest of Bogotá), marches upon the capital and topples the Sanclemente government, replacing it with another faction called the "Historical Conservatives" under Vice President José Manuel Marroquín.

Their main army having been defeated on the battlefield at Palonegro, the Liberals subsequently resort to guerrilla warfare, especially in their strongholds of Cundinamarca and Tolima departments. For the next two and a half years, an increasingly vicious irregular campaign ensues, with massacres and counter-massacres being perpetrated by both sides.

Finally, general exhaustion sets in by late 1902, although some 100,000 of Colombia's 4 million people have succumbed during this conflict (mainly



Liberal troops resting prior to the Battle of Palonegro. (Author's Collection)

due to disease). In October and November, the largest remaining Liberal armies capitulate in Panama and on the Atlantic coast in exchange for amnesties

and limited political reforms. The Conservative government thereupon crushes all guerrilla resistance in the interior.

PORTENTS IN MEXICO (1899–1910)

Despite the iron-fisted rule of dictator Porfirio Díaz, this country continues to simmer with discontent. Although all stirrings are repressed, they will eventually explode into the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

JULY 21, 1899. *Yaqui Ultimatum.* Chiefs from the eight main Yaqui tribes send an ultimatum to Gen. Lorenzo Torres calling upon all whites to withdraw from Sinaloa or face hostilities.

AUGUST 6, 1899. Torres defeats a Yaqui concentration at Palo Parado (Sinaloa) and is wounded in a thigh.

AUGUST 10, 1899. A 784-man Mexican column—composed of units from the 11th, 12th, and 17th Infantry battalions, plus the 5th Cavalry Regiment—drives 500 Yaqui warriors from a stronghold in Sinaloa.

AUGUST 14, 1899. Mexican *federales* clash with Yaqui warriors at Laguna Prieta (Sinaloa).

SEPTEMBER 1899. A Yaqui war band is decimated at Bahuca (Sinaloa), suffering 87 dead, including their chief, Gutmasolero.

NOVEMBER 9, 1899. Yaquis and *federales* clash at Coyotes Lake, then again nearby two days later.

JANUARY 18, 1900. *Mazocoba.* Learning that Teta-biate's followers are concentrated in a stronghold atop Mazocoba Heights (Sinaloa), Torres approaches in three columns: 402 troops under Col. Agustín

García Hernández, who reaches Semana Santa Mesa only to find a ravine separating him from the Indians; 423 men under Torres, to the right of García Hernández's formation and directly opposite the enemy; plus 240 soldiers under Col. Jesús Gándara, occupying two hills near Mazocoba.

At 10:00 a.m., the Mexicans begin shelling Tetabiate's defenses, then attack five hours later, driving the Yaquis from their trenches in hand-to-hand combat. The defenders eventually turn and flee around nightfall, many plunging to their deaths into ravines or being finished off by skirmishers from the 4th and 11th Infantry battalions. More than 400 natives are killed, and 1,800 noncombatants are captured—fully half of the latter succumbing in their subsequent forced march into captivity at Tetacombiate. Torres's *federales* suffer 56 killed and 104 wounded.

JULY 9, 1900. A company of *federales* chases eight Yaquis carrying a wounded companion a half-mile from Mazocoba, killing the latter and discovering him to be Chief Tetabiate.

FEBRUARY 1902. Yaqui resistance in the Sinaloa mountain ranges increases under their new chief-tain Luis Bule.

APRIL 1904. Mexican authorities parley with Yaqui leaders at San Miguel Horcasitas (Sinaloa) and are unable to arrange a truce.

APRIL 30, 1904. *Federales* and Yaquis clash at Agua Escondida, near Ures (Sinaloa).

JUNE 1, 1906. *Cananea.* In the state of Sonora, 5,360 Mexican workers go on strike against the Consolidated Copper Company policies being exercised at the Cananea mines, specifically protesting against the higher wages and shorter work hours enjoyed by its 2,200 American employees. A march by 2,000 strikers toward the company lumberyard—where most of the Americans work—is met by rifle fire, and a riot ensues in which 23 are killed, mostly Mexicans, and another 22 are wounded. The strikers are thereupon chased out of Cananea and into the mountains by armed American riders, yet not before they torch numerous buildings.

The company owner, Col. William C. Greene, requests intervention from the Mexican authorities, who not only dispatch state troops and *rurales* (federal policemen) under Col. Emilio Kosterlitzky but also allow 400 gun-toting American “volunteers” to enter the country from nearby Naco (Arizona),

Rurales

As early as 1889, the strongman Porfirio Díaz tried to stamp out Mexico's perennial problem of banditry by upgrading its *Guardia Rural* or “Rural Guard.” This was a small force of mounted constabulary who patrolled the countryside. To encourage the nation's peaceful transition into a modern state, he increased their numbers to more than 2,100 riders. Ten squadrons of three, 76-man companies apiece were created, led by officers seconded from the Mexican Army. Stylish dove-grey uniforms and broad-brimmed hats were issued, modeled on the traditional *charro* dress, complete with silver buckles, as well as red and black cravats. Heavier, standardized weaponry was provided to each trooper: carbines, sabers, and pistols. Telegraph communications and railway transportation allowed them to concentrate quickly in any troubled area. And the *rurales* were encouraged to apply the notorious *ley fuga*, a ruthless policy whereby any criminal caught in the act could be executed on the spot.

By the first decade of the 19th century, this distinctive body of riders doubled in size and was considered among the most famous police forces in the world, comparable to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police or Texas Rangers. Díaz and his advisers often paraded the glamorous corps on ceremonial occasions and confirmed tales about their cruel efficiency to reassure foreign investors about the stability of his regime. However, modern research indicates that the *rurales* were neither as brutal nor as omnipresent as once believed but rather were deployed mostly in a few showpiece states, not in the country as a whole.

Perhaps tellingly, when the reformist Francisco Madero was swept into power by the Mexican Revolution of 1910, *rurales* were still so highly regarded that he maintained the force largely intact. It was only after he was betrayed and murdered by his successor, Gen. Victoriano Huerta, that the *rurales* were transformed into a paramilitary body. In an effort to expand them into a field force, standards were lowered, and their numbers swelled to more than 10,000 riders. Their pride gone, the last few remnants were disbanded in July 1914.

greatly offending Mexican sensibilities. Some 50 strikers are subsequently identified and transported into penal servitude on the island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa (Veracruz).

DECEMBER 3, 1906. *Río Blanco.* Thousands of textile workers in the states of Veracruz and Puebla unionize and go on strike, leading to a standoff with company managers and replacement workers. On January 7, 1907, a group of hungry strikers storms



Double column of gray-clad rurales entering a Mexican town. (Author's Collection)

the company store at Río Blanco (Veracruz), ransacking it and starting a fire, which burns several adjacent buildings. Federal cavalymen under Gen. Rosalino Martínez are consequently rushed in the next day from the nearby city of Orizaba, brutally restoring order by firing point-blank into some mobs, then conducting summary executions of other detainees. Among those shot out of hand is the local garrison commander, Lt. Gabriel Arroyo, as well as his entire company, for having refused to crush the initial outbreak. By the time order is finally restored, some 200 strikers have been killed, and the cowed survivors return to work.

JUNE 6, 1910. The guerrilla chief (and ex-butcher) Santana Rodríguez Palafox—nicknamed “Santanón”—briefly captures the town of San Andrés Tuxtla (Veracruz), only to be hunted down and killed shortly thereafter by *federales* under Francisco Cárdenas.

This same day of June 6, the 36-year-old opposition candidate Francisco Ignacio Madero is detained on President Díaz’s orders to ensure the dictator’s easy reelection. However, Madero will escape confinement within four months and call for a general insurrection that touches off the Mexican Revolution.

POLICE ACTIONS (1901–1920)

Washington’s easy victories in Cuba and Panama draw the U.S. government deeper into Caribbean adventures, gradually supplanting the European powers that have traditionally dominated this theater.

SEPTEMBER 1901. Because of President Cipriano Castro’s refusal to fully honor Venezuela’s international debts, the United States dispatches the 2,900-ton training ship *Hartford*, as well as the auxiliaries

Scorpion and *Buffalo*, into La Guaira, followed by the German vessels *Vineta*, *Gazelle*, and *Falke*.

(Although temporarily acting in concert with Washington, German foreign minister Oswald, Baron

von Richthofen, realizes that any unilateral action will be resented as a breach of the Monroe Doctrine, adding that “the seizure of territory is precluded, as this would immediately involve us in a conflict with the United States.”)

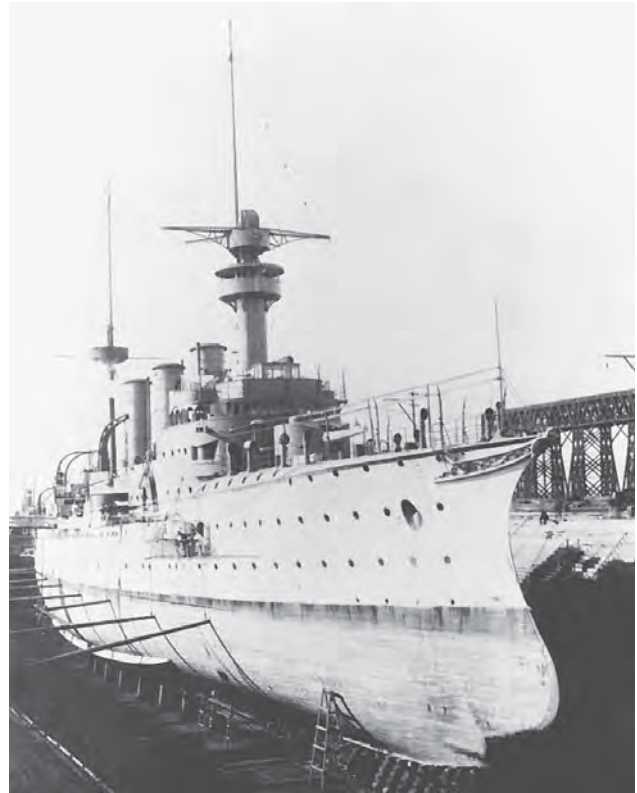
NOVEMBER 20, 1901. During the final phases of fighting in Colombia’s “War of the Thousand Days” (see “War of the Thousand Days”), a 30-man detachment from USS *Machias* goes ashore at Colón on the Isthmus of Panama to protect its American-owned railway terminal. This contingent will be reinforced over the next few days by additional men from the *Marietta*, while the USS *Iowa* and 1,700-ton gunboat *Concord* will also disembark a total of 325 men into Panama City and Balboa on November 24. All U.S. detachments will return aboard their ships by December 4 once this crisis abates.

APRIL 16, 1902. USS *Machias* again disembarks 30 armed sailors to protect American interests, this time amid the Bocas del Toro islands in the northwestern reaches of the Colombian province of Panama. A few additional marines are also landed before this force is withdrawn on April 22.

APRIL 26, 1902. The impoverished Dominican Republic is being contested between two rival factions: the *Horacistas* of youthful general Horacio Vásquez Lajara, and the *Jiménistas* of President Juan Isidro Jiménez. On April 26, the former proclaims a state of rebellion from his headquarters at Cibao and, after a brief clash at San Carlos, besieges Jiménez inside the capital of Santo Domingo. Lacking support, Jiménez flees into the French Consulate four days later, allowing Vásquez to enter and be proclaimed provisional president as of May 2.

AUGUST 1, 1902. Amid the succession struggle after the resignation of Haitian president Tirésias Antoine Simon Sam, the city of Petit Goâve rises up in revolt. Eight days later, troops under Gen. Justin Carré occupy the city and put it to the torch.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1902. The U.S. cruiser *Cincinnati* sets more than 80 armed sailors ashore at Colón on the Isthmus of Panama to protect the American-owned railway. They are reinforced five days later by four companies totaling 342 marines under Lt. Col. B. R. Russell, who have been dispatched from the League Island Navy Yard in Pennsylvania aboard the



During a November 1901 visit to Virginia, the German heavy cruiser *Vineta* is refurbished in dry dock. (Mariners' Museum, Newport News)

transport USS *Panther*. This battalion is withdrawn by November 18.

DECEMBER 9, 1902. *Venezuelan Blockade.* After repeatedly requesting that Castro honor his country's debts to Britain, Germany, and Italy, the ambassadors from these first two nations withdraw through the port of La Guaira at 3:00 p.m. One hour later, 10 German and 4 British cutters bearing 240 armed men are towed into its harbor, covered by the brand-new, 962-ton German gunboat *Panther* under Lieutenant Commander Eckermann. They board the 137-ton, English-built gunboats *General Crespo* and *Totumo*, plus the hired French steamer *Ossun*, setting their 390 Venezuelan sailors ashore before towing all three vessels out to sea. The torpedo boat *Margarita* is also disabled in La Guaira's dockyard, while the *General Crespo* and the *Totumo* are scuttled after nightfall.

The boarding parties have been sent from the 5,900-ton German cruiser *Vineta* of Commo. Georg Scheder and cruiser HMS *Ariadne* of 60-year-old, Canadian-born vice admiral Sir Archibald Lucius Douglas to exact restitution from Castro's government. A contingent of 130 German sailors then

ventures into La Guaira's Cardonal suburb at 10:00 this same evening to protect the evacuation of its foreign noncombatants, while the British do the same the next morning.

Also on December 9, the cruiser HMS *Charybdis* of Capt. R. A. J. Montgomerie seizes the Venezuelan gunboat *Bolívar* farther east, while the next day the British sloop *Alert* captures the troop ship *Zamora* and the 600-ton torpedo-gunboat *23 de Mayo* in the Gulf of Paria, conveying both into Port-of-Spain (Trinidad). The 600-ton steamer *Restaurador* (the ex-American yacht *Atlanta*) is taken as well, so that within a couple of days virtually the entire Venezuelan Navy has fallen into the hands of the Anglo-German partnership.

With the addition of the British cruisers *Retribution*, *Indefatigable*, *Tribune*, and *Pallas*; the sloop *Fantomé*; the destroyers *Quail* and *Rocket*; plus the German cruisers *Gazelle* of 2,650 tons and *Falke* of 1,730 tons, the two commanders then blockade the coast—the British are responsible for its Demerara-to-La Guaira portion, and the Germans for the stretch between the latter section and Colombia's border. After heated street demonstrations, the Venezuelans react by arresting more than 200 foreigners at Caracas on December 10, plus detaining the British freighter *Topaze* at Puerto Cabello.

DECEMBER 13, 1902. The cruisers HMS *Vineta* and HMS *Charybdis* reach Puerto Cabello and, after sending 50 men into its roadstead to rescue the pillaged British freighter *Topaze*, they level the port's Vigía and Libertador harbor forts with a concentrated bombardment after the Venezuelans refuse to issue a formal apology.

JANUARY 17, 1903. Eckermann's *Panther* duels with Fort San Carlos at the mouth of the Bar of Maracaibo but is compelled to retire when its light armament cannot penetrate the ancient castle's stone battlements. Feeling that he must reassert German prestige, Scheder appears four days later with his much more heavily armed *Vineta*, severely damaging this fortification.

Washington responds negatively to this seemingly unprovoked escalation and lodges protests with Berlin, while Adm. George Dewey ominously conducts maneuvers in the Caribbean with more than 50 vessels. Britain and Italy are embarrassed by the action of their German ally and draw apart from the resultant diplomatic furor to avoid worsening their own relations with America.

FEBRUARY 13, 1903. Castro's government comes to terms with Britain, Germany, and Italy, raising customs duties at La Guaira and Puerto Cabello to satisfy their monetary claims. The president is glorified by Venezuelans for resisting foreign pressure, while the Germans are cast as villains, both domestically and internationally.

MARCH 23, 1903. Amid economic collapse and turmoil, the Dominican Republic's usurper president Horacio Vásquez resigns and is temporarily supplanted by the *Jimenista* general Alejandro Woss y Gil. The latter supposedly assumes office against the return from exile of President Jiménez, yet instead rapidly maneuvers to secure the nomination as sole presidential candidate for himself.

During this unsettled interlude, the elderly, 284-man, 3,200-ton cruiser USS *Atlanta* deposits 30 marines to act as a guard at the American Legation in the capital of Santo Domingo until calm is restored and they can be withdrawn on April 20.

APRIL 16, 1903. In Nicaragua, Emiliano Chamorro Vargas launches a rebellion at Chontales against the Liberal regime of José Santos Zelaya, only to be defeated within a month.

OCTOBER 24, 1903. Gen. Carlos F. Morales Languasco, governor of Puerto Plata on the Dominican Republic's northern coast, rises against the newly installed president Woss y Gil. Morales's rebel troops march upon the capital and are supported by both *Jimenista* and *Horacista* factions in the so-called War of the Union. Loyalist gunboats blockade the port, while the newly recommissioned, 386-man, 4,400-ton cruiser USS *Baltimore* provides reassurance for foreign residents.

After a brief siege, the city of Santo Domingo falls to Morales's revolutionary coalition on November 24, and he is installed as provisional president. Shortly thereafter, though, he refuses to restore the deposed Jiménez into office and instead announces his intention of running as a candidate himself in forthcoming elections. Another widespread counter-rebellion consequently erupts in favor of Jiménez, isolating Morales's forces within the capital.

DECEMBER 23, 1903. Woss's former vice president, Gen. Eugenio Deschamps, assumes power in Jiménez's name at Puerto Plata, and this port is bombarded from out at sea by a Dominican naval force loyal to Morales. Meanwhile, troops are also

Seizure of the Panama Canal

Dreams of cutting sailing times between the Atlantic and Pacific existed for centuries. In 1878, the French engineer Ferdinand de Lesseps—builder of the famed Suez Canal—bought rights from Colombia to dig a channel across the isthmus of its westernmost province, Panama. A decade of toil amid disease-ridden, torrid jungles ended in failure. But the new American president Theodore Roosevelt, who believed in the expansionistic naval doctrines of Capt. Alfred T. Mahan, felt that completion of the canal was a strategic imperative for the United States. He therefore bought Lesseps's rights for \$40 million, then offered the Colombian government a further \$10 million for a wider strip of land across the Isthmus.

A 100-year lease was grudgingly accepted by the Conservative administration in Bogotá on January 22, 1903. Yet after months of angry debate in the Colombian Senate, the treaty was rejected, and they adjourned in October. Roosevelt raged that he was dealing with "irresponsible bandits." He also noted the disappointment in economically depressed Panama. Realizing that its citizens had attempted to secede at least three times in the past, the American president wryly observed: "I deemed it likely that there would be a revolution in Panama soon."

The chief American engineer helped Manuel Amador Guerrero and other Panamanian leaders issue a new proclamation of independence on November 3, 1903. When Colombian troops arrived at the Caribbean port of Colón to put down this insurrection, they were denied passage across the isthmus by the American-owned railway company—backed by the intimidating presence of the U.S. gunboat *Nashville*. It was reinforced two days later by the transport *Dixie*, bringing 400 marines under Maj. John A. Lejeune. Despite a few tense moments, the coup succeeded with virtually no bloodshed.

A Panamanian "delegate"—the French-born lobbyist in Washington Philippe Bunau-Varilla, who had not been in Panama for many years—was swiftly received, and the new country was recognized on November 13, 1903. Five days later, a long-term treaty was signed between the United States and the "Republic of Panama." A canal zone 10 miles wide by 40 miles long was to be leased to American interests for 99 years, in exchange for a \$10 million downpayment and annual rents of \$250,000. Roosevelt absorbed all criticism, both domestic and foreign, against his high-handed action. He even commented that his critics were "welcome to debate me as long as they wished, provided that we can go on with the Canal." Eleven years later, the first ships steamed through it, while Colombia received a \$25 million indemnity payment by 1921.

disembarked nearby under Gen. Jesús María Céspedes to besiege the city.

JANUARY 3, 1904. The 2,575-ton cruiser HMS *Pallas* of Capt. Charles Hope Robertson arrives off beleaguered Puerto Plata to protect British interests, followed the next day by the cruiser USS *Detroit* of Cmdr. Albert C. Dillingham to do the same for American residents. A U.S. marine detachment is immediately disembarked at Sosua, 10 miles east of Puerto Plata, after which both allied cruisers compel the 322-ton Dominican gunboat *Independencia* to withdraw on January 5, without machine gunning the rebel defenders as instructed by Morales.

JANUARY 14, 1904. General Céspedes informs the Anglo-American naval captains anchored off Puerto Plata that the *Independencia* will return the next day to bombard the city in conjunction with a land assault to be mounted by his troops. To minimize civilian casualties and material damage, Robertson and Dillingham persuade both factions to fight a half-mile outside the city limits.

They agree, and both small armies meet on January 16. Céspedes's advance is supported by the *Inde-*

pendencia, until the defenders' lone fieldpiece obliges the gunboat to retreat out of range. Nevertheless, Céspedes's 400-man main column overwhelms Deschamps's rebels in a 20-minute firefight after nightfall, driving him into exile and incorporating most of his men into the government ranks.

Their peacekeeping duties done, the American and British cruisers depart on January 19.

FEBRUARY 11, 1904. When the Jimenista besiegers outside the city of Santo Domingo violate a temporary truce by opening fire upon the steamer *New York*, some 370 marines and armed sailors are rushed ashore from the anchored 475-man, 7,400-ton cruiser USS *Columbia* and its smaller consort, the *Newark*, to scatter them inland.

AUGUST 1904. In Paraguay, the exiled militia general Benigno A. Ferreira leads an invasion from Argentina, which will foment a popular revolution and drive the corrupt Colorado Party from power. After four months of fighting, President Juan Antonio Ezcurra is obliged to sign a surrender document aboard an anchored, neutral Argentine gunboat on December 12, handing over power to Paraguay's

Liberals. Political instability will unfortunately ensue, as feuding liberal factions will seat 21 different governments over the next three-dozen years.

OCTOBER 28, 1904. In Panama City, the military commander in chief, Gen. Esteban Huertas, backed by the Liberal Party, calls for the resignation of two ministers from the cabinet of Conservative president Manuel Amador. Fearful that this action might portend a coup, which will in turn threaten the fledgling Canal Zone project, American governor George Davis requests support from Washington. On November 14, Adm. Caspar F. Goodrich anchors offshore with the battleship USS *New York*, the 3,200-ton cruiser *Boston*, and the 1,700-ton gunboat *Bennington*. Huertas goes into early retirement four days later, and the 250-man Panamanian army is disbanded on November 19, to be replaced by a police force.

NOVEMBER 10, 1904. Rioting erupts this afternoon in Rio de Janeiro, worsening the next day as cadets from the Praia Vermelha Military Academy join the insurrection. Order is restored during the night of November 15 when General Piragibe leads a loyal contingent through the streets, clearing them of rebels, thus saving the administration of civilian president Francisco de Paula Rodrigues Alves.

APRIL 19, 1905. Great Britain and Nicaragua sign the Altamirano-Harrison Treaty, whereby the for-

mer renounces all colonial-era claims to the Caribbean coastline of Nicaragua.

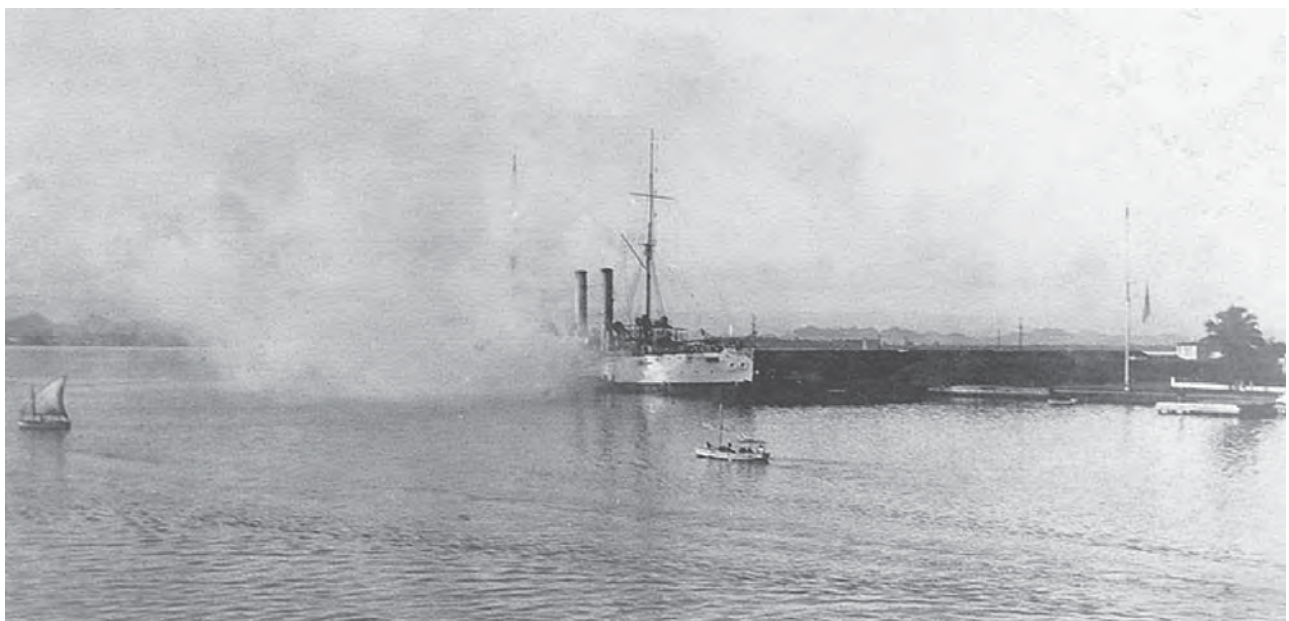
APRIL 1906. Four years after American forces have been withdrawn from Cuba, moderate president Tomás Estrada Palma is pronounced reelected by his constitutional assembly, despite a vigorously contested campaign. This verdict prompts a walkout by Gen. Faustino “Pino” Guerra and other members of the Liberal opposition, creating heightened tensions throughout the island.

AUGUST 16, 1906. Pino Guerra revolts in his native Pinar Province against the government of President Estrada Palma, inaugurating a guerrilla campaign.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1906. *Guerra’s Revolt.* Four days after the ambush of a Cuban armored train west of Havana by Guerra’s rebels, the 3,200-ton cruiser USS *Denver* of Cmdr. John Colwell enters the harbor, reluctantly dispatched by President Theodore Roosevelt to help restore public order, as well as protect American lives and interests.

The next day, after an interview with President Estrada Palma as to the gravity of the insurrection, 130 U.S. marines and a fieldpiece come ashore—only to be angrily recalled on September 14 by Roosevelt.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1906. The 140-man gunboat USS *Marietta* of Cmdr. William Fullam reaches



The cruiser USS Denver firing a salute while on a visit to San Juan de Puerto Rico, 1905. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

Cienfuegos (Cuba), setting half its crew ashore to protect American sugar mills, which have been threatened with destruction by local rebels if they do not contribute “a small obligatory war-loan.” Four days later, two companies of marines arrive aboard the transport *Dixie* to further augment Fulam’s force.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1906. Rather than call for new Cuban elections—as suggested by the American secretary of state, William Howard Taft, recently arrived from Florida aboard the 3,200-ton cruiser USS *Des Moines*—President Estrada Palma’s entire cabinet resigns at 9:00 p.m., prompting the U.S. government to intervene directly. The next day, more than 2,000 marines begin coming ashore from the brand-new, 16,000-ton battleship USS *Louisiana* and other vessels, while an expeditionary force musters in the United States.

OCTOBER 6, 1906. The diminutive and adventurous Brig. Gen. Frederick Funston—who a decade previously served as a volunteer in Cuba’s revolt

against Spain—reaches Havana with the first units of a 6,000-man U.S. occupation force. He is superseded one week later by Maj. Gen. J. Franklin Bell, and no resistance is encountered from Cuban rebels.

OCTOBER 12, 1906. Taft appoints Charles Magoon as Cuba’s provisional governor, and the island remains peacefully under U.S. rule for the next two years, until Liberal ex-general José Miguel Gómez is elected president in American-supervised elections and installed into office on January 28, 1909, prompting a U.S. withdrawal.

MARCH 18, 1907. *Zelaya’s War.* After encouraging an insurrection in neighboring Honduras in January, only to see its rebels chased back into his own country, Nicaragua’s Liberal dictator José Santos Zelaya decides to retaliate against these cross-border incursions by launching an invasion. At Namasigüe his advancing forces encounter a combined Honduran-Salvadoran army on March 28, and for the first time in Central American warfare use machine guns in combat, inflicting horrific casualties—

Great White Fleet

Toward the end of his presidential term, Theodore Roosevelt surprised the nation by sending a fleet on a goodwill tour around the continent. Because of the Imperial Russian Navy’s recent failure in dispatching an ill-prepared expedition on a similar epic voyage, only to endure repeated embarrassments before being annihilated by the waiting Japanese at the Battle of Tsushima Straits, planning for this American operation—unprecedented in size and distance for the U.S. Navy—had to be meticulous. Roosevelt, embroiled in his own diplomatic dispute with Japan, which threatened the U.S. outpost in Manila, did not shrink from the prospect of failure. He even told his admirals: “I want all failures, blunders, and shortcomings to be made apparent in time of peace, and not in time of war.”

The president therefore watched from his yacht *Mayflower* as Rear Adm. Robley D. Evans steamed out of Hampton Roads (Virginia) on December 16, 1907, with his brand-new, 16,000-ton flagship *Connecticut*. Fifteen other battleships of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet followed out to sea. Because of their peacetime coloring, hulls painted white with gilt adornments, they were dubbed the “Great White Fleet” by reporters. The vessels were manned by more than 14,000 sailors and marines and accompanied by a half-dozen destroyers, plus other auxiliaries. After stopovers in Port-of-Spain on the British West Indian island of Trinidad, then Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, the warships were guided through the Strait of Magellan by a Chilean cruiser into Valparaíso. They continued on to Callao in Peru and had a month of gunnery practice in Mexico’s Magdalena Bay before finally reaching San Francisco Bay in California on May 6, 1908.

Now ordered to continue around the world, the troubled battleships *Maine* and *Alabama* were replaced by the *Nebraska* and the *Wisconsin*, which consumed less coal. Rear Adm. Charles S. Sperry also relieved Evans, because of his worsening gout. The Great White Fleet ventured as far north as Seattle before striking out across the Pacific in early July 1908 to visit Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, China, and the Philippines. After resting in Manila, they steamed for Ceylon, then through the Suez Canal for Gibraltar.

Although welcomed in the Mediterranean, the American vessels were already rendered obsolete by the recently launched HMS *Dreadnought*, whose revolutionary design included multiple large turrets and turbine engines. Yet, antiquated or not, the Great White Fleet was greeted by Roosevelt as it reentered Hampton Roads on February 22, 1909, two weeks short of the end of his presidency. Over 14 months, they had steamed 43,000 miles, a sign of America’s newfound global confidence.



The Great White Fleet steams out of Hampton Roads on December 16, 1907, past President Roosevelt's anchored yacht. The brand-new, 16,000-ton battleships Kansas and Vermont appear nearest to the camera. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

perhaps as many as 3,000—within a few minutes. Shortly thereafter, the victors enter Tegucigalpa and install Miguel R. Dávila as Liberal president. In May, Zelaya dictates his terms for concluding this conflict, despite diplomatic opposition from Washington.

MAY 1, 1908. In Peru, the 36-year-old radical politician Augusto Durand leads an unsuccessful uprising against President José Pardo y Barreda, which is suppressed and followed by hundreds of arrests.

JULY 2, 1908. In Paraguay, 30-year-old major Albino Jara Benegas spearheads a revolt that topples General Ferreira from the presidency.

NOVEMBER 10, 1908. In Haiti, Gen. François-Antoine Simon mounts a revolt at Les Cayes against the increasingly unpopular rule of President Nord Alexis, which rapidly gains adherents.

DECEMBER 2, 1908. The Haitian president, Nord Alexis, flees aboard the French cruiser *Duguay-Trouin* for Jamaica, his luggage being pillaged by an angry throng along Port-au-Prince's waterfront. Gen. Antoine Simon enters triumphantly the next day with his troops and is installed as president by the National Assembly on December 17. Like his predecessors, he, too, will seek foreign loans to im-

plement his ambitious economic plans—most particularly the development of bananas as an export crop—so that the National Bank of Haiti is underwritten with French, German, and American funds.

DECEMBER 19, 1908. With Venezuela's now unpopular president Castro absent in Europe seeking medical treatment for a kidney ailment, demonstrations in the capital Caracas result in his deposal in favor of his 51-year-old vice president Juan Vicente Gómez. Although slightly more refined than his illiterate predecessor, Gómez will quickly exceed him in corruption.

MAY 29, 1909. A band of 25 backers of opposition leader Nicolás de Piérola storms the Peruvian National Palace and seizes newly installed president Augusto B. Leguía. Parading him through Lima's streets in a vain attempt to foment a popular insurrection, they are quickly scattered by a small detachment of loyal troops, and Leguía is rescued.

OCTOBER 11, 1909. Juan José Estrada, intendent general of Nicaragua's "Atlantic Coast" district, rises up in rebellion against the liberal regime of President Zelaya. This insurrection is backed by American interests, especially the Rosario and Light Mines Company, thus enjoying the backing of Secretary of

State Philander C. Knox and Consul Thomas Moffat at the port of Bluefields. When two young American engineers acting as mercenary ship saboteurs are executed by liberal troops the next month, Washington severs diplomatic relations with Zelaya's government as of December 2, leading to his retirement from office 16 days later. He is nevertheless succeeded on December 21 by the Liberal Dr. José Madriz Rodríguez, who continues to resist Estrada's rebellion.

FEBRUARY 22, 1910. Liberal Nicaraguan forces under 31-year-old general Benjamín F. Zeledón defeat a Conservative force under generals Frutos Bolaños Chamorro and Emiliano Chamorro, driving them back upon their main base of Bluefields.

MAY 19, 1910. The Conservative rebel Estrada informs U.S. Consul Moffat that he is facing defeat in Nicaragua's ongoing civil war and can no longer defend Bluefields. U.S. Marines are thus disembarked to declare the port a "neutral zone," preventing the rout of the Conservative cause.

AUGUST 20, 1910. Estrada's Nicaraguan rebels enter the capital of Managua, driving the Liberal president Madriz from office. Madriz departs into exile six days later.

NOVEMBER 22, 1910. *Brazil's "Revolt against the Lash."* After months of planning, the black conscript sailors manning four anchored warships in Rio de Janeiro's vast Guanabara Bay rise up against their white officers, mortally wounding three and forcing the remainder ashore before weighing anchor and lobbing a couple of cannon rounds over the city, then prowling menacingly offshore in the darkness. The warships include the nation's brand-new, most modern battleships—the 1,200-man, 19,250-ton *Minas Gerais* and *São Paulo*, both recently completed in England—as well as the elderly 3,150-ton dreadnought *Deodoro* and the new 2,900-ton cruiser *Bahia*. The *Minas Gerais* has arrived from its maiden voyage out of England only seven months previously, escorting the American battleship bringing home the body of Brazil's deceased ambassador, Joaquim Nabuco, from Washington. Its sister ship the *São Paulo* has entered the bay as recently as October 23, returning the newly elected president Marshal Hermes da Fonseca from a state visit to Portugal.

José Carlos de Carvalho, the congressional deputy for naval affairs, goes aboard the *Minas Gerais*

the next morning and discovers that, although Capt. João Baptista das Neves is dead and all officers are gone, the mutinous sailors are still soberly performing their duties. He therefore asks the ringleader, João Cândido, to anchor and present his demands, which call for an end to floggings with a *chibata* or "lash," as well as amnesty for all mutineers (who number 2,400 out of the 5,000 naval personnel stationed in the harbor). Carvalho in turn lays these demands before Congress, while Hermes da Fonseca prevents the navy minister, Joaquim Marques Baptista de Leão, from attempting an ill-considered attack.

After heated debate, amnesty is granted, and the mutiny ends by November 26. However, some officers seek to circumvent the promised pardon by discharging Cândido and 17 others from the navy, then incarcerating them overnight in a suffocating cell on Cobras Island, where all but two perish. And when a second rebellion breaks out on December 9 aboard the new 340-man, 2,900-ton cruiser *Rio Grande do Sul* and in the Marine Infantry Battalion barracks on Cobras Island, the former is suppressed at the cost of Capt. Lt. Francisco Xavier Carneiro da Cunha's life, while the latter is pounded with shells and retaken the next afternoon, leaving 18 dead and 132 wounded. Determined to eradicate all forms of dissent, the navy discharges hundreds more seamen, and 200 former mutineers are sent off into internal exile on Christmas Day aboard the steamer *Satélite*, 8 being executed en route before the rest are marooned at different remote spots.

JANUARY 17, 1911. In the Paraguayan capital of Asunción, the war minister, Lt. Col. Albino Jara, advances from its artillery barracks to seize police headquarters and depose the recently inaugurated Liberal president Manuel Gondra in favor of himself two days afterward. Jara will in turn be driven from office and into Argentine exile by July 15.

FEBRUARY 1, 1911. The increasingly unpopular Haitian president Antoine Sam is challenged by a northern revolt at Ouanaminthe, led by the junior lieutenant Jean-Jacques Dessalines Michel Cincinnatus Leconte. The president himself disembarks with a small army, sacking and burning this city, yet failing to quell the revolt.

AUGUST 1, 1911. Haiti's Antoine Sam is toppled from power when a rebel army under Gen. Stivern Peralte reaches nearby Pétionville. The president

and his family consequently flee through a hostile crowd along Port-au-Prince's waterfront the next day, going aboard the Dutch steamer *Prinz Nederlanden* to sail away into exile in Jamaica on August 4. General Cincinnatus Leconte enters the capital triumphantly two days afterward, being officially installed as president on August 14.

NOVEMBER 19, 1911. This Sunday evening, a small Jimenista group under Luis Tejera assassinate the Dominican Republic's President Ramón Cáceres Vázquez as he enjoys a leisurely drive through the streets of Santo Domingo. Gen. Alfredo M. Victoria, chief of the army, takes advantage of this opportunity by browbeating the Congress two and a half weeks later into electing his uncle, Sen. Eladio Victoria, as provisional president.

APRIL 1912. Jara returns into Paraguay from his Argentine exile, only to be defeated and killed by government forces at Paraguarí on May 15.

MAY 20, 1912. An antigovernment protest erupts at Santiago and Santa Clara in Cuba's Oriente Province when several hundred of its impoverished, disenfranchised black residents rise up to support a

political leader named Evaristo Estenoz Coromina (sometimes misspelled as "Estanoz"), founder of a banned Afro-Cuban party known as the *Independientes de Color* or "Colored Independents."

MAY 23, 1912. *Sugar Revolt.* Alarmed by the threat posed to American-owned businesses by Cuba's latest disturbance, the U.S. Navy is ordered to dispatch a 2,100-man marine brigade under Col. Lincoln Karmany to Guantánamo Bay. Its 1st Regiment, 785 officers and marines under Col. George Barnett, departs Philadelphia's League Island base this same day aboard the 6,620-ton transport *Prairie*; the brigade's 2nd Regiment, an additional 1,300 men under Col. James E. Mahoney, will start following from Norfolk (Virginia) two days later aboard a succession of battleships from the U.S. Atlantic Fleet: the vessels *Georgia*, *Minnesota*, *Mississippi*, *Missouri*, *Nebraska*, *New Jersey*, *Ohio*, *Rhode Island*, and *Washington*.

Meanwhile, the few hundred rebels in Oriente Province torch a number of government and private buildings, then seize the town of La Maya on June 1, prompting President Gómez to suspend all civil liberties. The *Prairie's* marine regiment having reached Guantánamo three days previously, a detached company is sent to reinforce Santiago de Cuba aboard

Guantánamo Bay

This vast harbor at Cuba's southeastern tip was sighted by Christopher Columbus on April 29, 1494, during his second Caribbean cruise. Impressed by its deep and broad entrance, he entered with his three ships and dubbed its inner expanse the *Puerto Grande* or "Big Port." Sharing a meal at what is today Fisherman's Point with the friendly Taíno inhabitants, he apparently learned that the bay was called "Guantánamo." Yet despite being an excellent anchorage, its stark surrounding landscape meant that it was to be largely ignored by Spaniards moving later through the West Indies.

Over the next few centuries, warships or squadrons occasionally sheltered inside the bay from storms, yet Santiago and Bayamo farther to its west remained the principal settlements for this stretch of coastline. As a result, when the U.S. expedition of Admiral Sampson needed a safe haven in the summer of 1898 to sustain its siege of Santiago throughout the autumn hurricane season, a force of sailors and marines seized the lower half of Guantánamo Bay. Its spacious waters proved invaluable for American battleships, therefore on February 16, 1903, Tomás Estrada Palma (an exiled rebel leader who had become an American citizen before being elected the first president of Cuba) obligingly offered Washington a perpetual lease to the lower half of Guantánamo Bay, as well as to Bahía Honda along the north coast.

By its terms, the American government retained rights over these properties as long as it used them for "coaling or naval stations only," while Cuba retained ultimate ownership and Cuban vessels were allowed free passage. A second treaty signed on July 2, 1903, specified annual rent payments of \$2,000, doubled when a third treaty went into effect in late May 1934 (simultaneously ending Washington's interest in Bahía Honda). Five years later, yet another agreement was reached to supply water into the Guantánamo base via pipelines from the Yateras River, four and a half miles to its northeast.

By that date, the 45-square-mile compound occupying the lower half of Guantánamo Bay had become the U.S. Navy's principal Caribbean base, home to thousands of personnel and their dependents. Large numbers of Cuban laborers also entered every day to work. As its name was so often contracted as "G'tmo" in official papers, its nickname among the service soon became "Gitmo."

the 100-man, 1,200-ton gunboat *Paducah* on May 31. In response to pleas from local American planters and miners, 50 sailors are also disembarked from the *Nashville* and *Paducah* on June 10 in Nipe Bay, on the north coast of Oriente Province, traveling inland by rail to protect the mines of the Spanish-American Iron Works, until a marine company can circle around two days later from Guantánamo aboard the small auxiliary *Eagle*. The marine detachment from the 13,000-ton battleship USS *Mississippi* furthermore lands at El Cuero on June 19 to protect U.S. interests there as well.

Reassured by this strong U.S. naval deployment along both coastlines, the regular Cuban army and paramilitary volunteers launch a ruthless sweep throughout the region, indiscriminately slaughtering as many as 6,000 blacks over the next few weeks. Estenoz himself is shot at point-blank range along with some 50 followers on June 27 near Alto Songo, in the environs of Nipe Bay, his body being brought into Santiago de Cuba for public display. His colleague Pedro Ivonnet surrenders on July 18, only to

be murdered, supposedly “while trying to escape.” The Afro-Cuban revolt having been crushed, U.S. marine units and navy ships retire into Guantánamo Bay to begin rotation back to their regular stations on the American mainland.

AUGUST 8, 1912. At 3:00 a.m., Haiti’s President Cincinnatus Leconte and some 200 soldiers are suddenly killed when the powder magazine beside the National Palace accidentally explodes, leveling the building and others nearby. His successor Tan-crède Auguste is sworn in that same day.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1912. In response to a request from Nicaragua’s unpopular Conservative president Adolfo Díaz, a battalion of 323 U.S. marines and seamen land at Corinto from the cruiser USS *Colorado*, raising the total strength available to the 52-year-old colonel Joseph “Uncle Joe” H. Pendleton in western Nicaragua to more than 2,500 men with which to put down a Liberal insurrection. Pendleton deploys his marines to take control of the railway



Coyotepe Hill in Nicaragua, October 1912. (U.S. Marine Corps)

line running inland to the capital Managua, then closes in upon the rebel stronghold near Lake Masaya, whose mountaintop fast of Fort Coyotepe controls the rail line and main road running toward Granada.

Pendleton and his Conservative allies find the former Liberal minister of war, General Zeledón, entrenched here along with several hundred followers and the tiny fort's garrison commander, Col. Isidoro Díaz Flores, behind barbed-wire trenches atop Coyotepe and Barranca hills, plus a few machine guns. After the liberals refuse to surrender, a marine assault column steals halfway uphill before dawn on October 4. After being detected, it fights its way to the summit of Coyotepe Hill within less than an hour, suffering four killed and several wounded, but scattering the defenders and inflicting several score casualties. Díaz Flores falls, and the fleeing Zeledón runs into a Conservative force the next morning near Diriomo, who fatally wounds him and thereby brings an end to his insurrection.

SEPTEMBER 24, 1912. Amid growing dissatisfaction in the Dominican Republic with its recently imposed president, Eladio Victoria (*see* "November 19, 1911" entry), the U.S. administration of William H. Taft dispatches a diplomatic mission to resolve this island dispute. The transport *Prairie* arrives off the city of Santo Domingo from Philadelphia on October 2 with almost 800 men of the 2nd Provisional Marine Regiment under Col. Franklin J. Moses to lend weight to this diplomatic effort. Victoria agrees to resign by November 26, and after Archbishop Adolfo A. Nouel is installed as interim president in early December, the *Prairie* departs.

JANUARY 27, 1914. Lacking any military support, the rich Port-au-Prince lawyer and senator Michel Oreste resigns as Haiti's civilian president to go into exile aboard the German cruiser *Vineta*. On February 2, the rebel *caco* army, advancing from northeastern Haiti under its elderly leader Davilmar Théodore, is confronted at Artibonite outside the capital by a force under Gen. Charles Oreste Zamor and compelled to retreat. German, American, and French marines are disembarked at Port-au-Prince to protect their national interests during this lawless interlude.

FEBRUARY 4, 1914. This morning, Col. José Urdanivia Ginés leads an assault against the Peruvian National Palace. The attackers are initially hurled back by forces loyal to President Guillermo Billing-

hurst (grandson of an English naval officer who served in South America's wars of independence). Thanks to tacit help from Army Chief of Staff Oscar R. Benavides, however, the rebels fight their way inside on a subsequent attempt, and Billinghurst is exiled.

FEBRUARY 5, 1914. Disappointed in its attempt to reach Haiti's capital of Port-au-Prince, the *caco* army of General Théodore systematically pillages the northern port city of Cap-Haïtien.

FEBRUARY 7, 1914. This evening, Charles Oreste Zamor's army marches triumphantly back into Haiti's capital, then storms the National Assembly to acclaim him president the next day.

OCTOBER 28, 1914. Plagued by economic difficulties, Haiti's President Charles Oreste Zamor resigns from office amid the usual scenes of pillage at Port-au-Prince. Ten days later, the northern army of Davilmar Théodore marches in unopposed, to assume the presidency on November 8.

DECEMBER 17, 1914. Concerned by the utter economic collapse of Haiti at a time when Europe has been plunged into World War I, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan dispatches the U.S. gunboat *Machias*, which arrives off Port-au-Prince and sets 50 marines ashore to transfer the gold reserves out of that country's Franco-American-controlled national bank. The government of President Théodore protests, but the gold is nonetheless conveyed to New York.

JANUARY 15, 1915. Gen. Vibrun Guillaume Sam, commander of Haiti's Northern Department, revolts against President Théodore at Cap-Haïtien (population 25,000) and is joined a few days later by 1,000 *caco* rebels under "General" Metellus.

JANUARY 23, 1915. The 15,700-ton cruiser USS *Washington* of 47-year-old captain Edward Latimer ("Ned") Beach—father of the future author of the novel *Run Silent, Run Deep*—reaches Cap-Haïtien with the 59-year-old rear admiral William B. Caperton aboard, to confer with General Sam. Two days later, a meeting is held at which Caperton insists upon accompanying Sam's revolutionary army southward to prevent excesses.

Sam agrees, and the cruiser *Des Moines* and the 1,000-ton gunboat *Wheeling* join the *Washington*, shadowing the revolutionaries' progression.

FEBRUARY 5, 1915. Sam's revolutionary army occupies Gonaïves in north-central Haiti.

FEBRUARY 22, 1915. President Théodore abandons the capital Port-au-Prince aboard a Dutch liner at noon, and three days later General Sam is acclaimed as Haiti's new ruler. He will govern only five months, being in turn displaced by yet another revolutionary leader out of the north, Dr. Rosalvo Bobo.

MAY 19, 1915. The 4,000-ton, 420-man French cruiser *Descartes* sets a landing party ashore at Cap-Haïtien to prevent a massacre of foreign residents by Bobo's revolutionary besiegers.

JULY 1, 1915. The cruiser USS *Washington* returns to Cap-Haïtien with the armed yacht *Eagle* to protect American interests.

JULY 27, 1915. At dawn, the ex-Haitian police chief Charles de Delva escapes from asylum within the Portuguese Embassy and with 36 armed followers torches and assaults President Sam's national palace in Port-au-Prince. The latter, wounded in a leg, flees to the French Embassy, while his police chief, Charles Oscar Etienne, massacres 200 political prisoners under his charge, before taking refuge within

the Dominican Embassy. An enraged mob drags Etienne back out into the street and hacks him to pieces, while Sam shares this same fate the next morning.

JULY 28, 1915. Haitian Occupation. At 11:40 a.m., USS *Washington* reaches riot-torn Port-au-Prince (population 100,000) and this same evening sets 170 marines and 170 sailors ashore at Bizoton Navy Yard under the marine captain George van Orden to march two miles eastward into this capital and restore order. By the next morning, with 2 Haitians dead and 10 wounded, the Americans are in control, then are reinforced on the evening of July 29 by the 19,250-ton transport *Jason* bearing a marine company from Guantánamo Bay (Cuba). At 8:00 p.m., a feeble Haitian counterattack strikes the U.S. detachment holding Fort Le Rebours south of Port-au-Prince, but is repelled with 6 attackers dead and 2 wounded. The Americans suffer 2 of their own sailors killed—one of whom is William Gompers, nephew of the famed labor leader Samuel Gompers.

On August 4, the 16,000-ton battleship *Connecticut* of Capt. E. H. Durell arrives with five companies of the 2nd Marine Regiment from League Island (Philadelphia) under Col. Eli Cole, who seizes the



U.S. troops resting by a tropical roadside. (Usher Photographs, Hoover Institution)

Haitian arsenal in Port-au-Prince and disbands its local factions. The *Eagle* and the gunboat *Nashville* of Cmdr. Percy Olmstead simultaneously bring a halt to fighting outside Cap-Haïtien in the north, while the *Jason* is dispatched to bring Bobo to Port-au-Prince. Expecting to be greeted as president, the general is instead defeated in a hastily arranged election on August 12 by the American-backed candidate Philippe Sudre Dartiguenave. Bobo subsequently goes into exile at Kingston (Jamaica).

Dartiguenave's installation is resented by many Haitians, with a revolt erupting 40 miles west of Cap-Haïtien at Port-de-Paix. Outright opposition is stifled, however, by the arrival on August 13 of the 14,500-ton armored cruiser *Tennessee*, which conveys an additional 850 men and 35 machine guns of the 1st Marine Regiment under the 59-year-old colonel Littleton W. T. "Tony" Waller. Three days later, a sizable marine contingent is detached to garrison Cap-Haïtien as well, and Americans assume administrative duties throughout numerous lesser ports. The Haitian *cacos* retire into the interior of the island to wage a protracted guerrilla campaign against the occupiers.

SEPTEMBER 27, 1915. At dawn, Colonel Cole pushes inland from Cap-Haïtien with 130 marines, fighting the four miles into Haut du Cap by noon, losing 2 killed and 8 wounded as opposed to the loss of 60 *caco* guerrillas. The next day, Quartier Morin, five miles farther eastward along this same coast, is also occupied without resistance.

OCTOBER 4, 1915. Waller sails east from Cap-Haïtien aboard the *Nashville* and disembarks a marine company, occupying Fort Liberté and the inland border town of Ouanaminthe without opposition.

OCTOBER 20, 1915. Four marine squads advance out of Cap-Haïtien, pushing 20 miles into *caco* territory and occupying Bahun.

NOVEMBER 2, 1915. Under cover of darkness, a *caco* raiding party attacks Waller's field headquarters at Le Trou, roughly between Fort Liberté and Grande Rivière du Nord. The assault is repelled, costing 38 attackers their lives.

NOVEMBER 5, 1915. A marine column attempts to assault the major *caco* mountain stronghold of Fort Capois (situated on the eastern bank of Grande

Rivière, 40 miles west of Vallière and about half-way between Grande Rivière du Nord and Bahun), but its garrison bolts into the jungle without loss. The same occurs three days later at Forts Selon and Berthol.

NOVEMBER 16, 1915. A storming force of 100 marines carries the *caco* mountain stronghold of Fort Rivière, located four miles west of the Grande Rivière narrows, killing 50 of its 75-man garrison and capturing the rest without suffering a single casualty.

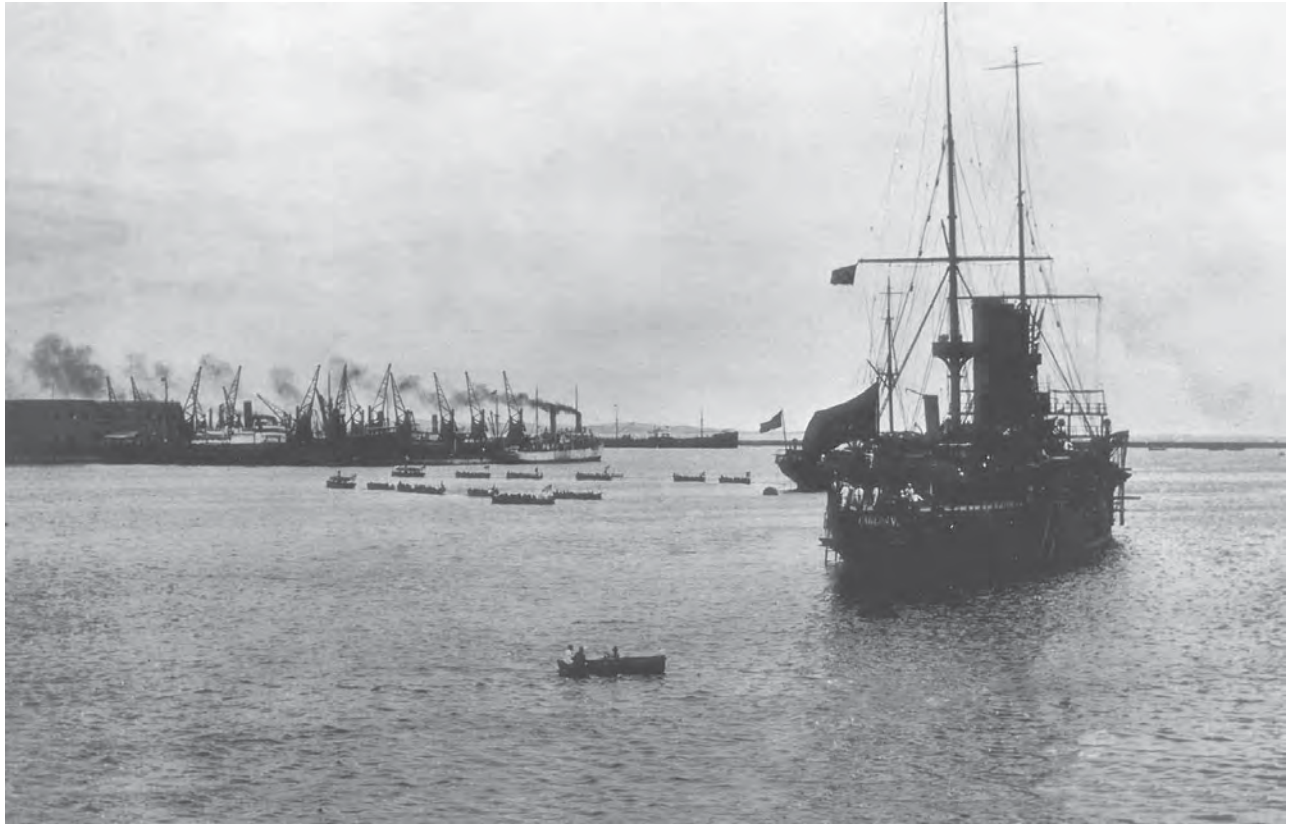
JANUARY 5, 1916. Antoine Pierre Paul attempts to overthrow the Dartiguenave administration by having his followers fire upon Haiti's National Palace in Port-au-Prince at dawn. This coup is easily repressed by U.S. marines, five *cacos* being killed and many others arrested.

APRIL 14, 1916. After a prolonged bout of political unrest, the unpopular president Juan Isidro Jiménez of the Dominican Republic orders the arrest of several key supporters of his insubordinate war minister, Gen. Desiderio Arias. The latter mutinies and commandeers the country's main arsenal in the capital of Santo Domingo.

Following a two-week standoff, the general brings matters to a head by surrounding the National Chamber of Deputies with his 250 troops on May 1, calling for an immediate impeachment of the president. Jiménez advances from his country home with 800 loyal troops under General Pérez and orders Arias stripped of all authority.

MAY 3, 1916. *Dominican Intervention.* This afternoon, the U.S. transport *Prairie* of Commander Crosley and the gunboat *Castine* of Cmdr. Kenneth Bennett arrive off Santo Domingo from Haiti and, at dawn on May 5, disembark two marine companies—150 men—under Capt. Frederic "Dopey" Wise at the foot of Fort San Gerónimo, two miles from this capital (population 30,000) to protect American interests during the Jiménez-Arias confrontation.

Unwilling to cooperate with Wise in besieging his mutinous general, Jiménez resigns as president. Arias remains in possession of Fort Ozama until Friday, May 12, when the 1,500-ton U.S. dispatch vessel *Dolphin* and 3,325-ton store ship *Culgoa* arrive from Port-au-Prince with Admiral Caperton, plus two additional marine companies under Maj. Newt H. Hall. (A third company appears the next



U.S. marines disembarking from the transport ship Prairie. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

day from Guantánamo Bay aboard the 11,230-ton collier *Hector*.) With 400 men in total, the Americans order the general to evacuate his stronghold by Monday morning, May 15; they find Arias already departed northwestward by this deadline. Further reinforcements then continue to reach the American beachhead, as Washington intends to end the Dominican Republic's fractious internal politics by a full-scale intervention.

On the morning of June 1, Wise occupies the northern coastal town of Monte Cristi with 120 marines from Cmdr. Harris Lanning's transport *Panther*, while 65 miles farther east another 133 marines under Maj. Charles Hatch go ashore from the 1,400-ton gunboat *Sacramento* of Cmdr. Roscoe Bulmer, wresting Puerto Plata from 500 Dominican defenders under General Rey after a heated exchange of gunfire. Three and a half weeks later, on June 26, Colonel Pendleton leads 800 marines eastward out of Monte Cristi to march 75 miles inland and attack Arias's new concentration around Santiago. After being briefly checked at Las Trincheras and Guayacanes, plus enduring repeated sniping, Pendleton rendezvouses on July 4 at Navarrete with another

135 marines under Maj. "Hiking" Hiram Bearss, who has pushed south from Puerto Plata. The next day, Arias surrenders, and during this afternoon Santiago is occupied without opposition, followed by other lesser towns over the next several days.

The Americans then take over administrative duties for the entire island and impose martial law as of November 29, inaugurating a lengthy occupation. Only Gov. Juan Pérez of San Francisco de Macorís, 30 miles southeast of Santiago, mounts a brief resistance, his 300-man garrison being surprised and scattered by a marine company under Lt. Ernest Williams. (Also, Captain Beach's USS *Memphis* is wrecked off Santo Domingo on August 29, 1916, by a surprise tidal wave, suffering 40 men killed and 204 injured.)

NOVEMBER 1, 1916. Despite an earlier pledge not to seek reelection, Conservative Cuban president Mario García Menocal runs again and is seemingly defeated by his Liberal opponent, amid widespread balloting irregularities. Nevertheless, when results are announced late that same December, he proclaims himself the victor.

An appeal to the Cuban Supreme Court in January 1917 is decided in the Liberals' favor, new elections being proposed for Oriente and Santa Clara provinces; however, García Menocal proves slow to respond.

JANUARY 27, 1917. In Costa Rica, the young, reform-minded president Alfredo González Flores is deposed in a military coup headed by his war minister, Federico Tinoco Granados. U.S. president Woodrow Wilson refuses to acknowledge this change of government, invoking Washington's 1909 Non-Recognition Policy; yet, thanks to support from Costa Rica's upper classes and American companies, plus a vigorously pro-Allied foreign policy, Tinoco is able to remain in power for the next 30 months.

FEBRUARY 11, 1917. *Gómez's Revolt.* At dawn, a few Cuban soldiers at Camp Columbia outside Havana rise up against President García Menocal in a coordinated coup and are quickly suppressed. However, other mutinies claim the garrisons at Camagüey, Santiago, and Guantánamo, while former president Gómez raises the banner of revolt in Santa Clara Province, and Pino Guerra and Baldomero Acosta—a former major-league baseball player with the Washington Senators—take the field in the west.

FEBRUARY 12, 1917. To protect American interests in rebel-held Santa Clara Province, the gunboat USS *Paducah* disembarks its bluejackets.

FEBRUARY 15, 1917. Before dawn, the decrepit U.S. gunboat *Petrel* of Cmdr. Dudley Knox arrives outside Santiago from Guantánamo Bay, agreeing to prevent Cuban government vessels from entering in exchange for a rebel pledge not to block its channel with scuttled ships.

FEBRUARY 19, 1917. Washington brands the Liberal revolt in Cuba “lawless and unconstitutional,” vowing to oppose it.

FEBRUARY 25, 1917. A detachment of 220 marines advance from Guantánamo Bay to occupy the city of Guantánamo. Another 200 disembark from the 5th U.S. Battleship Division to protect American sugar plantations on the western hook of Oriente Province.

MARCH 7, 1917. The rebellious ex-president Gómez is defeated and arrested in Santa Clara Province by Cuban government forces.

MARCH 8, 1917. Threatened by the steady advance of Cuban government forces, the rebel garrison at Santiago agrees to surrender control over this city at nightfall to landing parties from the elderly, 4,100-ton cruisers USS *San Francisco* (flag) and 5,600-ton *Olympia*, and the gunboat *Machias*.

MARCH 18, 1917. Cuba's short-lived “Sugar Revolt” officially ends when triumphant President García Menocal—at U.S. urging—promulgates a general amnesty for all rebels.

OCTOBER 17, 1918. The recently escaped Haitian general Charlemagne Peralte attacks the American-run *gendarmérie* barracks in his home town of Hinche (population 5,000) with 100 *caco* guerrillas, being repelled by its garrison with the loss of 35 of his followers.

NOVEMBER 10, 1918. The Haitian guerrilla chieftain Charlemagne overruns the town of Maisade, upriver from Hinche, ransacking its police barracks for weapons.

MARCH 1919. *Hunt for Charlemagne.* Because of the increased guerrilla activity in northeastern Haiti near the Dominican border, marine brigadier general Albertus W. Catlin requests reinforcements from Washington. Four companies of the 7th Marine Regiment consequently arrive from Guantánamo Bay, followed on March 31 by 13 aircraft—7 HS-2 flying boats and 6 Curtis JN-4 “Jenny” biplanes—which land at Bizoton airfield outside the capital of Port-au-Prince.

After joining the 500 marines and numerous *gendarmes* already deployed in Haiti's Northern District, the forces combine for a summer-long offensive against Charlemagne's elusive *cacos*. The latter responds by storming the northern gates of Port-au-Prince before dawn of October 6 with 300 followers, but the forewarned defenders halt this assault with machine-gun fire, killing 30 *cacos* and scattering Charlemagne and the rest.

Now determined to smother this insurrection, the Americans bribe ex-*caco* general Jean-Baptiste Conzé to lead a small party of 20 disguised marines into Charlemagne's camp near Grande Rivière on the night of October 31–November 1, where the

Charlemagne Peralte

Charlemagne Masséna Peralte was born in 1886 in the central Haitian city of Hinche, which borders the Dominican Republic. He was apparently of Dominican descent, as his surname had derived from the Spanish name "Peralta." An educated member of the rural bourgeoisie, he had already held several elected and appointed positions, as well as risen to the rank of general in the national army and served as garrison commander at Port-de-Paix in 1914, before the American intervention occurred the next summer. Peralte resigned his commission as military chief for the city of Léogâne and returned to his native Hinche to attend to his family's lands.

Resentment against racist elements of U.S. policy quickly grew in the occupied nation, particularly regarding the resumption of the hated *corvée*—a forced-labor system that compelled all Haitians to work on the new roads being built. Peralte and his stepbrother Saül were arrested on October 11, 1917, for leading an attempt against the home of the American police commander at Hinche. After a quick trial at Ouanaminthe, he was sentenced to five years' hard labor. Enduring the humiliation of toiling in prison garb throughout the streets of Cap-Haïtien, where he was well known, Peralte escaped on September 3, 1918. Slipping out of the city disguised by friends as a woman, he quickly gathered a group of rural guerrillas known as *cacos*, vowing to "drive the invaders into the sea."

Despite raising some 1,200 fighters and attracting the loyalty of tens of thousands of sympathizers, his 13-month campaign failed to dislodge the American presence. He was eventually betrayed and killed. A photo of his body was circulated to stifle further rebellions, and resistance collapsed without his charismatic leadership. Haiti did not regain its independence until May 1935.

Peralte's corpse was disinterred from Port Chabert almost immediately after the U.S. occupation ended and, after being identified by his mother by dint of its gold teeth, was reburied in a grand tomb at Cap-Haïtien. His state funeral was attended by President Sténio Vincent and many other mourners, and the reputation of the handsome young rebel grew over the ensuing decades. By the time the centennial of his birth was observed in 1986, Peralte was universally lionized as a model hero, compared and often preferred to the national founder Jean-Jacques Dessalines. His image is even featured on modern Haitian currency and postage stamps.

charismatic leader is shot dead by the 25-year-old sergeant Herman H. Hanneken, while the Brown-ing machine gun of 23-year-old corporal William R. Button slays nine of his bodyguards (both marine noncommissioned officers later are rewarded with promotions and the Medal of Honor).

MAY 6, 1919. Rebel forces under Julio Acosta García, determined to drive Tinoco from power in Costa Rica, strike across the border from Nicaragua to seize several small towns.

JUNE 2, 1919. Radical anarchists known as "Galleanists," being mostly Italian American immigrant followers of the violent agitator Luigi Galleani, detonate bombs in Washington and seven other U.S. cities. Carlo Valdonoci, while planting the Washington bomb outside the home of newly appointed attorney general A. Mitchell Palmer, is scattered over two city blocks when it detonates prematurely. A crackdown ensues against all leftist groups in the United States, being known as the "Palmer Raids."

JUNE 13, 1919. Riots against the Costa Rican dictator Tinoco erupt in its capital of San José and are put down with some bloodshed.

AUGUST 12, 1919. After months of mounting American pressure, including the arrival of the USS *Castine* at the Caribbean port of Limón and tacit support for an anti-Tinoco insurgency, the Costa Rican dictator is obliged to resign the presidency and sail away for exile in England.

JANUARY 15, 1920. Before sunrise, Charlemagne's chief lieutenant Benoît Brataville launches an assault upon Port-au-Prince with 300 *caco* irregulars. They are easily repelled, suffering more than 100 fatalities.

MAY 18, 1920. Brataville's camp near Las Cahobas (Haiti) is surprised by a marine patrol, and this leader is killed. The Americans remain in Haiti until August 15, 1934, when the 2nd Marine Regiment is recalled by President Herbert Hoover and full autonomy is restored to this island's rulers.

MEXICAN REVOLUTION (1910–1924)

In the summer of 1910, Porfirio Díaz—now approaching 80 years of age—stands for his eighth term as president, despite growing resentment against his long reign. When the wealthy, high-minded political neophyte Francisco I. Madero decides to run as head of an “anti-reelectionist” party, the president has him arrested. By the time the primary election date of June 21 dawns, 5,000 of Madero’s adherents are in prison; when the final elections are held on July 8, an estimated 60,000 are behind bars.

Díaz is proclaimed president on his birthday, September 27, yet his government is essentially doomed. That year also marks the centennial of Mexico’s revolt against Spain, and numerous stirrings have already been felt. When Madero escapes from loose confinement in San Luis Potosí on October 4 and gains asylum at San Antonio (Texas), then calls for an uprising by November 20, the situation explodes.

NOVEMBER 19, 1910. This night, Madero recrosses the border with a few followers, attempting the next day to foment insurrection at “Ciudad Porfirio Díaz” (Piedras Negras, opposite Eagle Pass, Texas), but he is chased back into the United States by *federales*.

NOVEMBER 20, 1910. Several small uprisings occur throughout Mexico, the most successful led by a 28-year-old teamster named Pascual Orozco from the town of San Isidro (modern Orozco, Chihuahua), who moves upon Miñaca and Guerrero.

On November 27, a portion of Orozco’s scratch force ambushes a federal column under Gen. Juan N. Navarro at Pedernales, then the guerrilla leader himself leads a descent against the federal outpost at Ciudad Guerrero, 100 miles west of Chihuahua City, which is captured in early December after a brief siege. Cerro Prieto and La Mojina are also attacked, while a federal column is ambushed in Mal Paso Canyon on January 2, 1911. After this latter victory, Orozco reportedly orders his men to gather up the light khaki caps and uniforms of the dead soldiers to be sent to Díaz with the taunt: *Ahí te van las hojas, mándame más tamales* (“Here are the wrappers, send me more tamales”).

JANUARY 30, 1911. Having abandoned Ciudad Guerrero (Chihuahua) with his 400 followers, Orozco destroys some lengths of railway track south of Ciudad Juárez (opposite El Paso, Texas), then seizes a freight and two passenger trains, using them to approach the federal garrison within Ciudad Juárez by February 2. Unable to reduce its outnumbered defenders, this city is relieved three days later by a

federal column under Col. Antonio M. Rábago, which fights its way in via Bauche.

FEBRUARY 4, 1911. At dawn, a small revolutionary band under 49-year-old José Luis Moya takes the Zacatecan town of Nieves (population 5,000), departing this same evening, only to be repelled six days later at San Juan de Guadalupe.

FEBRUARY 13, 1911. A disguised Madero recrosses the Río Grande at Isleta, 15 miles southeast of El Paso (Texas), joining José de la Luz Soto’s 130 revolutionaries at the village of Zaragoza before penetrating deeper into Chihuahua.

This same day, Moya defeats a federal force under Maj. Ismael Ramos at El Ahuague, then occupies the town of San Juan de Guadalupe (Durango).

FEBRUARY 26, 1911. Moya’s 200 revolutionaries capture the town of Chalchihuites (Zacatecas).

MARCH 6, 1911. Madero attacks the depleted federal garrison under Col. Agustín Valdés at Casas Grandes (Chihuahua) with his 800 revolutionaries divided into three columns. The defenders resist successfully until relieved by Col. Samuel García Cuellar, who drives the attackers off toward Bustillos Hacienda, capturing most of their supplies.

Madero emerges wounded in his right arm, and his men suffer 100 casualties. Nevertheless, he will be joined over the ensuing few weeks by Orozco and many other local leaders—such as 600 men under the 32-year-old bandit Francisco “Pancho” Villa—who proclaim Madero as Mexico’s true president.

MARCH 10, 1911. From San Miguel Anenecuilco (Morelos), Pablo Torres Burgos leads 72 peasants in a revolt, striking out southward through its sugar plantations to gather greater strength. After overrunning nearby Tlaquiltenango on March 24 and then Jojutla, Torres Burgos is dismayed by the brutalities perpetuated by some of his followers, so he resigns. While riding back toward Moyotepec with his two sons, they are killed by a party of *federales* under Gen. Javier Rojas. Command of Torres Burgos's 800 revolutionaries subsequently devolves upon 32-year-old Emiliano Zapata.

MARCH 12, 1911. Moya seizes the rich mining town of Mapimí (Durango).

MARCH 26, 1911. Moya occupies Ciudad Lerdo.

APRIL 9, 1911. After briefly seizing Fresnillo and being chased off by federal forces, Moya surprises the city of Zacatecas with his 300 revolutionaries, camping in its Mercedes suburbs before proceeding north toward Veta Grande.

APRIL 19, 1911. Together with 48-year-old Calixto Contreras and Martín Triana, Moya retakes the town of San Juan de Guadalupe (Zacatecas).

APRIL 23, 1911. *Ciudad Juárez.* Four days after arriving to besiege the border town Ciudad Juárez with 3,500 ill-disciplined revolutionaries (Orozco is the "general" among this throng, and Villa serves as a "colonel"), Madero arranges a 10-day truce with the 700-man federal garrison under General Navarro to meet some plenipotentiaries who have come from President Díaz in Mexico City.

Talks are eventually broken off on May 6, after which the impatient Orozco and Villa arrange for their rebel troops to precipitate a firefight against the *federales* two days later, furnishing an excuse to storm Ciudad Juárez. Madero is constrained to watch as this assault pushes the outnumbered defenders back inside their cavalry barracks, where they surrender by May 10.

Three days after achieving this victory, Orozco and Villa challenge Madero, demanding that Navarro and his federal officers—infamous for their

Pancho Villa

The chaos engendered by the Mexican Revolution produced many unlikely generals, none more improbable than Pancho Villa. He was born on June 5, 1878, as Doroteo Arango Arámbula, into a poor family living at Río Grande near the hamlet of San Juan del Río in the arid northern state of Durango. After his father's death, he supported his mother and four siblings by working as a woodsman and itinerant salesman in the Sierra Madre Range. Big, strong, and a natural horseman, he always possessed the common touch among Mexico's poor.

Legend has it that, at the age of 16, he returned home to find that his younger sister Martina had been seduced and abandoned by Agustín López Negrete, the son of the owner of Gogojito Hacienda near Canatlán. In a fit of rage, Arango wounded López Negrete with a gunshot, then stole a horse and fled into the mountains. After a couple of years, he joined a gang of rustlers and thieves led by Ignacio Parra, adopting the pseudonym of Francisco "Pancho" Villa—an infamous local bandit recently hanged by the authorities. When Parra was slain in a police ambush, Villa temporarily assumed leadership over the surviving members, before the gang disintegrated. Roaming into the adjacent state of Chihuahua, Villa found occasional work as a manual laborer in the El Verde mine and as a bricklayer in the city of Chihuahua.

Once more reverting to crime, he took to the hills with a new gang. Villa's life was changed when his friend Eleuterio Soto introduced him in 1910 to the political agitator Abraham González, who believed that a revolution was needed to sweep away Mexico's Porfirian dictatorship and its oppressive upper classes. Although uneducated, Villa embraced this philosophy wholeheartedly and soon came to distinguish himself among the bands of riders gathering to topple the government. Brave, well armed, used to living rough, and a natural leader among the peasantry, he was also such a notable rider that he eventually become nicknamed the *Centauro del Norte* or "Centaur of the North."

Villa excelled in the irregular warfare that bewildered the Federal garrisons, and his callous brutality toward defeated foes added to his fearsome reputation. Crude and impulsive, he attained high rank and commanded vast armies in the field. Yet for all his cunning and flair for leadership, he was incapable of producing the disciplined force created by his less flamboyant, yet more intelligent and determined contemporary, Álvaro Obregón. A series of climactic defeats in the summer of 1915 reduced Villa, now 37 years of age, to living like a fugitive once more in the mountains. Although he eventually secured a government pardon and ownership of a vast estate, he enjoyed these riches for only three years before being murdered.



Pancho Villa riding his favorite horse Siete Leguas across the Bajada de los Carretones, on the north side of the border town of Ojinaga, shortly after its capture in January 1914. He galloped across several times until the American photographer John D. Wheelan could snap this, one of the most famous pictures of the Mexican Revolution. (Author's Collection)

harshness—be executed, but Madero refuses and instead releases the captives into the United States. Both rebel commanders, after grudgingly acquiescing with Madero's decision, leave his service shortly thereafter.

MAY 7, 1911. Beset by armed outbreaks throughout Mexico, Díaz offers to resign the presidency.

This same day, Moya arrives at the rich mining town of Sombrerete (Zacatecas), driving out its 200-man federal garrison under Col. Fernando Trucy Aubert after two days of heavy fighting, during which the revolutionary chieftain is accidentally killed by a stray bullet.

MAY 12, 1911. Zapata's peasant army besieges the federal garrison at Cuautla (Morelos), fighting its way inside this burning city after six days of fierce fighting. The remaining defenders are found to have escaped by dawn of May 19. Numerous excesses are committed by the victors before Zapata can restore

order. This capture closes the road leading into Mexico City.

MAY 15, 1911. Two days after the 700 federal troops holding Torreón (Coahuila) under Gen. Emiliano Lojero have repulsed various probes by revolutionary patrols, the defenders' three battalions withdraw through Huarache Canyon this Sunday at dawn. The city is thus left to be overrun by unruly followers of the revolutionary chieftains Benjamín Argumedo and Sixto Ugalde Guillén of Matamoros, as well as Orestes Pereyra, Gregorio García, and Jesús Agustín Castro.

This easy rebel victory is quickly marred by looting and the massacre of 303 unarmed Chinese civilians, about half the total number of Chinese living in this city of 14,000 inhabitants. Emilio Madero, nominal rebel commander for this district, finally restores order when he enters the city with his troops at 10:00 a.m. (The Maderista government will later agree to pay the Chinese government an indemnity of 3.1 million pesos for this massacre, although the

president himself is killed before these funds can be disbursed.)

MAY 21, 1911. Cuernavaca (Morelos) is evacuated by its federal garrison and taken soon thereafter by Zapata.

MAY 25, 1911. After rioting has occurred the previous evening in Mexico City's main square, Díaz resigns and flees for Veracruz on May 26, to sail away aboard the German liner *Ypiranga*. Foreign minister Francisco León de la Barra becomes interim president until elections can be held.

MAY 26, 1911. This evening, the revolutionary leader Cándido Navarro enters the city of San Luis Potosí with more than 500 men, deposing its governor, José M. Espinosa y Cuevas, the next day.

MAY 31, 1911. The revolutionary "colonel" Benigno N. Zenteno occupies the state capital of Tlaxcala at the head of 3,000 men.

JUNE 7, 1911. A few hours after a strong earthquake has killed 207 people in Mexico City, Madero makes a triumphal entry into the shaken capital.

JUNE 12, 1911. Madero visits the state of Morelos, where Zapata has refused to disarm his revolutionary followers or restore any captured lands.

JUNE 22, 1911. Orozco's army triumphantly enters Chihuahua City, transforming it into his headquarters.

JULY 13, 1911. Zapatista troops stationed in Puebla begin arresting civilians supposedly implicated in a plot to assassinate Madero during a forthcoming visit. Federal troops under the 62-year-old colonel Aureliano Blanquet—on orders from interim president de la Barra—attack the Zapatista encampment within Puebla's bullring, killing 80 and wounding 200 of these unruly occupiers under colonels Gracia and Zenteno.

AUGUST 8, 1911. The hard-bitten, 66-year-old former Porfirian general Victoriano Huerta Ortega is dispatched into Cuernavaca (Morelos) with 1,000 federal troops to keep an eye on Zapata, who grudgingly demobilizes part of his peasant army.

AUGUST 22, 1911. The newly appointed federal governor of Morelos, Ambrosio Figueroa, executes 70 Zapatistas in Jojutla.

AUGUST 31, 1911. Ignoring Madero's calls for restraint, Huerta occupies Cuautla (Morelos) and orders Zapata's arrest, who flees into the hills.

OCTOBER 10, 1911. Zapata reoccupies Cuautla with 1,500 followers.

NOVEMBER 6, 1911. Having won the presidential election, Madero is installed into office in Mexico City.

NOVEMBER 9, 1911. From San Antonio (Texas), the ex-revolutionary leader Emilio Vázquez Gómez calls for a new revolt, this time against Madero.

NOVEMBER 11, 1911. Zapata narrowly escapes capture by federal troops and once again flees from Cuautla (Morelos).

NOVEMBER 27, 1911. Zapata publicly disavows Madero's presidency because of his apparent inability to cede land to the peasants.

DECEMBER 13, 1911. The 61-year-old, one-eyed, former Porfirian general Bernardo Reyes crosses the border from Texas, calling for a conservative uprising against Madero. Receiving no support, he surrenders to the authorities at Linares (Nuevo León) by Christmas Day.

FEBRUARY 6, 1912. The 35-year-old Zapatista leader Genovevo de la O launches a series of attacks against Cuernavaca (Morelos), prompting its federal garrison to raze the town of Santa María Ahuacatlán in retaliation.

FEBRUARY 10, 1912. Federal troops seize Zapata's mother-in-law, one of his sisters, and several brothers-in-law as hostages.

FEBRUARY 15, 1912. Gen. Juvencio Robles—new federal commander for the state of Morelos—launches a terror campaign against Zapatista resistance by ordering the town of Nexpa burned, followed over the next few days by San Rafael, Los Hornos, Los Elotes, Ayala, Coajomulco, and Ocotepec.

MARCH 3, 1912. *Rellano.* In Chihuahua City, the disaffected Orozco rises up against Madero, accusing him of failing to carry out the revolution's promise (although actually resentful at being passed over for promotion). A vanguard of 1,000 cavalrymen strikes southward a few days later under generals José Inés Salazar and Emilio P. Campa aboard two trains, to be followed by Orozco with 6,000 well-equipped irregulars. This action prompts Gen. José González Salas—a relative of Madero by marriage—to resign his post as war minister and march northward to confront him.

On March 25 near Rellano Station in southern Chihuahua, González Salas's vanguard is devastated by a runaway Orozquista locomotive, sent flying down the track filled with dynamite by Campa. The Maderista army is then attacked from the rear by Campa's rebel cavalry. During this fighting, a federal battalion even mutinies, having to be fired upon by other federal contingents. Wounded and despondent, González Salas orders a retreat into Torreón (Coahuila), before committing suicide at Bermejillo.

APRIL 1, 1912. Zapatista forces occupy Tepoztlán (Morelos), then enter Jonacatepec five days later.

APRIL 12, 1912. Huerta reaches Torreón (Coahuila) to take over González Salas's defeated army. After reorganizing this formation—and nearly executing “Brigadier General” Villa for insubordination—he advances northward into Chihuahua to confront Orozco.

In a summer-long campaign, Huerta inflicts a series of defeats upon the rebel leader's 7,000 men: at Los Conejos on May 12, at Rellano on May 22–23, at La Cruz in Bachimba Canyon in late June, at Bermejillo, at Chihuahua City, and finally at Ciudad Juárez on August 16. Although Orozco and his surviving followers win an isolated victory on September 11 against the federal garrison holding the border town of Ojinaga, the rebel leader is wounded during this fray so seeks refuge in the United States.

APRIL 26, 1912. Col. Pedro León's “Sierra Juárez” Battalion mutinies against Madero in Oaxaca City,



Villa walking away from the execution wall at Torreón after receiving a last-minute reprieve from President Madero. (Clendenen Papers, Hoover Institution)

attempting to take over this capital a few days later, only to be driven out into the countryside and its commander executed by June.

JUNE 1, 1912. With 60 riders, Huerta defeats a 400-man Orozquista garrison at Parral (Chihuahua).

OCTOBER 16, 1912. Having previously resigned his commission in the federal army, the 44-year-old brigadier general Félix Díaz—nephew of the departed dictator Porfirio Díaz—leads the Veracruz garrison in a conservative rebellion against Madero. Within a week, loyal forces arrive outside this port, and Félix Díaz is arrested by October 23.

FEBRUARY 9, 1913. *Decena Trágica.* At 2:00 a.m. this Sunday morning, generals Manuel Mondragón and Gregorio Ruiz mutiny against Madero, marching into Mexico City from nearby Tacubaya at the head of the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Cavalry regiments. They are joined en route by the 1st Artillery Regiment, for a total of 2,400 men, 6 cannon, and 14 machine guns. (Some 600 cadets of the Tlalpan Military College also commandeer streetcars into the capital to support this insurrection.) One column releases Gen. Bernardo Reyes from imprisonment at Santiago Tlatelolco, while another frees Brig. Gen. Félix Díaz from Lecumberri Penitentiary. By the time the mutineers converge upon the presidential palace, it has already been briefly occupied by the cadets, who have been overwhelmed by 500 loyal troops of the 24th Battalion under the elderly general Lauro Villar. The latter also arrests Ruiz when the latter enters the main square, at which point shooting erupts. During the fighting, Reyes and another 300 people—including many curious civilians—are killed, and another 200 are wounded.

The mutineers withdraw and, at 1:00 p.m., force their way into the *Ciudadela* arsenal less than a mile away to dig in, executing Gen. Rafael Dávila and numerous other defenders. Meanwhile, Madero arrives from Chapultepec Castle at midday and appoints Huerta (who has been dismissed from the army so is in the crowd) as interim commander in place of Villar, now badly wounded. Huerta orders Ruiz and all rebel cadets shot by firing squad, while Madero travels toward Cuernavaca this afternoon to summon 1,000 more loyal troops under the 43-year-old brigadier general Felipe Ángeles. Monday, February 10, passes in silence, shattered at 10:00 a.m. Tuesday morning when an artillery duel erupts—

with the mutineers holding out inside the *Ciudadela*—during which a further 500 civilians are killed. (Eventually, 5,000 will perish over this *Decena Trágica* or “Tragic Fortnight.”)

Huerta and Ángeles now command 6,000 troops, while 1,800 remain to the rebels Mondragón and Díaz; still, Huerta seems incapable of reducing this ancient fortress, provoking doubts as to his loyalty. After five more days of long-range shelling, Madero’s youngest brother Gustavo arrests Huerta at 2:00 a.m. of February 18, accusing him before the president of treachery. Unconvinced, Madero orders his general released. At 1:30 this same afternoon of February 18, Huerta in turn detains Gustavo Madero, then sends General Blanquet’s 29th Battalion to capture the president, who is seized after a brief struggle along with Vice President José María Pino Suárez and most of the cabinet. By 9:30 p.m., Huerta meets with Díaz at the residence of the U.S. ambassador Henry Lane Wilson—a vocal critic of Madero—to sign a pact whereby the former temporarily assumes the presidency on the understanding that he will support the ex-dictator’s son during forthcoming elections. (For his role in this treachery, Wilson is shortly thereafter recalled to Washington and forced to retire. A 2,100-man brigade of two U.S. marine regiments is also sent from Norfolk, Virginia, and Philadelphia to bolster strength at Cuba’s Guantánamo Bay in the event that direct intervention is required; they will be returned home three months later.)

FEBRUARY 22, 1913. After resigning office and being promised safe passage into Cuban exile, Madero is driven to Lecumberri Penitentiary on the edge of Mexico City at night and cruelly murdered.

FEBRUARY 24, 1913. Venustiano Carranza, the 53-year-old governor of Coahuila, revolts in northern Mexico against the usurper Huerta, along with such noteworthy guerrilla chieftains as 33-year-old Pablo González, Lucio Blanco, Eulalio and Luis Gutiérrez, the 39-year-old ex-photographer Francisco Murguía, Emilio Salinas, Cesáreo Castro, Jacinto B. Treviño, and many others.

MARCH 9, 1913. Having earlier escaped from prison into El Paso, Villa recrosses the Texas border to raise troops and fight against Huerta.

MARCH 13, 1913. A 33-year-old, newly promoted revolutionary colonel named Álvaro Obregón—

Tunes of War

Because so many irregulars without uniforms joined the Mexican Revolution, one distinguishing feature was to be the music played by each faction. Northern rebels were identified as early as the spring of 1911 by “La Adelita,” a lively piece sung by Maderista troops under Domingo and Mariano Arieta as they marched into Mexico City. It was later adopted by Pancho Villa’s armies. His own favorite would be “Las Tres Pelonas,” a ribald ballad about three women on a balcony cheering passing troops: first those of Villa, then of his bitter rival Álvaro Obregón, then of his ally Tomás Urbina, then of his hated opponent Carranza, and finally of Villa again.

Obregón’s well-disciplined army from Sonora was recognized by “La Valentina.” “El Abandonado” was favored by conservative backers of the Díaz regime, and later by Victoriano Huerta. Patrick O’Hea, a transplanted young Irishman who met many of the revolution’s leading figures, recorded in his *Reminiscences* the last request made by Jesús “Cheché” Campos, leader of a bloodthirsty pack of right-wing vigilantes known as the Colorados. Standing before the execution wall, Campos asked for a three-finger shot of *sotol* and for the band to play “El Abandonado.” He then “closed his eyes and gave the sign to the firing-squad.”

Hundreds of ballads known as *corridos*, sung in restaurants or public places by street musicians, narrated the great clashes of the war. “La Toma de Zacatecas,” for example, gave an account of Villa’s capture of that city in June 1914, while “Nuestro México, Febrero Veintitrés” satirized Pershing’s cross-border incursion of two years later. Troubadours also noted the passing of famous personages such as Benjamín Argumedo and Gabino Barrera. The suffering of the anonymous soldiery was described in “Carabina 30–30,” “Soldado de Levita,” and many other songs. Eventually, these simple yet enduring tunes—favorites of revolutionary armies—passed into the very fabric of Mexico’s culture.

having advanced northward from Hermosillo (Sonora) five days previously with 1,500 troops—launches an assault at 5:15 a.m. with 900 of his men in two columns out of the east and west against the 100-man Huertista garrison of regular army colonel Manuel Reyes and the 300 *rurales* under Colonel Kosterlitzky, who are jointly holding trenches in the border town of Nogales. After fighting all day, the defeated defenders retreat into Arizona, surrendering to the American authorities. They are interned at Fort Rosencrans in San Diego (California).

MARCH 17, 1913. In Chihuahua, Orozco accepts the rank of brigadier general in Huerta’s federal army.

MARCH 22, 1913. Carranza attacks Saltillo (Coahuila) with three small revolutionary columns, only to be forced to withdraw two days later because of a lack of ammunition.

MARCH 26, 1913. The tiny government garrison at Cananea surrenders to revolutionary forces under the 39-year-old municipal mayor, Manuel Macario Diéguez Lara (a veteran of the 1906 strike; see “June 1, 1906” entry in “Portents in Mexico”), now a subordinate of Obregón.

APRIL 15, 1913. After heavy fighting at Naco and Agua Prieta in the state of Sonora (south of Douglas, Arizona), Obregón and Diéguez defeat all remaining Huertista forces under Gen. Pedro Ojeda along the U.S. border, facilitating the purchase by revolutionaries of more arms and ammunition.

APRIL 17, 1913. After several months of peace in Morelos, Robles deposes its state government, being appointed military chief by Huerta.

APRIL 18, 1913. The 30-year-old rebel chief Pánfilo Natera García—an ex-corporal in the Porfirian *rurales* or rural police—occupies Jerez (Zacatecas) by following a circuitous approach with 400 riders, thereby surprising its 100-man federal garrison, who then join his ranks.

APRIL 19, 1913. Zapata fails to overwhelm the Huertista garrison under General Aguilar holding Jonacatepec (Morelos), despite surprising its defenders on April 17 and fighting desperately for a day and a half. The defending commander finally defects to the Zapatista cause on April 19.

APRIL 23, 1913. Zapata besieges the Huertista garrison within Cuautla (Morelos), yet is unable to subdue its defenders because of a lack of artillery. A fortnight later, some of his revolutionaries blow up a military train, killing 100 federal troops and provoking a brutal reprisal roundup of civilians.

MAY 8, 1913. Natera circles Fresnillo (Zacatecas) and is joined by almost all its federal garrison. Left with only a half-dozen loyal troops, Huertista major Natividad del Toro locks himself inside the

stronghold and, when almost smoked out by burning sacks of chili, commits suicide.

MAY 9, 1913. *Santa Rosa.* Having witnessed the arrival of the warships *General Guerrero*, *Tampico*, and *Morales*, as well as a pair of steamers bearing a total of 3,000 Huertista reinforcements into the Pacific port of Guaymas (Sonora), Colonel Obregón's small revolutionary army retreats north toward the state capital of Hermosillo, until ordered to make a stand by Acting Gov. Ignacio L. Pesqueira.

On May 12, Obregón chooses to fight at Santa Rosa Hacienda, where the next day he checks the advance of General Gil and the 40-year-old brigadier general Luis Medina Barrón, thereby winning promotion to the rank of brigadier general.

MAY 29, 1913. Obregón dispatches a Martin pusher biplane built in California and piloted by 27-year-old, French-born Didier Masson, with the Mexican captain Joaquín Alcalde along as his bombardier, 40 miles southward across the Sonoran Desert to attempt to bomb the Huertista warships anchored in the Pacific port of Guaymas (Sonora). Extemporized bombs are dropped this day and the next in three separate attacks, but they fail to strike the 1,880-ton, English-built cruiser *General Guerrero*.

MAY 30, 1913. Zapata declares Huerta unworthy of occupying the presidency so officially launches his own separate war against the regime.

JUNE 1, 1913. Natera occupies the Bufa Heights, using this high ground to win Zacatecas City below—although it is recaptured two weeks later by Huertista general José Delgado.

JUNE 4, 1913. This morning, Pablo González's small revolutionary army seizes the border town of Matamoros. Its 50-man regular garrison under Maj. Esteban Ramos and several hundred militia volunteers under the 23-year-old colonel Antonio Echazarreta are defeated, suffering more than 100 dead and hundreds wounded, while frightened civilian refugees flee across the border into Brownsville (Texas). Some 30 captives are executed after the city's fall.

JUNE 18, 1913. The 36-year-old revolutionary "colonel" Tomás Urbina R. captures Durango (Coahuila), gaining considerable booty.

JUNE 20, 1913. Obregón defeats a Huertista force under Ojeda at Santa María (Sonora), then does the same one week later at San Alejandro, driving his beaten foes back into Guaymas and besieging them inside until July 8, when he pushes still farther southward with his army.

AUGUST 19, 1913. Huertista troops overrun Zapata's base at Huautla (Morelos), but the rebel chief-ain escapes into the hills.

AUGUST 26, 1913. With 700 riders—plus two 75-pounders directed by ex-federal artillery colonel Juan Medina—Villa wins his first independent victory by defeating Gen. Félix Terrazas's 1,300-man Huertista garrison at San Andrés, near Riva Palacio, southwest of the state capital of Chihuahua. Some 100 defenders are killed outright, while another 236 are executed afterward—in rows four deep so as to save ammunition—compared to only 32 rebel dead. Booty includes three trainloads of supplies, which Villa, pausing at San Nicolás de Carretas, distributes among his men.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1913. Villa's 700 riders incorporate Maclovio Herrera's 400 at Santa Rosalía de Camargo, then continue into Jiménez to be joined by Urbina's 600-man force. Pressing still farther on to La Goma Hacienda, only 15 miles west of the strategic city of Torreón, they are reinforced by further contingents under Orestes Pereyra and Calixto Contreras for a major attempt against the beleaguered 3,500 Huertistas holding that city under Gen. Eutiquio Munguía. The latter's federal brigadier generals include such veteran commanders as Campa, Argumedo, Luis Anaya, and Felipe Álvarez.

SEPTEMBER 29, 1913. *Torreón (First Battle).* Having sallied from this city with 1,000 men, the Huertista generals Campa and Álvarez probe Villa's huge encampment with a long-range bombardment, hoping to scatter his ill-disciplined following—now swollen to 10,000 men and dubbed the *División del Norte* or "Northern Division" and boasting four field-pieces and a few machine guns. Instead, Villa orders a general advance eastward against Torreón (Coahuila) in three columns: his own "Villa Brigade" under Col. Toribio Ortega driving along the southern bank of the Nazas River toward Áviles; Maclovio Herrera and the "Juárez Brigade" following the northern bank toward the twin towns of Lerdo and Gómez Palacio; while Urbina's "Morelos Brigade"



Civilian volunteers posing around a fieldpiece prior to the First Battle of Torreón. (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico)

covers Villa's right. The "Zaragoza" and Benjamín Yuriar's brigades are to remain behind as a reserve.

Argumedo appears atop La Cruz Hill with his Huertista cavalry but cannot stem the Villista onrush, despite repeated countercharges. Within an hour, the outnumbered Huertistas are falling back. The hamlet of Áviles is carried by Urbina and Pereyra after four hours of heavy fighting, during which the Huertista general Álvarez is slain, while Campa is driven out of Lerdo by Herrera and Contreras. The victors quickly begin executing some 500 prisoners gathered at Áviles, before being ordered to stop by Villa. Villa continues on through Huarache Canyon toward Torreón with 6,000–7,000 men of the Villa and Morelos brigades, while his reserve Zaragoza and Yuriar brigades are to circle around the city.

Munguía braces to receive this onslaught by detaching Huertista units to entrench themselves atop Polvorera, Calabazas, and Unión hills outside the city, as well as within its two principal factories—solidly built of brick—while civilians flee en masse.

The first long-range skirmishes erupt on the evening of September 30, Calabazas and Polvorera hills being taken overnight. Amid intense fighting the next day, Villa personally leads the final charge that carries the revolutionaries into Torreón on October 1, despite heavy losses. Some 232 Huertista defenders lie dead—a total of 800 having been killed over these past three days—while another 109 are captured, along with 11 cannon, 5 machine guns, and almost 40 trains. Fires consume many of the city buildings. Munguía flees eastward with the survivors of his Nazas Division to join Gen. Tracy Aubert's 7,000-man Huertista concentration around Monterrey six days later and face a court-martial.

LATE OCTOBER 1913. Having extorted a forced loan at Torreón, executed Yuriar for insubordination, and left Contreras in command of the gutted city's garrison, Villa leads a train convoy northward to launch repeated assaults against Chihuahua City. He is unable, however, to subdue its Huertista garrison under Gen. Salvador R. Mercado.

NOVEMBER 14, 1913. Obregón's newly created revolutionary "Army of the Northwest" captures Culiacán (Sinaloa) and cuts all overland communication into the Huertista-held port of Mazatlán. He gathers further strength for a major spring offensive.

NOVEMBER 15, 1913. Having left some of his troops to watch the Huertista garrison within Chihuahua City, Villa heads northward and intercepts a coal train traveling in the opposite direction from Ciudad Juárez, compelling its terrified conductor to telegraph back to his railway office that it is impossible to reach Chihuahua City. Villa unloads the train and hides his troops aboard, orders it to return, and thus glides into Ciudad Juárez (opposite El Paso, Texas) after nightfall of November 15 to capture it with ease. Several hundred executions follow, despite Villa's personal leniency in numerous cases.

NOVEMBER 18, 1913. Pablo González captures Ciudad Victoria (Tamaulipas), followed shortly thereafter by Nuevo Laredo and Guerrero.

NOVEMBER 23, 1913. *Tierra Blanca.* Villa's 6,200-man *División del Norte* makes a stand along the high ground south of Ciudad Juárez, occupying a 12-mile line between Bauche and the Tierra Blanca Railway Station to await 5,500 *federales* traveling northward out of Chihuahua City under the Huertista general José Salazar.

The latter launches a series of ferocious assaults, which over the course of November 23–24 bleed his army white. Leaving almost 1,000 dead upon the field, Salazar is in full-flight retreat southeastward by the evening of November 24, heading toward the border town of Ojinaga opposite Presidio (Texas). Upon learning of this defeat, the 200-man Huertista garrison holding Chihuahua City under Gen. Salvador R. Mercado abandons this outpost before the end of the month, fleeing along with hundreds of adherents by train into Ojinaga (population 3,000).

DECEMBER 8, 1913. Villa occupies Chihuahua City unopposed, the Chinese Mexican general Manuel Chao—Carranza's appointee—eventually being installed officially as its governor, despite Villa's reluctance.

LATE DECEMBER 1913. Villa detaches his 31-year-old brigadier general Pánfilo Natera with 3,000 troops to besiege Mercado and Salazar within Oji-

naga. Natera fails to subdue these surviving Huertista remnants.

JANUARY 10, 1914. *Ojinaga.* Villa's main army joins Natera before Ojinaga and, in a 65-minute assault, pulverizes Mercado's and Salazar's remaining *federales*, sending 2,000 frightened survivors streaming into internment in Presidio, Texas—whose American garrison has just come under the command of the 53-year-old general John Joseph "Black Jack" Pershing. This victory ends all Huertista resistance in the state of Chihuahua.

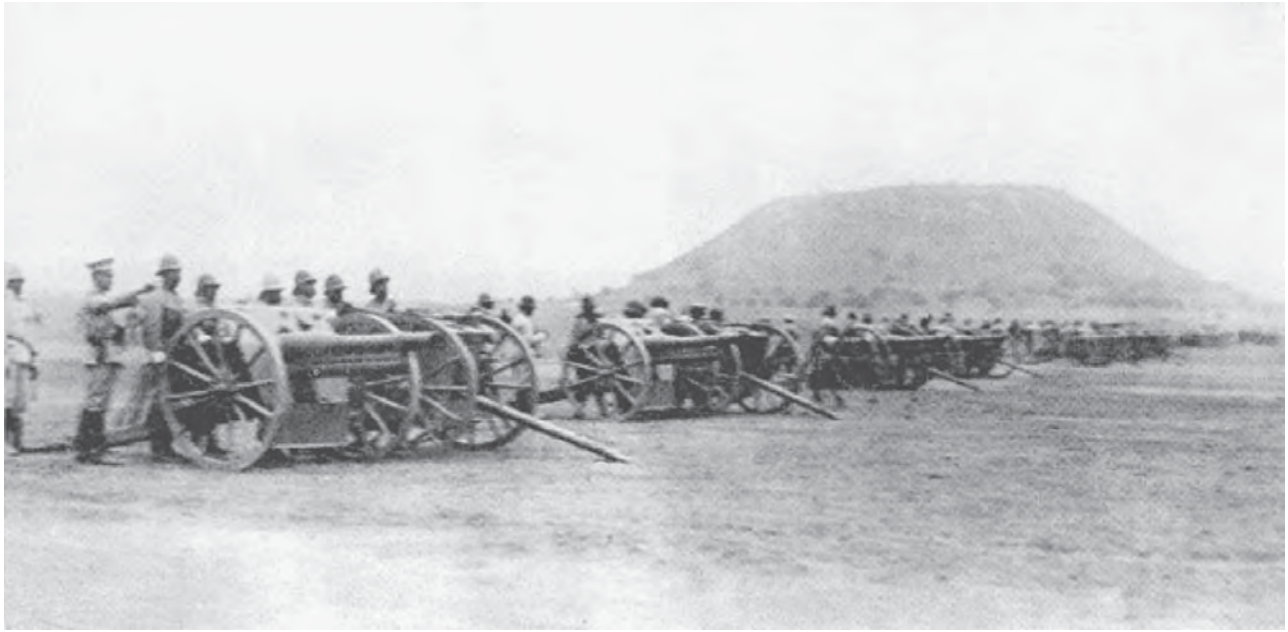
(It is also believed that the 71-year-old American writer Ambrose Bierce, attached to Villa's retinue, may have been killed during the assault on this city, his body never being found.)

MARCH 11, 1914. Pablo González briefly occupies Tampico (Tamaulipas).

MARCH 12, 1914. *Siege of Cuautla.* Having been preceded a few days earlier by contingents under his subordinates Julián Blanco, Jesús Salgado, and Heliodoro Castillo, Zapata arrives to besiege Cuautla (Morelos) with 5,000 revolutionaries. Its Huertista garrison is overrun by March 23, and although Gen. Luis G. Cartón briefly escapes southward for Acapulco, he is soon run down—along with 43 staff officers—and executed at Chilpancingo.

MARCH 22, 1914. *Torreón (Second Battle).* This city having been reoccupied by Huertistas three months previously, Villa returns to reconquer it with 12,000 troops subdivided into nine infantry and cavalry brigades, plus two artillery regiments under the former *federal* general Ángeles. After overwhelming its outlying towns, Villa assaults Torreón on March 28. Its 10,000-man Huertista garrison puts up a stout resistance under Gen. José Refugio Velasco but is eventually driven out on April 2, after sustaining heavy losses. Villa estimates his own casualties at 500 dead and 1,500 wounded.

Belated relief columns of Huertistas begin to gather nearby at San Pedro de las Colonias Hacienda (Madero's former estate) under Gen. Francisco Romero, consisting of 1,700 soldiers under Gen. Javier de Maure, 250 mounted *rurales* under Col. Francisco Cárdenas, 1,700 conscripts under Gen. Carlos García Hidalgo, 1,300 troops under Gen. Joaquín Maas, a volunteer brigade under Rodrigo Paliza, as well as Velasco's 4,000 survivors reassembling at Viesca. Villa decides to sortie before this dis-



Villa's artillery massed outside the city under the direction of Gen. Felipe Ángeles prior to the Second Battle of Torreón. (Author's Collection)

jointed force can coalesce into a stronger threat, so he dispatches the brigades of Gen. José Isabel Robles and Col. Raúl Madero in pursuit on April 3, to be followed by his main *División del Norte* and artillery train.

MARCH 23, 1914. Zapata captures Chilpancingo (Guerrero).

APRIL 5, 1914. *San Pedro de las Colonias.* Villa's subordinates Rosalio Hernández and Toribio Ortega previously engaged Romero's 6,000 Huertista troops, who are marshalling at San Pedro de las Colonias Hacienda outside Torreón (Coahuila). The main rebel army deploys and quickly advances into battle, coming within one-third mile of its railway station before being checked by federal troops entrenched behind rows of cotton bales. Long-range exchanges ensue into the next day, when the Huertista general Argumedo leads a cavalry column into San Pedro, then on April 7 attempts to fight his way back to Viesca with ammunition for Velasco's waiting army. Repulsed, Argumedo only wins free from the beleaguered town thanks to a major Huertista sally led by generals de Maure and Paliza the next day, which costs the lives of several hundred troops.

At dawn on April 9, Villa orders an all-out assault against the more than 5,000 Huertistas still defending San Pedro Hacienda, to crush them before Velasco can arrive in relief. General Maas mounts a

tenacious resistance on the northwestern side of the hacienda, while the cemetery to its southeast is equally well defended by García Hidalgo, until Velasco's column fights its way inside from Buenavista that evening.

Both sides recuperate their strength, before Villa orders a second assault for dawn of April 12. The initial attack pushes close to Velasco's headquarters, who receives a wound, after which his troops are gradually worn down and flee in all directions by late afternoon, as San Pedro de las Colonias erupts in flames. That evening, the victorious Villa estimates Huertista losses at 3,500 dead, wounded, or captured, compared to 650 of his own men.

APRIL 8, 1914. Zapata's *Ejército Libertador* or "Liberator Army," following its victory at Cuautla, advances westward and captures Iguala (Guerrero), followed shortly thereafter by Taxco. His peasants now control all of Morelos, except the Santa Clara and Tenango haciendas—protected by Japanese mercenaries under a French officer.

APRIL 9, 1914. At Tampico—once more reoccupied by federal troops under Gen. Ignacio Morelos Zaragoza, and besieged by anti-Huertista rebels—eight unarmed U.S. seamen from the gunboat *Dolphin* come ashore under 23-year-old assistant paymaster Charles W. Copp during a lull in the fighting to pick up some gasoline. Instead, they are detained

by 10 Tamaulipas militiamen and brought before Col. Ramón H. Hinojosa, who orders their release and apologizes along with Morelos Zaragoza for this inconvenience.

The 57-year-old rear admiral Henry Thomas Mayo—commander of the 4th Division of the U.S. Atlantic Fleet stationed off Mexico's Gulf coast to protect American interests—refuses to be mollified by this gesture and, without clearance from Washington, insists that the Mexican general punish the miscreants, issue a formal apology in writing, and hoist the American flag ashore, saluting it with a 21-gun salvo. The subsequent refusal to comply with this latter request provokes a diplomatic showdown with Huerta (whom President Woodrow Wilson has disliked ever since his brutal usurpation of power).

APRIL 14, 1914. Wilson orders the U.S. Atlantic Fleet to concentrate off Mexico, and Rear Adm. Charles J. Badger's battleship squadron sails from Hampton Roads (Virginia) this same evening.

APRIL 21, 1914. *Veracruz Landing.* Wishing to punish Huerta by intercepting a shipment of 200 machine guns and 15 million rounds of ammunition scheduled to arrive aboard the Hamburg-America liner *Ypiranga*, Wilson authorizes 58-year-old rear admiral Frank Friday Fletcher to disembark his forces and seize Veracruz (population 40,000).

The American commander first advises his British counterpart, 52-year-old rear admiral Sir Christopher G. F. M. "Kit" Craddock aboard the 680-man, 9,800-ton armored cruiser HMS *Essex*, plus the captain of the antique, 9,200-ton Spanish armored cruiser *Emperador Carlos V*—whose warships lie in the roadstead—of these impending hostilities. Mexican commodore Alejandro Cerisola, commander of the 160-man garrison on the offshore island fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, is also forewarned.

At 11:00 a.m., 800 American seamen and marines head inshore under Capt. William R. Rush of USS *Florida* and marine lieutenant colonel Wendell C. "Buck" Neville, while Gen. Gustavo Maas—military commander for the city of Veracruz proper—is advised not to offer any resistance with his 18th and 19th battalions (600 regulars under brigadier generals Luis B. Becerril and Francisco Figueroa, respectively). The latter withdraw 10 miles inland by train to Tejería, but civilian snipers and 90 cadets from the Mexican Naval Academy open fire around noon, as the invaders begin moving through city

streets. Some 400 reinforcements are therefore rushed ashore from USS *Utah*, and all resistance is subdued by 3:00 p.m., 4 Americans being killed and 20 wounded.

The 8,100-ton *Ypiranga* is detained upon its arrival at 2:00 p.m., its armaments proving not to have originated in Germany but rather from the Remington Company in the United States. Admiral Badger's battleships *Arkansas*, *New Hampshire*, *South Carolina*, *Vermont*, and *New Jersey* arrive after midnight on April 21–22, setting an additional 1,500 bluejackets and marines ashore the next dawn. (Eventually, as more U.S. warships join, 3,300 sailors and 2,500 marines enter Veracruz.) Sporadic sniper fire resumes, but the city is firmly under U.S. control by 11:00 a.m. on April 23, when Col. John A. Lejeune disembarks from USS *Hancock* to assume temporary command over its marine occupiers. Some 126 Mexicans have died and another 195 have been injured during this operation, compared to 17 American dead and 63 wounded.

Although directed against Huerta, this invasion is resented by all Mexicans. At Tampico, crews from the neutral HMS *Essex* and German cruiser *Dresden* must evacuate American civilians under a flag of truce. Meanwhile, San Juan de Ulúa capitulates to the Americans by April 26 and is actually occupied by a marine company from the battleship *North Dakota* two days later. Shortly before midnight on April 27, Brig. Gen. Frederick Funston arrives from Texas City with the 5th Reinforced Brigade (4th, 7th, 19th, and 28th Infantry regiments) aboard the transports *Kilpatrick*, *Meade*, *Sumner*, and *McClellan* to garrison Veracruz.

U.S. forces will remain in possession of this city throughout most of this year, as Washington is bewildered by the rapid-fire changes in Mexican administrations: Huerta is succeeded by Carranza, who in turn is challenged by Villa and Zapata. Eventually, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan announces on November 13 that Veracruz will be unilaterally evacuated.

MAY 4, 1914. Having advanced five days previously out of Culiacán through Modesto Station and Venadillo, Obregón and his 36-year-old subordinate Benjamín G. Hill combine and arrive to besiege the Huertista garrison inside Mazatlán (Sinaloa) with six revolutionary infantry battalions and two cavalry regiments. His opponents Diéguez and Lucio Blanco counter by capturing Acaponeta (Nayarit) on May 5, followed by Tepic nine days afterward.

MAY 12, 1914. *Paredón.* On Carranza's orders, Villa and his victorious forces are to be diverted eastward from Torreón to rout the remnants of Velasco's defeated Huertista army regrouping at Paredón (Coahuila). They are then to fight their way on to counter General Maas in Saltillo. General Ángeles consequently departs Torreón with Villa's three-dozen artillery pieces aboard railcars, reaching Saucedo Station by May 13 only to discover that the line into Paredón is completely destroyed and that 5,000 Huertistas are reassembling there under generals Ignacio Muñoz and Francisco Osorno. In addition, another 15,000 under Maas lie farther back at Saltillo.

Villa builds up his own huge force around his field headquarters at Hipólito before giving the order to advance through Josefa Canyon toward Paredón on May 16. The next morning, the Villista host closes in upon Muñoz's and Osorno's unprepared Huertistas, ignoring the feeble artillery counterfire, and launches a devastating cavalry charge shortly after 10:30 a.m. with 6,000 riders, an unbridled rush that panics and scatters their demoralized foes within 15 minutes. Hundreds of Huertistas are slain (many by firing squads), while 2,100 are captured along with 10 cannons and all their supply trains. Only the Huertista cavalry under Gen. Miguel Ál-

varez succeeds in escaping through Mesillas and Valle Perdido toward Saltillo, closely pursued by Brig. Gen. José Isabel Robles. Maas subsequently evacuates Saltillo without a fight, which is occupied by the Villista army on May 20.

MAY 19, 1914. Having left 3,000 revolutionary troops under his subordinate Ramón F. Iturbe to maintain the siege of Mazatlán, Obregón visits Tepic (Nayarit).

JUNE 10, 1914. *Zacatecas.* On Carranza's orders, Brigadier General Natera pushes southward and attempts to assail the city of Zacatecas with only 6,000 revolutionaries—his so-called *División del Centro* or "Central Division," comprised almost exclusively of cavalymen. They are badly beaten by the city's 12,000 Huertista defenders under Medina Barrón, who furthermore enjoy the advantage of 11 field-pieces and 90 machine guns.

After Natera becomes engaged, Carranza telegraphs Villa to order him to send reinforcements from his own much larger, better-equipped *División del Norte*, which is lying at Torreón. Villa instead requests permission to lead his own troops personally, and when the jealous Carranza refuses, Villa mutinies



Devastation following the June 1914 assault on Zacatecas showing the ruined Palacio Federal leveled by demolition charges during the defenders' flight. (Museo de la Toma de Zacatecas)

and strikes southward on June 16 to join Natera at Fresnillo. By the afternoon of June 22, Villa has 25,000 troops and 50 guns massed before Zacatecas, his revolutionary infantry and cavalry deployed to its east at Guadalupe, as well as south-southwest of

Álvaro Obregón

Álvaro Obregón was a modest and reluctant participant in the Mexican Revolution who rose to become its greatest general. He was born Álvaro Obregón Salido on February 19, 1880, at Siquisiva Ranch near Navojoa in the torrid northwestern state of Sonora. After receiving a basic education, he taught primary school at Moroncárit before turning to farming like his father. At the age of 23, Obregón married. In 1905, he bought his own small ranch on the Mayo River banks, which he named Quinta Chilla. His quiet life was saddened by his wife's death after giving birth to two sons. Obregón remarried in March 1910 and eventually sired another seven children.

The outbreak of the revolution elsewhere in Mexico that November did not at first involve him. Still, Obregón was so well liked in his district that he was elected municipal president of Huatabampo in 1911. His military career began when Pascual Orozco rebelled in neighboring Chihuahua against President Madero in March 1912. Obregón offered to serve his state government and quickly raised 300 volunteers. Named the 4th Irregular Battalion of Sonora, he became its lieutenant colonel. Obregón campaigned under Gen. Agustín Sanginés until Orozco's rebellion was crushed. He then dissolved his battalion and resigned his commission in January 1913.

The next month, Madero's murder in Mexico City by the usurper Victoriano Huerta revived the revolution. Obregón was recalled to duty, was promoted to colonel, and was made chief of staff for all Sonoran troops. A series of small victories led to his becoming brigadier general. He was then ordered in September 1913 to organize the much larger *Ejército del Noroeste* or "Army of the Northwest." The English professional soldier Ivor Thord-Gray, who joined Obregón's staff at that time, noted approvingly that his diminutive commander, "unlike many other generals, was very keen to learn, and he did."

The result was a disciplined army capable of defeating much larger foes. Obregón embraced the use of modern weaponry, such as machine guns and aircraft. His *Ejército Invicto* or "Undefeated Army" eventually ended the revolution by beating all rivals. Less flashy than Pancho Villa or Emiliano Zapata, Obregón proved deliberate in preparing for battle and calm once action was joined. And despite becoming Mexico's president, his ambitions always remained humble. He returned home often to Huatabampo, where his body lies buried today.

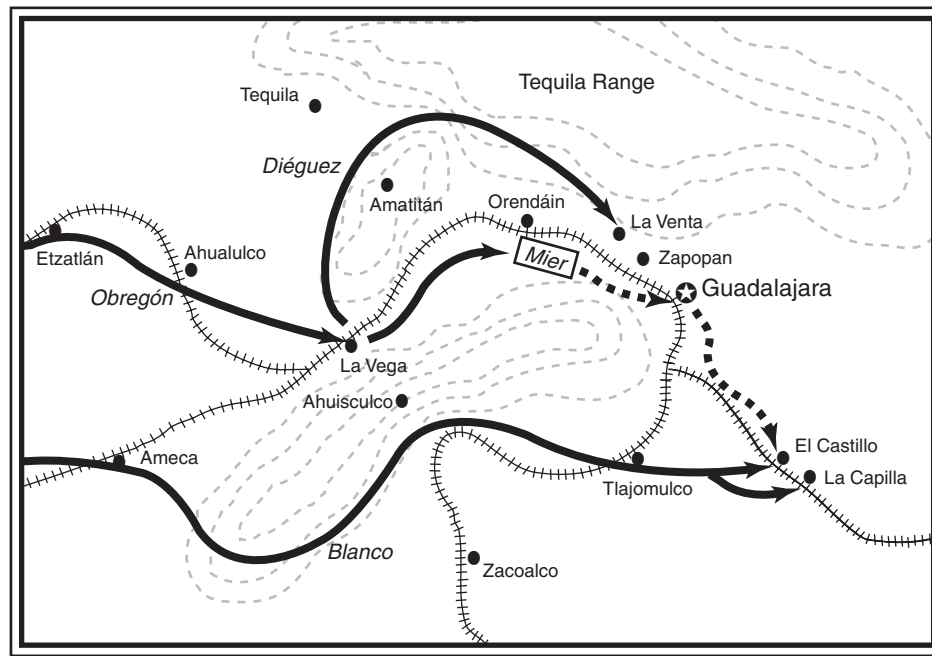
the city, driving the defenders back atop the fortified hills of El Grillo west of Zacatecas and to La Bufa to its east. Ángeles meanwhile installs his batteries to the north at Veta Grande.

At 10:00 a.m. on June 23, Villa launches a massive assault, his troops scaling El Grillo by 1:30 p.m. and overwhelming La Bufa two and a half hours later. These captures prompt a panic-stricken stampede back into Zacatecas City by defeated *federales*, the panic worsening when demolition charges begin leveling public buildings at 4:30 p.m. In the resultant slaughter, 5,000 Huertistas are killed, 2,500 wounded, and 3,000 taken prisoner (most of the latter two groups being subsequently executed, along with numerous civilians). Wounded in his left leg, Medina Barrón is lucky to escape southward into Soledad with 14 men. Villa's casualties total 4,000 men. Several hundred Zacatecan civilians are also killed in this ferocious exchange.

JUNE 25, 1914. *Orendáin.* Obregón's revolutionary "Army of the Northwest" arrives at Ahualulco, 45 miles west of the city of Guadalajara, and begins marshalling a large host of local auxiliaries to invade



A youthful Colonel Obregón, seated in full uniform at lower left, with some of his Sonoran officers. (Library of Congress)



Battle of Orendáin.

the Huertista army of Gen. José María Mier, which has sallied as far as La Vega railway station. Hoping to trap the *federales* by infiltrating his army along both sides of this railway line, Obregón's strategy is prematurely revealed when his subordinate Julián Medina blows a track in Mier's rear, prompting the Huertistas to fall back upon Orendáin.

Yet on July 1, Obregón persists with this tactic—albeit on a grander scale—by sending Brig. Gen. Lucio Blanco due eastward on a long stealthy cavalry approach to assault the federal outposts at El Castillo and La Capilla, thus cutting off Guadalajara's rail communications to the south. Simultaneously, Brigadier General Diéguez is to take the battalions of Eulogio Martínez, Esteban B. Calderón, Pablo Quiroga, Juan José Ríos, Severiano Talamantes, and Fermín Carpio on a forced march northward through the Tequila Range, circling around to emerge at La Venta—directly in Mier's rear.

Obregón waits until Diéguez's column engages the Huertistas on July 6 before bombarding their paralyzed train convoy from the west with his own army's artillery and machine guns, starting at midnight. The federal army disintegrates into panic by dawn of June 7, individual units breaking off in hopes of regaining Guadalajara. Rather than indulge in diverse chases, Obregón continues swiftly into Zapopan, arriving this same evening and barring all access into the capital, thereby preventing the dispersed Huertistas from reinforcing its garrison.

When Mier attempts to quit Guadalajara on June 8 with his remaining 3,000 men, he finds Blanco already blocking his escape route at El Castillo and is killed while attempting to fight his way through. Over these three days, Huertista losses total 2,000 dead, 1,000 wounded, and 5,000 captured, along with 16 fieldpieces, 18 trains, and 40 locomotives. The revolutionaries enter Guadalajara this same day, July 8, and the native son Diéguez assumes office as governor.

JULY 10, 1914. Fidencio Hernández and Guillermo Meixueiro—conservative backers of the exiled Félix Díaz—raise three brigades in Oaxaca, capture Etla and Tlacolula, then compel the state's Huertista governor to resign.

JULY 14, 1914. Following the twin disasters at Zatecas and Orendáin, Huerta resigns the presidency, appointing Francisco S. Carvajal as his interim successor. Shortly thereafter, Huerta flees Mexico City for Puerto México and boards the German cruiser *Dresden*, eventually gaining asylum in Spain.

JULY 18, 1914. Obregón assaults the federal garrison within the state capital of Colima.

JULY 20, 1914. Pablo González's *Ejército del Noreste* or "Army of the Northeast" takes the city of San Luis Potosí without opposition.

JULY 21, 1914. Obregón besieges Manzanillo (Colima).

AUGUST 1, 1914. Obregón's "Army of the Northwest" unites at Querétaro with Pablo González's "Army of the Northeast," driving together toward Mexico City.

AUGUST 10, 1914. The 47-year-old governor of Sonora, José María Maytorena—angered by Carranza's reproofs—clashes at Buenavista Ranch on the Santa Cruz River with a Carrancista contingent under General Hill, leaving 18 dead.

AUGUST 13, 1914. At Teoloyucan outside Mexico City, Obregón signs a treaty with a representative from the federal government, officially dissolving the Huertista administration as well as much of the regular 30,000-man Mexican Army and 10,000 *rurales*. (Only those troops deployed south of the capital to contain Zapata's peasant revolutionaries are to be kept in operation.)

AUGUST 18, 1914. Obregón's 18,000-man "Army of the Northwest" enters Mexico City in triumph.

Carranza follows him in two days and, on August 21, assumes office as president.

AUGUST 22, 1914. The disgruntled governor of Sonora, José María Maytorena, approaches the border town of Nogales with 2,000 men, obliging its Carrancista garrison under General Hill and the 36-year-old colonel Plutarco Elías Calles (a future president of Mexico) to fall back into Cananea, Agua Prieta, and Naco. Maytorena enters triumphantly the next day. Villa and Obregón subsequently travel by train through El Paso (Texas), meeting with Maytorena as of August 28 in an unsuccessful bid to mediate this dispute.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1914. Carranza, who has refused to allow Zapata access to Mexico City, furthermore rejects the revolutionary leader's land claims, made in favor of his peasant followers.

SEPTEMBER 8, 1914. From his Cuernavaca headquarters, Zapata defies Carranza's self-proclaimed rule and begins distributing lands among Morelos's peasants.



Obregón—the mustachioed figure in a gray uniform seated on the left—and Villa (far right) negotiate with renegade governor Maytorena, whose back is to the tent pole. (Clendenen Papers, Hoover Institution)

SEPTEMBER 11, 1914. The Pacific port city of Mazatlán (Sinaloa) is stormed by anti-Carrancista troops and carried three days later.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1914. Villa refuses to acknowledge Carranza as president, so neither his followers nor the Zapatistas of southern Mexico attend the constitutional convention held in Mexico City on October 1.

NOVEMBER 6, 1914. The constitutional convention—now transferred out of Mexico City into neutral Aguascalientes—recognizes the 34-year-old “general” and former mine foreman Eulalio Gutiérrez as interim president of Mexico. Carranza refuses to accept this nomination, so at 6:15 p.m. on November 10 he is labeled a rebel, and Gutiérrez appoints Villa as “head of military operations” intended to drive Carranza out of Mexico.

NOVEMBER 12, 1914. Zapata also declares war against Carranza.

NOVEMBER 13, 1914. American secretary of state William Jennings Bryan announces that Veracruz will be evacuated within 10 days.

NOVEMBER 14, 1914. Carrancista general Luis Jiménez Figueroa seizes Oaxaca City, but four days later is besieged inside its El Fortín citadel by three brigades of local revolutionaries under Meixueiro. They compel Jiménez Figueroa to flee after nightfall, overtaking and killing him at Tehuacán by December 2.

NOVEMBER 18, 1914. Threatened by the simultaneous advance of Villa’s *División del Norte* and Zapata’s guerrillas out of the southwest, Carranza quits his temporary Orizaba encampment for Veracruz.

NOVEMBER 23, 1914. This morning, the last of Funston’s American troops depart Veracruz, and Gen. Cándido Aguilar’s division arrives at noon to reestablish Mexican control.

NOVEMBER 24, 1914. After Obregón’s depleted 4,000-man garrison abandons Mexico City for Veracruz, Zapata occupies its southern suburbs without opposition two days later. This same day, November 26, Carranza establishes his provisional government in Veracruz.

DECEMBER 1, 1914. Villa appears at Mexico City’s northern suburb of Tacuba and, three days later, meets Zapata at Xochimilco. On December 6, their combined armies—numbering perhaps as many as 50,000 men—parade through the capital.

DECEMBER 12, 1914. Carrancista general Diéguez evacuates Guadalajara for Ciudad Guzmán, allowing a Villista contingent to occupy the city uncontested five days later.

DECEMBER 17, 1914. The “Conventionalist” general Ángeles departs Mexico City at the head of 5,500 troops to reclaim the northern city of Monterrey (Nuevo León). He will be joined en route at Torreón (Coahuila) by an additional 4,500 men, eventually commanding a total of 11,000 troops, which brush aside a Carrancista formation under Gen. Antonio I. Villarreal at Ramos Arizpe and gain Monterrey by January 5, 1915.

DECEMBER 31, 1914. Gen. Jesús Carranza—younger brother of Venustiano and sent to pacify the Isthmus of Tehuantepec—is betrayed by his local subordinate, Gen. Alfonso Santibáñez, and held for ransom. When Venustiano Carranza refuses to pay and sends a column of troops in pursuit, his brother is murdered at the Xambao Inn (Oaxaca). Santibáñez and most of his followers disperse into the hills.

JANUARY 5, 1915. After defeating a depleted Zapatista garrison at Tecamachalco, Obregón—now “General-in-Chief” of Carranza’s army—takes the city of Puebla with his 12,000 troops.

JANUARY 17, 1915. *Guadalajara.* Having united with Murguía, Diéguez leads 9,000 Carrancistas northward through central Jalisco to assault its state capital of Guadalajara. In a two-day battle that rages over the Cuatro, Gachupín, and Santa María hills, Diéguez succeeds in defeating the city’s 10,000 Villista defenders under Julián Medina, Melitón F. Ortega, and Contreras, then reoccupies it.

JANUARY 28, 1915. With 9,000 troops, Obregón reenters Mexico City, which has earlier been abandoned by both its Villista and Zapatista occupiers—their rival national government being reconstituted at Cuernavaca (Morelos) four days later.



Junior federal officers posing in a garden in Matamoros, photograph by Robert Runyon. (Author's Collection)

JANUARY 30, 1915. Guadalajara is struck by 3,500 Villista raiders, who are ejected in turn by its Carrancista garrison, leaving behind 400 dead.

FEBRUARY 11, 1915. Because of mounting pressure from Villa, Diéguez evacuates Guadalajara for Ciudad Guzmán, but will nonetheless succeed in retaining control over Jalisco's capital through a series of minor victories at El Volcán, Tuxpan, Nextipac, and Santa Ana. These victories allow his Carrancistas to return triumphantly into Guadalajara on May 18.

MARCH 5, 1915. A Villista column under General Chao attacks the Carrancista garrison under Gen. Pablo González, who is holding the seaport of Tampico (Tamaulipas), but is repelled.

MARCH 10, 1915. Obregón abandons starving Mexico City and reaches Tula in the state of Hidalgo the next day. He masses his forces at nearby Caza-

dero a fortnight later to press deeper into central Mexico and challenge Villa to a pitched battle.

APRIL 1, 1915. Obregón occupies the city of Querétaro, then Celaya (Guanajuato) three days later, where he learns that Villa's approaching army is 30 miles to the west, having just entered Irapuato.

APRIL 6, 1915. *Celaya.* This morning, Villa departs Salamanca with 20,000 men and 22 artillery pieces in three columns, driving directly toward Obregón, who is awaiting him 20 miles farther east at Celaya. Although the latter commands only 6,000 cavalymen under brigadier generals Agustín Estrada and Abel Santos, 5,000 infantrymen under brigadier generals José Herón González and Dionisio Triana, 86 machine guns, and 13 cannon, his army is much better disciplined and organized than Villa's unwieldy horde. By 2:00 p.m. this same afternoon, advance elements of the Villista army are ar-

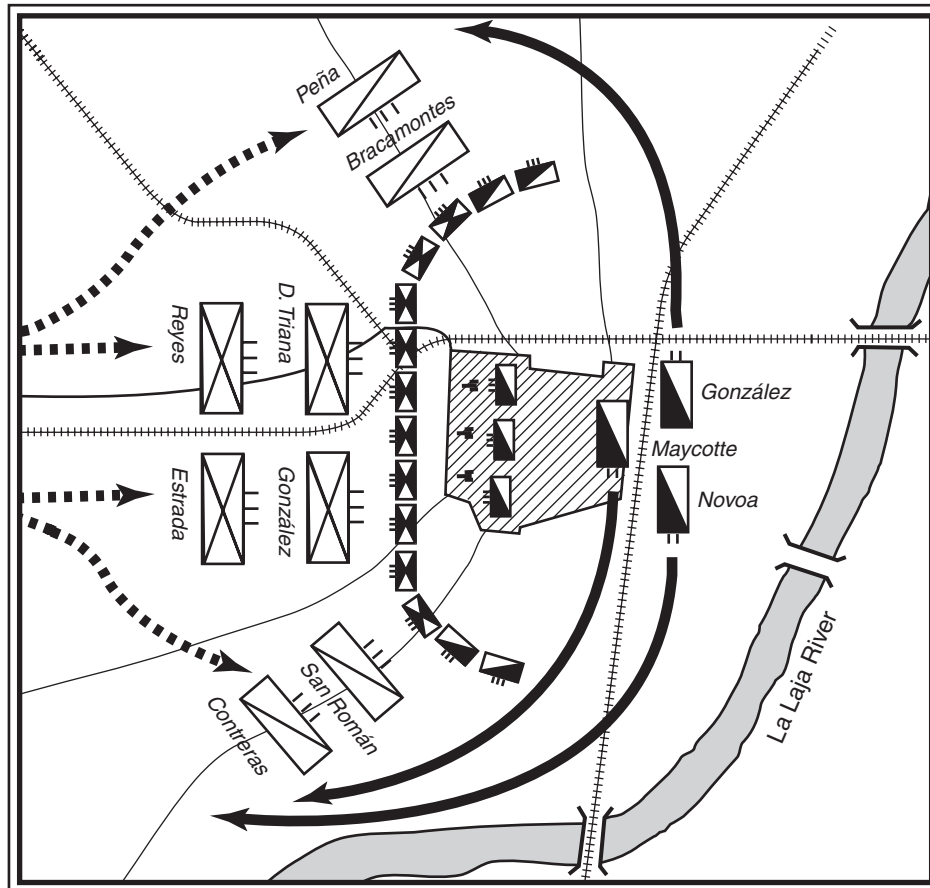
living on the plains west of Celaya and decimating Fortunato Maycotte's brigade, which is quartered at El Guaje railway station. Obregón sends 1,500 reinforcements under Manuel Laveaga to rescue Maycotte, then sallies himself by train to supervise their withdrawal, the battle becoming fully joined two hours later as more and more units arrive on each side, while Obregón's trusted subordinate general Hill successfully defends Celaya.

Throughout the night, both armies blaze away at each other in the darkness, then on the morning of April 7, Villa sends repeated waves against Celaya itself, whose entrenched defenders succeed in pushing them back. Realizing after some 40 cavalry charges that Villa has committed his entire strength, Obregón sends Maycotte's and Novoa's cavalry brigades on a flanking movement to the south, plus González's to the north, thereby threatening Villa's rear. This threatened pincer obliges the attackers to retreat almost 10 miles by that same afternoon and reboard their trains for Salamanca and Irapuato, leaving behind 1,800 dead, 3,000 wounded, 500 prisoners, cattle, and heaps of matériel. Obregón's losses total

558 killed and 365 injured (313 and 157, respectively, from Maycotte's trapped contingent at El Guaje).

Obregón rests his victorious troops in Celaya, while Villa recalls contingents from Jalisco and Nuevo León to rebuild his battered army over the next few days into 30,000 men—and even attempts to telephone Obregón, only to be answered by an obscenity. Obregón is also reinforced from Veracruz and raises his total numbers to 15,000, his cavalry being hidden farther east in a forest. On April 13, Villa resumes his offensive, surrounding Celaya and again furiously attacking Obregón's lines throughout April 14–15 from a range of only 400 yards. The defenders once more respond by launching a massive cavalry encirclement to the north with Gen. Cesáreo Castro's division, prompting Villa's exhausted followers to break and flee westward into the night, leaving behind another 4,000 dead, 5,000 wounded, 6,000 prisoners, 1,000 horses, and their artillery.

APRIL 19, 1915. Obregón occupies Salamanca (Guanajuato), then Irapuato two days later, while Villa's shattered *División del Norte* retreats northwestward.



First Battle of Celaya.

APRIL 25, 1915. An Obregonista column occupies Guanajuato City.

APRIL 28, 1915. Obregón enters Silao (Guanajuato) with his main army and, the next day, contacts Villista forces again, farther to the northwest. Now leery of their opponents, the latter only skirmish against Obregón's advance outposts, buying time for Villa to regroup his army around his supply depot at León. The resting Villista line sprawls from Rodolfo Fierro's division encamped at San Juan de los Lagos to Urbina's and Natera's contingents at San Miguel de Allende. Villa hopes to lure Obregón into the Trinidad Plains between Silao and León for a climactic encounter, where his advantage in cavalry might tell.

MAY 7, 1915. *Trinidad.* Obregón advances northwestward from Silao (Guanajuato), reaching Trinidad Railway Station to begin entrenching his infantry into a defensive line extending between the nearby haciendas of Santa Ana del Conde and more distant Otates. The next day, he orders his cavalry to clear the Villista units from atop Capilla and La Cruz hills, so as to allow the 14,300 Obregonista infantrymen and 9,400 cavalymen to deploy fully across the Trinidad Plains into a huge square measuring 10 miles from corner to corner. Obregón's infantry holds the northwestern and southeastern lines of this square, while his cavalry covers both flanks in between.

Having massed 19,500 riders and 6,000 infantrymen of his own at Nuevo León, Villa leaves a sizeable garrison behind before bringing 8,000 cavalymen to launch his initial attacks against Obregón's lines on May 12. After 10 days of probes and exchanges, Villa adds a bold new variant by leaving his artillery commander Ángeles to maintain this pressure, while personally leading another 8,000 fresh riders through the hills via a circuitous route to surprise the main Obregonista supply base at Silao, destroying numerous trains, bridges, and telegraphs in his opponent's rear.

Obregón finds this disruption worrisome, especially after Villa returns into Duarte on the morning of June 2 to prepare for a general assault with all his forces. The Obregonistas brace to receive this onslaught. When the first Villista wave of three infantry battalions breaks cover the next morning and advances directly upon Santa Ana del Conde Hacienda behind a barrage laid down by Ángeles's batteries, Obregón is badly wounded when his right

arm is shredded by a shell. His army's discipline remains intact, though, his second-in-command Hill succeeding him and decimating Villa's advancing columns with counterfire from well-emplaced machine guns and strongly entrenched troops. After exhausting their strength and ammunition in repeated yet fruitless assaults, Villa and Ángeles give the order at dawn on June 5 to retreat from Duarte toward León.

Hill immediately launches a massive pursuit by ordering brigadier generals Castro and Murguía to chase the routed Villistas along both flanks with their 7,000 troopers, while Diéguez is to lead the infantry straight up the center into Nuevo León itself. Having sustained 8,000 casualties—triple those of the Obregonistas—Villa is powerless to prevent the disintegration of his army, abandoning all his matériel while drawing off northward into Aguascalientes. (The right hand of the convalescent yet victorious Obregón, amputated by Surgeon Gen. Enrique Osornio Camarena, is today preserved as a prize exhibit in Mexico City.)

JUNE 2, 1915. American president Woodrow Wilson gives a speech, seemingly threatening renewed intervention if Mexico's warring factions cannot achieve peace.

JUNE 3, 1915. Oaxaca declares itself to be a sovereign state, refusing to acknowledge the authority of Carranza or any other federal leader.

JUNE 8, 1915. Villista general Máximo García evacuates Ciudad Victoria (Tamaulipas). His Zapata subordinator, Alberto Carrera Torres, is overtaken shortly thereafter and executed.

JUNE 24, 1915. Huerta and Orozco are arrested by U.S. authorities in El Paso (Texas) for violating American neutrality laws by plotting to rejoin the fighting in Mexico.

JUNE 30, 1915. During clashes against Villista irregulars around Lagunas de Moreno (Jalisco), Diéguez is severely wounded.

JULY 2, 1915. As Villa's defeated *División del Norte* limps northward, his 35-year-old henchman Rodolfo Fierro sends a false telegram from Pedrito Station—over Obregón's signature—to the Nuevo León garrison commander Novoa, ordering him to evacuate. This retirement allows Fierro to reenter that town

unopposed with 4,000 riders, then to rampage southward through Silao, Irapuato, Salamanca, Celaya, Querétaro, and San Juan del Río, ripping up railroad tracks and burning bridges. At Tula (Hidalgo), he pulverizes a 1,500-man garrison, then joins forces with Roque González Garza.

Obregón's subordinate Pablo González feels so threatened by this incursion that he abandons Mexico City, although Fierro's small numbers do not permit any designs against the capital.

JULY 6, 1915. After a brief convalescence, Obregón resumes command over his army, driving northward in pursuit of Villa.

JULY 8, 1915. Obregón defeats Villa's rearguard at Calvillo Ravine, then occupies the city of Aguascalientes two days later, gaining considerable stores.

JULY 28, 1915. While retiring northward after his successful raid into central Mexico, Fierro's 4,000 riders blunder into Obregón's army in the Mariscal Hills near the city of Querétaro and are badly beaten two days later at Jerécuaro, thus rejoining Villa with only 1,000 men.

JULY 30, 1915. A Zapatista contingent under Gen. Amador Salazar is defeated near Mexico City.

AUGUST 10, 1915. Obregón's subordinate Pablo González reoccupies Mexico City.

AUGUST 11, 1915. The new U.S. secretary of state, Robert Lansing, joined by diplomatic representatives from Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, and Uruguay, call upon Mexico's factions to make peace. Carranza rejects this proposal one month later, branding it as interference in Mexico's internal affairs.

AUGUST 30, 1915. Outside El Paso (Texas), the exiled Orozco is murdered along with four companions.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1915. Obregón wins a clash at La Angostura (site of the Battle of Buena Vista; see "February 22, 1847" entry in "Mexican-American War"). Shortly thereafter, he reoccupies Saltillo.

OCTOBER 19, 1915. The United States, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Guatemala, and Uruguay recognize Carranza as de facto president of Mexico.

NOVEMBER 2, 1915. After a lengthy retreat northward, Villa's 6,000 remaining troops make four nocturnal assaults against Calles's 6,500 fresh Carrancista defenders at Agua Prieta (Sonora). The latter win easily, killing or wounding 600 half-starved attackers, while another 400 desert Villa as he initiates yet another retirement southwest toward Hermosillo the next day.

NOVEMBER 8, 1915. Seeking to reassert federal rule over the breakaway state of Oaxaca (see "June 3, 1915" entry), Carrancista general Jesús Agustín Castro departs Chiapas with the 21st Division and seizes Salina Cruz, his vanguard soon being joined by other following contingents.

NOVEMBER 18, 1915. *Hermosillo.* Villa's 5,000 survivors fight an inconclusive yet costly battle against a superior Carrancista force under Diéguez at Alamito, outside Sonora's capital of Hermosillo. Four days later, Villa launches an all-out, 30-hour assault against Hermosillo's garrison, during which his remaining troops are annihilated. He thereupon retires eastward into the mountains with only 1,400 followers, eventually reaching Chihuahua City and disbanding his column.

DECEMBER 24, 1915. Villa disappears from Chihuahua City, eight days before Carrancista general Treviño arrives to reoccupy this state capital.

JANUARY 16, 1916. Villa's subordinates Pablo López and Rafael Castro attack a train at Santa Isabel bound from Chihuahua City toward the Cusi-huiríachi mining camp, in the process massacring 16 American passengers, which provokes outrage in neighboring Texas.

MARCH 2, 1916. After pushing inland from Puerto Ángel (Oaxaca), a small Carrancista army under generals Macario M. Hernández and Juan José Baños defeats a separatist force at Ocotlán, then three days later occupies deserted Oaxaca City. Castro arrives by March 15 to assume office as governor.

MARCH 9, 1916. *Columbus Raid.* In the pre-dawn hours, Villa crosses the border several miles west of Columbus (New Mexico), sending 500 riders to attack this town from three directions at 4:00 a.m. His followers assault the encampment of six troops—200 soldiers—of Col. H. J. Slocum's 13th U.S. Cavalry Regiment, loot numerous buildings and corrals,

then set fire to Columbus's business district before withdrawing. Despite being surprised, the defenders kill about 100 Villistas. Eighteen Americans—10 of them civilians—lie dead, and another 8 are wounded.

Villa's raid not only vaults his name back into prominence, it also belies the Carrancista claim to have pacified Mexico. Any American pursuit onto Mexican soil will furthermore be resented by many Mexicans for purely patriotic reasons because of the recent Veracruz intervention (*see* "April 21, 1914" entry), thereby drawing new recruits into Villa's ranks while alienating Carranza from popular opinion if he should help hunt down the raiders.

MARCH 13, 1916. A Carrancista column penetrating inland from Acapulco compels Zapatista general Pacheco to evacuate Huitzilac (Morelos), for which he is subsequently executed by de la O.

MARCH 15, 1916. *Pershing's "Wild Goose Chase."* Two columns comprised of 3,000 troops of the 13th U.S. Cavalry, the 6th and 16th Infantry regiments, plus the 1st Artillery Battery cross the border at Palomas (Chihuahua) to pursue Villa and punish his Columbus raid. Carranza offers President Wilson very grudging cooperation while urging his own

commanders to capture the renegade, thereby ending the excuse for American intervention.

Villa proves elusive, though, his troops disappearing into the hills and adopting guerrilla tactics. The local Mexican populace also views the U.S. incursion with hostility. On April 12, an American scouting party—two troops of the 13th Cavalry under Maj. Frank Tompkins—approach Parral (Chihuahua), only to be set upon by a mob shouting, "Viva Villa!" and "Viva México!" A melee ensues in which 3 American soldiers are killed and 7 wounded, compared to perhaps 40 Mexican casualties.

Still more units join Pershing, so that by late April he reaches Casas Grandes with 9,000 soldiers: eight cavalry and five infantry regiments, plus five artillery batteries and numerous auxiliaries (including eight Jenny biplanes of the 1st Provisional Aero Squadron out of San Antonio, Texas). In May, the Americans skirmish at Ojos Azules Ranch against a small Villista force, which quickly disappears. Early in June, Villa emerges from hiding to overrun the Carrancista garrison of Gen. José Cavazos at Guerrero (Chihuahua) and is wounded in his right leg. Villa thereupon orders his men to disperse once again and reassemble at San Juan Bautista on the Durango border by July 6, while he himself retires into a cave to convalesce.



Double column of Gen. John Pershing's troops marching through the stark landscape of northern Mexico. (Clendenen Papers, Hoover Institution)

Shortly thereafter, Carranza's government informs Pershing that any deeper penetrations westward, southward, or eastward into Mexico will be contested. On June 20, two troops of the 10th Cavalry—84 black troopers under Capt. Charles T. Boyd—probe east toward Villa Ahumada, believing Villa may be there. At Carrizal, they collide with a Carrancista garrison under Gen. Félix U. Gómez, who deploys his troops and forbids the Americans to advance. Boyd insists and loses his life in the ensuing exchange, during which 9 of his men are also killed, 10 wounded, and 23 captured. Mexican losses total 74 dead—among them Gómez.

This incident brings an effective halt to Pershing's operations, as Washington must placate an in-

censed Mexican government. Over the next seven months, the American expeditionary force—now numbering 12,000 men and sarcastically dubbed the “Perishing Expedition”—remains largely immobile, 150 miles inside Mexico. Eventually, the U.S. government announces its withdrawal on January 28, 1917, and eight days later the last American troops depart Chihuahua.

APRIL 16, 1916. The Zapatista general Salazar is killed by a stray round near Yauhtepec (Morelos).

MAY 2, 1916. *Morelos Sweep.* The Carrancista general Pablo González launches an offensive—complete with air support—against the Zapatistas in Morelos

General John J. Pershing

John Joseph Pershing was born on September 13, 1860, on a farm near Laclede (Missouri). His father owned a general store and supplied the 18th Missouri Volunteer Infantry Regiment during the Civil War. Raised in relative prosperity, young Pershing was given a good educational start at a “select school.” Upon graduating in 1878, he became a local teacher with African American students, a rarity in those times. After attending the First Missouri Normal School (later Truman State University) in Kirksville for two years, he applied to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point in the hope of getting a better education rather than of pursuing a military career.

Pershing enrolled in the autumn of 1882, at almost 22 years of age, and spent four notable years at the academy. Shortly before graduating, his parents died within 10 days of each other in April 1886. Pershing considered taking leave to study law, but he accepted a commission on September 30 as a second lieutenant with the 6th Cavalry Regiment at Fort Bayard (New Mexico). For five years, he served in Indian campaigns throughout California, Arizona, and North Dakota and was cited for bravery during engagements against the Apaches. He also became one of the finest marksmen in the U.S. Army.

Assigned in 1891 as a military instructor at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln, he graduated from its law school. Finally promoted to first lieutenant in October 1895, he accepted a command in the all-black 10th Cavalry Regiment at Fort Assiniboine in north central Montana. Upon joining the tactical staff at West Point two years later, cadets started calling him “Black Jack” because of his service with the 10th. Pershing was commissioned as a major of volunteers when the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898 and was cited for gallantry at the Battle of San Juan Hill. Recovering from malaria, he went to the Philippines the next summer to fight against the Moros over the next four years.

He was still a captain at 43 years old upon returning to the United States in the summer of 1903, so his friend, President Theodore Roosevelt, petitioned the Army General Staff to have him promoted. Rebuffed, Pershing was assigned as military attaché to the American Embassy in Tokyo, serving as Roosevelt's observer during the Russo-Japanese War. Upon regaining Washington in the autumn of 1905, the president had Congress move Pershing up three ranks to brigadier general, offending army protocol. Pershing also married the daughter of the powerful Republican senator Francis E. Warren of Wyoming, served briefly in Paris, then did another three-year tour in the Philippines.

In January 1914, Pershing was given command of the U.S. Army 8th Brigade at Fort Bliss (Texas). Responsible for patrolling the U.S. border with troubled Mexico, he suffered a personal calamity when his wife and three young daughters—about to vacate their home at the San Francisco Presidio to join him in Texas—were burned to death on August 27, 1915. Only his six-year-old son was saved, who joined Pershing at Fort Bliss. Six months later, the long, fruitless pursuit of Pancho Villa began.

When America entered World War I in 1917, President Woodrow Wilson appointed Pershing to command the American Expeditionary Force, which eventually swelled to over 2 million soldiers. In the euphoria after the victory, he was rewarded with a special rank—“General of the Armies”—and served as chief of staff for another three years before retiring from active duty. Noteworthy for his intellect, Pershing was the creator of the modern U.S. Army. He mentored many famous future generals, such as George C. Marshall, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Omar N. Bradley, and George S. Patton Jr.

by bringing his *Ejército del Este* or “Eastern Army” into the state and seizing Cuernavaca. His 30,000 troops occupy almost all major towns over the next four days—Jojutla not falling until May 25—then establish concentration camps to stifle guerrilla resistance. By the end of this same month, 1,500 captives are on their way into incarceration at Mexico City, while much of Morelos lies looted or destroyed.

MAY 8, 1916. González’s subordinate, Rafael Cepeda, executes 225 Zapatista prisoners in Jiutepec (Morelos).

MAY 15, 1916. Félix Díaz—nephew of Oaxaca’s native son, former president Porfirio Díaz—returns from exile and joins this state’s separatist movement. His grandly named *Ejército Reorganizador Nacional* or “National Reorganizer Army” is promptly defeated by Carrancista forces at Yucucundo in June, then at Tlalcolula in July, obliging Díaz to retreat northeast toward the Chiapas–Veracruz border.

JUNE 1916. González’s forces overrun Tlaltizapán—Zapata’s main hideaway, south of Cuernavaca (Morelos)—slaughtering 286 unarmed men, women, and children.

JULY 6, 1916. Villa rejoins his followers—now 1,000 strong—at San Juan Bautista on the Chihuahua–Durango border, then leads them northward to forage for supplies.

JULY 16, 1916. Despite being seriously weakened by González’s offensive, a Zapatista column attacks the Carrancista garrison at Tlayacapan (Morelos), retiring after six hours of heavy fighting to assault Tlaltizapán the next day.

AUGUST 1, 1916. Carranza calls out troops to put down a general strike in Mexico City.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1916. The previous night, Villa has infiltrated 1,000 riders into Chihuahua City, then at 3:00 a.m. on September 16—Mexico’s Independence Day—surprises its Carrancista garrison under Treviño. After seizing much booty, giving a speech from the municipal balcony, and recruiting an additional 1,500 men, Villa disappears as suddenly as he has materialized.

LATE SEPTEMBER 1916. To relieve his despairing followers in Morelos, Zapata advances across the

mountains to threaten Mexico City, in turn prompting Carrancista colonel Jesús María Guajardo to execute 180 captives in Tlaltizapán and raze much of its surrounding district.

OCTOBER 4, 1916. Zapata seizes the Xochimilco pumping station, cutting off much of Mexico City’s water supply, then retires after destroying the railway lines at Peña Pobre.

NOVEMBER 7, 1916. Zapatista guerrillas blow up a train, killing more than 400 passengers.

NOVEMBER 23, 1916. Villa again captures Chihuahua City, occupying it for a week before emerging to confront Murguía’s approaching Carrancista army on Horcasitas Plain. In a seven-hour engagement on December 1, Villa is badly beaten and compelled to abandon a trainload of provisions while retreating toward Satevo.

DECEMBER 1, 1916. *Zapata’s Resurrection.* With González’s occupation forces now grown weak due to neglect, desertion, and disease—7,000 Carrancistas reportedly lying sick of malaria—Zapata’s battered forces are able to recuperate Tlaltizapán, then launch a major offensive to regain control over the state of Morelos.

DECEMBER 22, 1916. Villa, with perhaps as many as 5,000 riders, surprises the Carrancista garrison at Torreón (Coahuila), overrunning its defenses from three different directions and killing two generals while driving a third to suicide. After extorting a 1 million-peso loan from the city’s inhabitants and destroying all printing presses “so that they won’t speak ill of him,” Villa and his raiders abruptly depart on December 27.

JANUARY 7, 1917. Villa raids Santa Rosalía (Coahuila), massacring 300 Carrancista prisoners and Chinese civilians.

This same day, Zapata reoccupies Jonacatepec (Morelos), followed by Yautepec the next day, Cuautla on January 10, then numerous other towns—including Cuernavaca.

MAY 1, 1917. After holding an election on March 11 in which he received 198,000 of 250,000 votes cast—out of 3 million potential voters throughout Mexico—Carranza assumes the presidency. His top

Emiliano Zapata

Emiliano Zapata Salazar's birth date is believed to be August 8, 1879, and he was born in San Miguel Anenecuilco (Morelos) in the lush valleys south of Mexico City. As a member of an ancient family of small ranchers, he did not endure poverty or manual labor as a child. Instead, he grew up to become a successful horse trainer. However, he also showed a genuine sympathy for the poor peasants of Morelos, who were being displaced by ever-larger commercial *haciendas* or "estates." Fluent in the Indian language of Náhuatl, as well as Spanish, he was elected head of his village's "defense committee," and, as such, he contested many illegal land expropriations.

Frustrated by the corruption of local officials and the indifference from federal authorities in the capital, Zapata embraced the Mexican Revolution in March 1911. He quickly harnessed a torrent of ragtag rebels with his rallying cry of *Tierra y Libertad* or "Land and Liberty." Gathered into the so-called *Ejército Libertador del Sur* or "Liberation Army of the South," Zapata's movement helped drive the dictator Porfirio Díaz from office by May.

Yet Zapata also remained distrustful of the new administration created by the reformist northern landowner Francisco I. Madero. When he was unable to convince the new president of the need to grant small plots to his thousands of adherents, relations soured. Federal troops once again were deployed in Morelos, so Zapata took up arms against Madero. His rebellion grew even stronger after the hated general Victoriano Huerta seized power. Unlike other revolutionary leaders, Zapata never aspired to high office, often avoiding national alliances to concentrate on winning his agrarian goals in Morelos.

Years of fighting nonetheless eroded Zapatista strength, while federal garrisons controlled all the large towns and roads leading out of the state, preventing any significant breakthrough victory. The elusive guerrilla chieftain was finally lured into a trap and murdered, and his movement disintegrated without his charismatic leadership. Yet Zapata's romantic appeal did not end with his death. Even modern Mexican governments observe his memory by making token land distributions among the poor. And peasants still believe that he rides alone through the forests of Ajusco Mountain on a white horse.

general, Obregón, retires modestly into private life at his birthplace of Navojoa (Sonora).

MAY 7, 1917. Zapata's longtime subordinate Leonardo Vázquez is executed at Buenavista de Cuellar (Morelos) for turning against his former chief, the

same fate befalling his secretary and mentor, Otilio Montaño, 11 days later.

JUNE 18, 1917. With Zapatista support melting away, Zapata's brother Eufemio is murdered by a turncoat at Cuautla (Morelos).

NOVEMBER 19, 1917. Pablo González shells and recaptures Cuautla (Morelos), then shortly thereafter overwhelms the Zapatista garrisons at Jonacatepec and Zacualpan de Amilpas.

FEBRUARY 8, 1918. After being captured at San Bernardino (Oaxaca), separatist general Alberto Córdova is executed in the state capital by a Carrancista firing squad.

OCTOBER 1918. González advances out of Cuautla (Morelos) with 11,000 Carrancista troops, sweeping through Zapatista strongholds, now laid low by starvation and disease—mostly due to the outbreak of Spanish influenza. Yautepec, Jojutla, Cuernavaca, Tetecala, and Tlaltizapán fall in quick succession, obliging Zapata to flee into the mountains with a handful of adherents.

DECEMBER 11, 1918. Ex-Porfirian general Ángeles returns from exile in the United States, attempting to organize yet another revolutionary uprising with Villa.

APRIL 6, 1919. *End of Zapata.* In a prearranged plot, Pablo González departs Cuautla (Morelos) for Mexico City, and this same night his supposedly disgruntled subordinate, Colonel Guajardo, mutinies with the 600-man 5th Cavalry Regiment, deserting toward the southeast. Reaching Jonacatepec by the night of April 8–9, Guajardo seemingly confirms his switched allegiance by attacking and killing a dozen Carrancista defenders, while losing seven of his own men. He then executes 59 followers of the ex-Zapatista Victoriano Bárcenas at Mancornadero before being approached—15 miles south of Jonacatepec at Pastor Railway Station—by the fugitive Zapata himself (who has been corresponding with Guajardo for several weeks about joining the revolutionary cause).

Both contingents continue together, Guajardo and his cavalrymen encamping at San Juan Chinameca Hacienda, while Zapata remains in Tepalcingo with his troops. The next morning, a false alarm



Zapata's dead body on display in Cuautla. (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico)

prompts the rebel leader to send 140 men on patrol, so when he is invited to dine with Guajardo inside Chinameca's walls at 1:30 p.m. on April 10, he arrives with only a 10-man escort. The 5th Regiment's color guard, rather than fire a salute, blasts two volleys directly into Zapata, killing him instantly. Guajardo then carries his body back into Cuautla on a mule to display in its main square, being rewarded by González with promotion to brigadier general, plus 50,000 pesos—which he shares among his troopers.

MAY 31, 1919. Separatist governor José Inés Dávila is defeated and killed at Ixtayutla (Oaxaca), and his head is displayed in the state capital.

JUNE 1919. Villa and Ángeles capture the border city of Juárez, only to be driven out by U.S. troops from adjacent El Paso (Texas)—an intervention that

again provokes a downturn in relations between Mexico City and Washington.

JUNE 1, 1919. In Nogales (Sonora), Obregón announces that he will contest the presidency in Mexico's forthcoming elections, running against Carranza's handpicked successor Ignacio Bonillas. The president—already jealous of Obregón's popularity—actively obstructs his campaign.

JUNE 17, 1919. Zapatista resistance having ceased with the death of their leader, Pablo González departs Morelos for Puebla, leaving occupation duties to his subordinates.

NOVEMBER 15, 1919. Ángeles is captured in hiding near Balleza (Chihuahua) and executed 11 days later in its state capital on Carranza's orders, despite widespread pleas for clemency.

DECEMBER 27, 1919. Meixueiro, one of the last remaining separatist leaders in Oaxaca, surrenders to Pablo González.

JANUARY 1920. Pablo González announces that he, too, will run for president, on the *Liga Democrática* or "Democratic League" ticket.

MARCH 27, 1920. To protest the arrest of 70 prominent Obregonistas in Mexico City, de la O blows up a train heading for Cuernavaca (Morelos). Among its survivors is the U.S. Embassy's military attaché, who is held hostage. The next day, de la O's troops also sack Milpa Alta, before disappearing back into the hills.

EARLY APRIL 1920. Obregón is made to appear before a military tribunal in Mexico City, falsely accused of conspiring to overthrow the government with Col. Roberto Cejudo—one of Félix Díaz's minions, recently released from incarceration by Carranza's police.

APRIL 13, 1920. *Obregón's Revolt.* After being repeatedly menaced by Carranza's police, Obregón flees Mexico City in disguise and finds sanctuary at Iguala (Guerrero) with generals Rómulo Figueroa and Maycotte. One week later, he issues a proclamation from Chilpancingo, calling for an uprising to depose the Carranza regime. Supporters rally to Obregón's side—including Villa, who helps capture Chihuahua City from its Carrancista garrison on April 29.

MAY 4, 1920. In the state of Puebla, Pablo González rises up against Carranza.

MAY 7, 1920. *Carranza's Demise.* With Murguía attempting to stave off encroaching Obregonista armies at Otumba, 30 miles outside Mexico City, Carranza abandons the capital before dawn, departing Mexico City's Colonia railway station for Veracruz aboard a 15-mile-long train convoy bearing 10,000 adherents, plus the national treasury. At nearby Guadalupe, a dynamite-laden locomotive smashes into the lead train this same afternoon, killing 200 soldiers, after which Guajardo attacks Carranza's convoy with his cavalry troop.

The presidential column nonetheless fights its way through to Apizaco (Tlaxcala) by the next day, although only 3,000 infantrymen, 1,100 cavalrymen, and two fieldpieces remain to him. As the column proceeds eastward into the state of Puebla, another Obregonista attack descends upon the presidential cavalry vanguard under Gen. Heliodoro Pérez at San Marcos. Carranza remains at San Marcos until midnight on May 10, leaving some cadets to fight a rearguard action as his train column slips away into the night. A lengthier engagement erupts a half-mile outside Rinconada the next dawn, May 11, Carranza having a horse shot out from under him before Murguía scatters the enemy, capturing 400 prisoners.

Finally, a dwindling fuel supply obliges Carranza's train convoy to proceed by mid-afternoon of May 13 toward the next station at Aljibes (Puebla), only to run out of coal by the time their locomotives inch in that night. At mid-morning on May 14, the remnants of the stalled presidential column are attacked by Guadalupe Sánchez, while Treviño also presses in from the rear—both generals reputedly commanding 20,000 troops between them. Unable to travel any farther by rail, Carranza flees northward at noon with 100 riders, proceeding through the Puebla Range until being joined on May 20 at the village of La Unión by the guerrilla leader Rodolfo Herrero. Falsely professing loyalty, the latter leads the weary president through a drenching rainstorm to San Antonio Tlaxcalantongo, only to murder Carranza at 4:00 a.m. on Friday, May 21, by firing multiple volleys through the back of the hut where he lay sleeping.

MAY 15, 1920. Pablo González withdraws his candidacy for president and retires into private life at Monterrey (Nuevo León).

MAY 24, 1920. The 39-year-old governor of Sonora, Adolfo de la Huerta, is appointed interim president until elections can be held on September 5.

JULY 2, 1920. In Gómez Palacio (Durango), Guajardo—assigned to pursue Villa's guerrillas in northern Mexico—mutinies against the federal government. Advancing northeast toward Monterrey (Nuevo León), his rapidly dwindling force prompts Guajardo to allege that he will soon be joined by retired general Pablo González, leading to the subsequent arrest of both officers. Guajardo is almost immediately executed, but González is eventually released by President de la Huerta.

JULY 22, 1920. Villa occupies Sabinas (Coahuila) with 700 troops—after first destroying its rail lines to prevent any surprise counterattacks by *federales*—then telegraphs President de la Huerta requesting amnesty. The latter agrees, deeding him the 25,000-acre estate of Canutillo on the Durango-Chihuahua border and paying off all his followers, allowing Villa to retire into private life.

NOVEMBER 30, 1920. After a highly successful electoral campaign, Obregón is inaugurated as president.

JULY 20, 1923. At 7:20 a.m., while driving his Dodge touring car back toward Canutillo Hacienda from Parral (Chihuahua), Villa and five of his six bodyguards are ambushed and killed at the corner of Zaragoza and Gabino Barreda streets by eight assassins led by Melitón Lozoya—hired by the vengeful local landowner Jesús Salas Barrazas (allegedly with the connivance of Obregón's interior minister, Calles).

NOVEMBER 23, 1923. Obregón's disaffected ex-finance secretary, de la Huerta, announces his bid for the presidency, bringing him into conflict with his former fellow cabinet minister Calles—now Obregón's designated heir apparent.

NOVEMBER 30, 1923. *De la Huerta Uprising.* In Guerrero, Figueroa rebels against the federal government and is soon joined by more generals in other states. Four days later, de la Huerta also slips secretly out of Mexico City toward Veracruz by train.

On December 7, de la Huerta accuses Obregón and Calles of corruption, adding to the call for their overthrow. About three-fifths of Mexico's 110,000-man federal army eventually sides with these rebels, yet Obregón's control over the treasury ensures that



Surrender of Pancho Villa at Sabinas. (Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico)

his loyalists remain abundantly supplied with modern weapons.

JANUARY 28, 1924. The de la Huertista general Guadalupe Sánchez is defeated at the Battle of Esperanza (Veracruz).

FEBRUARY 4, 1924. Córdoba (Veracruz) falls to Obregón's forces.

FEBRUARY 5, 1924. De la Huerta and his skeleton government quit Veracruz to reestablish their administration in Frontera (Tabasco).

MARCH 12, 1924. De la Huerta flees Mexico, enters Key West (Florida) in disguise, and eventually establishes a singing academy in Los Angeles (California).

MARCH 24, 1924. The last de la Huertista army under Sánchez is annihilated, and this general is killed. Over the next three months, surviving rebels are hunted down and exterminated, including many once-famous officers: Diéguez, Chao, Maycotte, Salvador Alvarado, Ramón Treviño, José Rentería Luviano, and Rafael Buena. In all, 7,000 people lose their lives during this abortive insurrection.

NOVEMBER 30, 1924. After winning the presidential election, Calles is sworn into office.

Minor revolts and mutinies will continue to plague Mexico for a number of years, but large-scale fighting has run its course by 1918—mostly due to exhaustion. Some measure of this country's suffering can be judged by the fact that its population shrinks from 15.1 million inhabitants in 1910 to 14.2 million by 1920.

WORLD WAR I (1914–1918)

Thanks to their physical remove from Europe, the Americas are spared much of the fighting from this conflict until three years into the war, when the United States finally throws its weight behind Britain, France, and the other Allied nations, effectively hastening Germany's collapse. Prior to this intervention, most of the hostilities in the New World consists of isolated naval encounters.

AUGUST 6, 1914. Capt. Erich Köhler's brand-new, 375-man, 4,900-ton German light cruiser *Karlsruhe* rendezvous 120 miles north of Watling Island in the Bahamas with the 420-man, 23,500-ton liner *Kronprinz Wilhelm*. The latter receives coal as well as two, 3.4-inch guns, a machine gun, and 16 sailors transferred aboard to convert the passenger liner into an armed commerce raider under Capt. Lt. Paul Thierfelder.

This operation is interrupted at 11:00 a.m. by the 680-man, 9,800-ton British heavy cruiser *Suffolk*, which chases both German vessels as they separate northward. Capt. Basil H. Fanshawe's 380-man, 4,800-ton light cruiser *Bristol* intercepts the *Karlsruhe* at 8:15 p.m., opening fire at a range of six miles on a moonlit night, although it is unable to cripple Köhler's warship before it makes good its escape by 10:30 p.m.

On August 9, the *Karlsruhe* reaches Puerto Rico with only 12 tons of coal remaining in its bunkers, restocking before setting sail for Willemstad (Curaçao).

AUGUST 13, 1914. The *Karlsruhe* is sighted off Curaçao, before disappearing toward Brazil.

AUGUST 15, 1914. Having been resupplied 10 days previously by a trio of colliers off the north coast of Brazil, then being sighted on August 13 off the mouth of the Amazon, the 360-man, 3,650-ton German light cruiser *Dresden* of Capt. Fritz Lüdecke claims its first victim by sinking the British merchantman *Hyades*.

AUGUST 16, 1914. The *Karlsruhe* unsuccessfully pursues a merchantman, then the next day recoals from the supply ship *Patagonia*.

AUGUST 23, 1914. British rear admiral Craddock reaches the West Indian island of Saint Lucia with the 900-man, 14,100-ton heavy cruiser *Good Hope* to unite with the 680-man, 9,800-ton armored

cruiser *Berwick* and light cruiser *Bristol*, plus the 10,000-ton French cruisers *Descartes* and *Condé*, to hunt down the elusive German commerce raiders.

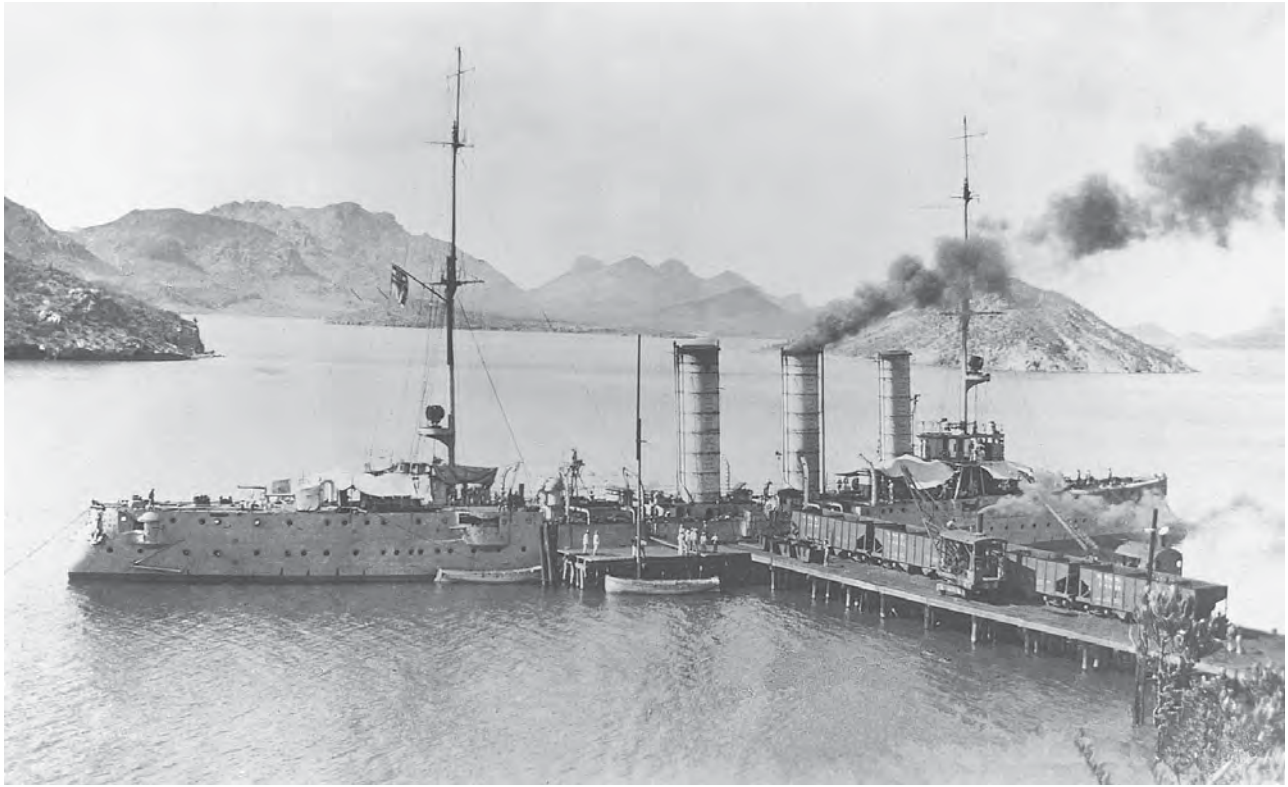
AUGUST 28, 1914. The *Karlsruhe* arrives at Fernando de Noronha (Brazil) to rendezvous with three supply ships. The German light cruiser also captures the collier *Strathroy* and sinks the *Maple Bridge* over the next six days.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1914. After crossing the Atlantic to visit the Azores, the German commerce raider *Kronprinz Wilhelm* returns across the ocean to rendezvous with the tender *Asuncion* near Rocas Reef, north of Cape San Roque (Brazil). The next evening, it intercepts the British steamer *Indian Prince*, which is stripped of goods and scuttled on the morning of September 10.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1914. After sinking a pair of freighters off the River Plate, the *Dresden* rendezvous with the supply ship *Santa Isabel* at Orange Bay in the Strait of Magellan, before striking out into the Pacific on September 18. It is sighted by the British freighter *Ortega*, which escapes among the uncharted rocky waters and reports the German cruiser's presence.

SEPTEMBER 10, 1914. The *Karlsruhe* begins sweeps off the Brazilian coast, accompanied by two colliers acting as lookouts. Four days later, the German light cruiser sinks the *Highland Hope* but is spotted by a Spanish steamer, which divulges its position, so the *Karlsruhe* flees the area.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1914. After prowling down the Pacific coast from San Francisco (California), Capt. Johann-Siegfried Haun's 290-man, 3,800-ton German light cruiser *Leipzig* sinks the British merchant vessel *Elsinore* with its cargo of sugar, then reaches the Galapagos Islands one week later, accompanied by two colliers. By September 28, the raider is



German light cruiser Leipzig coaling at Guaymas, Mexico, on September 8, 1914. (Mariners' Museum, Newport News)

hovering off Peru, vainly hoping to intercept more British shipping.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1914. This morning, the 19,500-ton British Cunard liner *Carmania* of Capt. Noel Grant—requisitioned and converted into an armed merchant cruiser—catches the 18,700-ton German armed merchant cruiser *Cap Trafalgar* coaling from two vessels in the lone harbor of Trinidad Island (Brazil), sinking it after a fierce hour-and-a-half action. The German commerce raider *Kronprinz Wilhelm* sights the damaged *Carmania* after this battle, yet fails to engage, believing it to be a trap.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1914. The *Karlsruhe* captures the collier *Indrani*, only to discover that it has been chartered by the German Consul to supply raiders.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1914. Craddock quits Montevideo with the heavy cruisers *Good Hope* (flag) and *Monmouth*, light cruiser *Glasgow*, and armed merchant cruiser *Otranto*, to vainly pursue the *Dresden* around the Strait of Magellan.

OCTOBER 3, 1914. The *Dresden* contacts the *Leipzig* by wireless from Más Afuera Island (modern

Selkirk Island, westernmost of the Juan Fernández grouping), proposing a rendezvous one week later at Easter Island.

OCTOBER 7, 1914. The *Kronprinz Wilhelm* intercepts the British steamer *La Correntina* off the Brazilian coast, in the approximate latitude of Rio de Janeiro, stripping it of two artillery pieces, coal, and provisions before scuttling it a week later.

OCTOBER 12, 1914. Vice Adm. Maximilian, Reichsgraf von Spee, arrives out of the Pacific at Easter Island with the German East Asian Cruiser Squadron, consisting of the 765-man, 11,600-ton heavy cruisers *Scharnhorst* (flag) and *Gneisenau*, the 322-man, 3,400-ton light cruiser *Nürnberg*, plus some supply ships. This force has been driven out of the Far East two months previously, upon the outbreak of hostilities, and now joins with the *Dresden* and the *Leipzig*. After coaling, they set sail together for the South American mainland on October 18.

OCTOBER 26, 1914. Spee's squadron arrives off Más Afuera (Selkirk Island, Chile) and is unexpectedly rejoined by the 8,800-ton, armed merchant cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, which is then detached

toward Valparaíso for more coal with the collier *Göttingen* when the rest of the force steers eastward two days later.

OCTOBER 29, 1914. *Coronel.* HMS *Glasgow* detects German wireless traffic off of Chile, prompting Craddock to sail northward from Vallenar early the next morning with the *Good Hope* and the *Monmouth*, yet without awaiting the elderly battleship *Canopus*, which is rounding Cape Horn, as the British expect to encounter nothing more than the lone light cruiser *Dresden*.

Instead, at 4:20 p.m. on November 1, Craddock meets almost all of Spee's squadron: his flagship *Scharnhorst* under Capt. F. Schulz and sister cruiser *Gneisenau* under Captain Maerker, each mounting 8 eight-inch and 6 six-inch guns; as well as the 3,650-ton, 360-man light cruisers *Dresden* under Lüdecke, the 3,550-ton, 320-man *Nürnberg* under K. von Schönberg, and the 3,250-ton, 290-man *Leipzig* of Haun, all of which bear 10 four-inch guns (*Nürnberg* being detached). They clearly outclass the older British quartet, which consist of the 14,100-ton, 900-man flagship *Good Hope* under Capt. P. Francklin, mounting 2 nine-inch and 16 six-inch guns; the 9,800-ton, 675-man heavy

cruiser *Monmouth* of Capt. Frank Brandt, bearing 14 six-inch guns; the 4,800-ton, 450-man light cruiser *Glasgow* of J. Luce, with 2 six-inch and 10 four-inch guns; plus the 12,000-ton liner *Otranto* of H. M. Edwards, with only 8 five-inch guns.

Nevertheless, at 5:00 p.m. Craddock bravely decides to engage until sundown rather than lose contact. Forming a single line at 5:45 p.m., the Royal Navy vessels circle westward, only to become silhouetted against the setting sun and fired upon at long range an hour and 15 minutes later. Charging in a desperate bid to close the gap, the British suffer heavily, the *Monmouth* yawing ablaze out of the line by 7:45 p.m., and the *Good Hope* exploding five minutes later.

At this point, the *Glasgow* speeds away to warn the *Canopus*, while the *Nürnberg* at 9:20 p.m. overtakes the crippled *Monmouth*, sending it to the bottom with all hands eight minutes later. The Germans suffer only three wounded during this lopsided encounter, although consuming half their irreplaceable supply of heavy rounds. The *Canopus*, the *Glasgow*, and the *Otranto* meanwhile retreat slowly toward Port Stanley in the Falklands, hoping to meet up with reinforcements.

Maximilian von Spee

In mid-October 1914, a small but powerful German squadron appeared out of the Pacific wastes. It was led across from Asia by Maximilian Johannes Maria Hubert, Reichsgraf von Spee, born on June 22, 1861, at Copenhagen (Denmark). He entered the Imperial German Navy as a cadet shortly before his 17th birthday and had his first overseas experience serving in the West African colony of Cameroon from 1887 to 1888. Promoted to captain in late January 1905, Spee became chief of staff of the North Sea Command three years later and a rear admiral by 1910.

In December 1912, he was appointed to lead Kaiser Wilhelm II's East Asian Cruiser Squadron. This crack unit was based in the deep-water anchorage of Tsingtao in Jiaozhou Bay, on the south coast of the Shandong Peninsula in northern China. Fifteen years earlier, Germany's naval strategist Adm. Alfred von Tirpitz had examined and recommended the acquisition of that fishing harbor as a permanent foothold. It was seized in November 1897, after the murders of two German missionaries. Berlin then extorted a 99-year lease from the feeble Chinese monarchy, creating a 330-square-mile protectorate in March 1898.

A cruiser division was stationed there, as well as the 3rd Marine Battalion out of Cuxhaven. The next year, Germany also purchased the Carolina, Mariana, and Palau islands from Spain (after its defeat by the United States), plus Samoa in 1900.

The German Navy administered this Chinese enclave, and its deployed warships were first-rate modern vessels manned by officers and crews hand picked by Tirpitz. It has been argued that Spee probably had the finest cruiser squadron in the world. Yet when hostilities began in Europe early in August 1914, his outnumbered and isolated force had to flee before heavier British, French, Russian, and Australian warships could converge against them—and, in particular, Japan's powerful fleet after its empire joined the war on August 23.

By then, Spee had long since vanished from Asian waters. He touched at Eniwetok, Christmas Island, and Western Samoa before shelling the French fort at Papeete on Tahiti in mid-September 1914. His formation then reached Easter Island a month later, blasting an overmatched British squadron off the South American coast before rounding Cape Horn for the Falklands, where his luck finally ran out.

NOVEMBER 3, 1914. Spee enters Valparaíso with the *Scharnhorst*, the *Gneisenau*, and the *Nürnberg*, while the *Dresden* and the *Leipzig* return to Más Afuera (Selkirk) Island.

NOVEMBER 4, 1914. At 6:30 p.m., the *Karlsruhe* unexpectedly explodes east of Barbados, a detonation in its forward magazines blowing off its bow. The light cruiser sinks within a half-hour, and 129 survivors are plucked out of the water by its collier consorts *Rio Negro* and *Indrani* (renamed the *Hoffnung*). The survivors reach Germany the next month aboard the *Rio Negro*.

NOVEMBER 15, 1914. Spee quits Más Afuera (Selkirk) Island with his reunited squadron, reaching San Quintín Bay (Chile) six days later to coal.

NOVEMBER 24, 1914. The 55-year-old vice admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee reaches the Abrolhos Islands (Brazil) from England with the battle cruisers *Invincible* and *Inflexible*, and two days later joins Rear Adm. A. C. Stoddart's *Defence*, *Cornwall*, *Carnarvon*, *Kent*, *Orama*, and *Edinburgh Castle* to prepare

to scour the South Pacific coastline in quest of Spee's squadron.

NOVEMBER 26, 1914. Spee quits San Quintín Bay (Chile), encountering heavy weather, which delays his rounding of Cape Horn into the South Atlantic until nightfall of December 1. The Germans then anchor off Picton Island (Argentina) until December 6, taking on coal.

DECEMBER 7, 1914. Falklands. At 10:30 a.m., Sturdee's fleet reaches Port William from Brazil in anticipation of coaling before proceeding around Cape Horn to hunt for Spee. Instead, the German squadron is sighted approaching at 7:56 a.m. the next morning, in an ill-timed attempt to destroy the Falklands' signaling stations.

Expecting to encounter only light resistance, Spee is astonished to behold within its harbor the 17,250-ton, 780-man battle cruisers *Invincible* of Capt. T. P. H. Beamish and *Inflexible* of R. F. Phillimore, each armed with 8 16-inch and 16 4-inch guns; the 10,850-ton, 650-man *Carnarvon* of H. L. Skipwith, with 4 7.5-inch and 6 6-inch guns; the 9,800-ton, 675-man



After replenishing in Valparaíso, Maximilian von Spee's warships steam out past anchored Chilean vessels in the foreground, November 1914. Less than a month later, all three German vessels will be destroyed. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

heavy cruisers *Cornwall* of W. M. Ellerton and *Kent* of J. D. Allen, with 14 6-inch guns apiece; the 4,800-ton, 450-man light cruisers *Bristol* of B. H. Fanshawe and *Glasgow* of J. Luce, mounting 2 6-inch and 10 4-inch guns; the beached 12,950-ton, 750-ton *Canopus* of H. W. Grant, with 4 12-inch and 12 6-inch guns; plus the armed merchant cruiser *Macedonia*. The situation at Coronel is now reversed, the Germans having blundered into a superior British force.

After receiving a long-range opening salvo from the *Canopus*, Spee breaks off his attack and turns eastward at 9:30 a.m., simultaneously detaching his supply ships toward Picton Island. In the meantime, the British fleet frantically gets up steam, emerging a half hour later to pursue. The *Bristol* and the *Macedonia* are diverted at 11:00 a.m. to overhaul the fleeing German colliers, sinking the *Baden* and the *Santa Isabel* after taking off their crews, while the faster *Seydlitz* escapes into internment at San Antonio (Argentina).

At 12:45 p.m., Sturdee surges forward with the *Invincible* and the *Inflexible*, opening fire against Spee's main body at a range of 16,500 yards. Little more than a half-hour later, the German commander courageously turns to give battle with the *Scharnhorst* and the *Gneisenau* alone, hoping to cover the escape of his three light cruisers. The *Cornwall*, the *Glasgow*, and the *Kent* immediately obey earlier instructions by chasing the *Dresden*, the *Leipzig*, and the *Nürnberg*, leaving the German heavy cruisers to the *Invincible*, the *Inflexible*, and the *Carnarvon*.

Despite skillful handling, the *Scharnhorst* finally sinks with all hands at 4:20 p.m., followed at 6:00 p.m. by the *Gneisenau*, from which the British rescue 190 survivors. At 6:40 p.m., the *Nürnberg* strikes the *Kent* and sinks 50 minutes later, only 7 of its men being saved from the frigid waters. The *Leipzig*, too, slips beneath the waves at 8:30 p.m., only 18 men being rescued by the *Cornwall* and the *Glasgow*, while the *Dresden* makes good its escape. After vainly searching for this single vanished opponent until December 11, the British fleet returns to the Falklands, their losses having totaled a half-dozen dead and 16 wounded seamen.

DECEMBER 12, 1914. The *Dresden* puts into Punta Arenas (Chile) to quickly take on coal, shifting into secluded Hewett Bay two days later.

FEBRUARY 4, 1915. Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany announces that, within two weeks' time, the seas around the British Isles will be considered a war zone,

Lusitania Incident

As massive armies settled into the motionless attrition of trench warfare in Europe, both sides also tried to impose naval blockades to starve each other of matériel. The mighty Royal Navy swept German commercial traffic from the seas and stopped neutral vessels from carrying restricted cargoes into German ports. Americans at first objected to the diversion of U.S. merchantmen into British ports for inspection, but they soon grew sympathetic to the Allied cause—especially after English and French bulk purchases helped revive industrial demand, lifting the United States out of depression.

Unable to match the Royal Navy's surface strength, Berlin announced in February 1915 that the waters around Britain would be deemed a war zone, where vessels might be sunk without warning by their submarines. In all previous conflicts, merchant ships had been stopped and personnel allowed to disembark before the ships were destroyed. American feeling was therefore aroused by this callous new policy. Washington even warned the German government that it would be held accountable for any American lives lost.

At 2:10 p.m. on May 7, 1915, the inevitable finally occurred when the 44,000-ton British Cunard liner *Lusitania* was struck eight miles off the Old Head of Kinsale (Ireland) by a torpedo fired from the German submarine *U-20* of Capt. Lt. Walter Schweiger. The liner went down in 18 minutes, taking 1,198 people to their deaths, including almost 100 children. The *Lusitania* was six days out of New York at the time, and there were 197 American passengers aboard, of whom 128 died.

A huge outpouring of wrath and grief erupted on both sides of the Atlantic, and the United States seemed ready to declare war against Germany. President Woodrow Wilson eventually satisfied himself with registering angry complaints, but the incident rankled the American public. It fueled anti-German sentiments and contributed to the country's plunge into the conflict two years later.

where even unarmed merchantmen might be sunk without warning by submarines. The United States and other neutral nations express their reservations about this unprecedented, indiscriminate threat.

MARCH 8, 1915. HMS *Kent* sights the *Dresden* 300 miles west of Coronel (Chile), losing contact at nightfall.

MARCH 14, 1915. At sunrise, HMSS *Kent* and *Cornwall*, plus the armed merchant cruiser *Orama*,

enter Cumberland Bay on Más Afuera (Selkirk) Island, opening fire against the anchored *Dresden* by 8:50 a.m. His fuel bunkers empty, Captain Lüdecke sends Lt. Wilhelm Canaris—later to become head of German intelligence during World War II and executed on Hitler's orders in 1944—to negotiate surrender terms. While this parley is taking place, Lüdecke scuttles his light cruiser and escapes ashore with the crew.

MARCH 28, 1915. Having destroyed a further 15 Allied merchantmen off the Argentine and Brazilian coasts, the German commerce raider *Kronprinz Wilhelm* hopes to rendezvous with its supply ship *Macedonia* near the equator. Instead, though, the latter has been intercepted by two British cruisers.

Running low on coal, Captain Thierfelder steers for Cape Henry (Virginia), arriving early on the morning of April 11 and dropping anchor off Newport News, to be interned by the neutral American authorities. During its eight-month cruise, this raider has destroyed 56,000 tons of Allied shipping.

AUGUST 19, 1915. The 15,800-ton White Star liner *Arabic*, outward bound from Liverpool toward New York, is sunk 50 miles southwest of Old Head of Kinsale (Ireland) by the German submarine *U-24* of Capt. Lt. Rudolph Schneider, taking down 3 more American passengers along with 41 other victims. President Woodrow Wilson once more lodges angry protests through German diplomatic channels.

AUGUST 27, 1915. In response to Washington's protests, Germany imposes severe injunctions against any more U-boat attacks against large passenger liners and on September 18 entirely halts its policy of unrestricted submarine warfare around the British Isles.

FEBRUARY 23, 1916. Germany resumes submarine attacks against merchantmen approaching England.

MARCH 24, 1916. The unarmed Anglo-French ferry *Sussex* is torpedoed by a U-boat while crossing the English Channel from Folkestone to Dieppe, killing 50 passengers and wounding 30, among the latter some American citizens. President Wilson formally protests in a speech before the U.S. Congress the next month, hence Berlin once again suspends its unrestricted submarine warfare as of May 4.

JANUARY 16, 1917. German foreign minister Alfred Zimmermann sends a telegram to Ambassador Eckhardt in Mexico City advising him that Berlin is about to resume unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1. If the United States should become a belligerent as a result, Germany proposes a military alliance with Mexico, whereby the latter should attack and reconquer Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. This communiqué is intercepted and deciphered by British Naval Intelligence, who reveals its contents to Washington.

FEBRUARY 1, 1917. Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare, consequently two days later, the United States breaks off diplomatic relations with Berlin.

FEBRUARY 26, 1917. Congress is asked to approve the arming of U.S. merchant vessels, but 11 noninterventionist senators filibuster the bill.

MARCH 1, 1917. The contents of the Zimmermann telegram are revealed to the world, embarrassing both the German and Mexican governments.

MARCH 9, 1917. Using his executive powers, Wilson authorizes the arming of American merchant vessels.

MARCH 18, 1917. Three U.S. merchantmen are sunk by German U-boats, sustaining heavy casualties. Three days later, Wilson calls Congress into special session for April 2 to consider joining the ongoing hostilities.

APRIL 6, 1917. The United States declares war against Germany.

JUNE 7, 1917. U-boats operating out of Germany, Flanders, and the Adriatic commence an offensive against the eastern seaboard of America.

SEPTEMBER 1917. The introduction of an Anglo-American convoy system in the North Atlantic effectively halts U-boat operations by October 21, 1918.

At 11:00 a.m. on November 11, 1918, Germany officially surrenders. Appalled at the monstrous loss of life incurred by modern weaponry in the trenches of Europe, the United States goes through a period of postwar isolationism, hoping to use the Atlantic and Pacific oceans as barriers against the world's problems.

ISOLATED UPHEAVALS (1921–1939)

Although overall turmoil in the Americas continues to lessen, occasional outbursts still erupt, especially as the effects of the Great Depression of October 1929 ripple through its economies.

JUNE 21, 1921. *Billy Mitchell's Challenge.* In Chesapeake Bay off the coast of Virginia, a series of tests commences when the anchored, 1,200-ton, former German submarine *U-117*—surrendered to America at the end of World War I and now earmarked to be scrapped—is sunk by twin-engined U.S. Navy Felixstowe F-5-L flying boats. Eight days later, three U.S. Army dirigibles succeed in locating the elderly battleship USS *Iowa* as it maneuvers evasively out in the open ocean between capes Henlopen and Hatteras. On July 13, the ex-German destroyer *G-102* is sent to the bottom of the sea by twin-engined, newly redesigned U.S. Army Martin MB-2/NBS-1 bombers; five days afterward, it is the turn of the 5,100-ton light cruiser *Frankfurt* to be destroyed by these aircraft.

These trials have been arranged in response to a challenge issued on February 7, 1921, before the House Naval Affairs Committee by 41-year-old brigadier general William “Billy” Mitchell, assistant chief of the Army Air Service, who has repeatedly asserted that, since bombers can sink any battleship, the U.S. government—rather than appropriate even more funds for building costly dreadnoughts—should instead divert monies toward the creation of a modern air force. Locked in a bitter appropriations struggle for the dwindling amount of cash available, the U.S. Navy reluctantly agrees to a summertime series of demonstrations, but with certain restrictions: each individual bombardment is to be followed by a detailed inspection (and repairs) to the damaged target vessel, while aerial bombs cannot weigh more than 1,000 pounds.

Mitchell gathers more than 150 aircraft and 1,000 personnel into a unit called the 1st Provisional Air Brigade at Langley Field (Virginia) to begin training. Veteran foreign pilots of World War I, such as Russian major Alexander de Seversky, help convince his flyers that a bomb strike near a vessel is most devastating, for it allows water to flood in through ruptured hull plating. On the afternoon of July 20, testing culminates when the first bomber flights attack the formidable 27,000-ton battleship *Ostfriesland*, with its four-layered hull and scores of water-

tight compartments, riding at anchor 70 miles east of the Cape Charles light ship. Observers crowd the decks of the nearby flagship USS *Pennsylvania*: the secretaries of war and of the navy, the new army chief of staff, Gen. John Pershing, the marine commandant John Lejeune, 8 senators, 16 congressmen, plus scores of reporters and foreign dignitaries (including 3 Japanese officers).

Light 600-pound bombs breach the *Ostfriesland's* hull and cause some flooding, yet U.S. Navy umpires declare the battleship to be “absolutely intact and undamaged.” The next morning, the first 1,000-pound bomb strikes its forecastle, bringing an immediate halt to the bombardment for another inspection. Convinced that such interruptions are designed to save the battleship, Mitchell instructs his armorers to fit six Martin and two Handley-Page O/400 bombers with 2,000-pound bombs, which he has secretly ordered built. The first detonates beside the *Ostfriesland* at 12:17 p.m., followed by five more within 10 minutes. The huge ship rolls over at 12:37 p.m. and disappears beneath the waves.

Despite this spectacular vindication, Mitchell fails to persuade the authorities to create and fund a powerful new air force. Born into great wealth and privilege, the son of Sen. John L. Mitchell of Wisconsin, his egotistical self-assuredness and publicity seeking have alienated superiors from as long ago as during his heroic 1917–1918 service in France. His outspokenness will eventually get him court-martialed, yet his predictions about the importance of air power will eventually be recognized and embraced.

JANUARY 25, 1922. The 340-man, 3,200-ton light cruiser USS *Galveston* lands its marine detachment at Corinto (Nicaragua), to support the company-sized unit guarding the American Legation in Managua during an interlude of political unrest.

MAY 27, 1922. In Paraguay, pro-Colorado Party adherents colonels Adolfo Chirife and Pedro Mendoza lead a military revolt against the newly elected government of compromise Liberal president Dr. Eusebio Ayala, which is successfully resisted. Initially

Birth of the American Aircraft Carrier

Despite the U.S. Navy's antipathy toward army brigadier general Billy Mitchell's wish to divert scarce government funds to create a separate air force, his bombing successes convinced many officers of their need to develop aviation. As a result, 51-year-old rear admiral William A. Moffett—until December 1920 commander of the battleship USS *Mississippi*—was put in charge of the navy's new "Bureau of Aeronautics" in April 1921. Although Moffett believed that aircraft might play a defensive role for a fleet, he soon came to embrace their offensive potential as well.

The daredevil Eugene Ely had taken off from shipboard platforms as long ago as November 1910, yet the first "aircraft carrier" was the French seaplane tender *Foudre*, unveiled in December 1911. It hoisted floatplanes out of its hold to take off from the water. Within two years, the Royal Navy and U.S. Navy had similar ships. The British refined carrier design during World War I, creating the first ship with a full-length, flush flight deck—the 14,000-ton HMS *Argus*—by September 1918.

The first American carrier was the 11,500-ton USS *Langley*, converted from the collier *Jupiter*. It was commissioned on March 20, 1922, and began takeoffs that same October 17. Two months later, the Imperial Japanese Navy unveiled its 7,500-ton *Hosho*, while the British finished their 11,100-ton *Hermes* by July 1923, both being purpose-built vessels. American interest rose thanks to the tonnage limitations imposed by the Washington Naval Treaty. Like all other navies, that of the United States was over tonnage in terms of battleships but considerably under for carriers. Two battle cruisers already under construction were therefore changed in July 1922, emerging five years later as the 33,000-ton USS *Saratoga* and 41,000-ton *Lexington*.

Carrier operations proved so decisive during World War II that the U.S. Navy retained large battle groups even after hostilities ceased. They became a powerful means of projecting American influence throughout the Western Hemisphere and around the globe. Such formations also proved so expensive to build and maintain that few governments could afford them. In the Americas, only Canada, Argentina, and Brazil have ever owned a handful of carriers, all bought secondhand.

driven southeastward down the vital rail line into the city of Paraguari, Chirife's rebellious forces are even bombarded by hired government planes flying out of Ñu-Guazú Airfield on the Campo Grande military base outside the capital of Asunción, one of which is shot down by rebel rifle fire on July 8 near the Pirayú railway station.

Loyal columns nonetheless press eastward into the strategic city of Villarrica, and on September 5–6 their advance camp near Salitre-Cué is surprisingly bombed by rebel aircraft out of Cangó. Yet they are successfully engaged in aerial combat by the English mercenary and World War I veteran, Lt. Patrick Hassett. Chirife's increasingly ragtag army is eventually pressed deeper into the northeastern jungles and effectively finished off as a fighting force by early the next year. Chirife himself dies of pneumonia in his hideout on May 18, 1923, and his surviving movement is gradually stamped out.

JULY 5, 1922. Fort Igrejinha's garrison at Copacabana outside Rio de Janeiro (Brazil) revolts against President Epitácio Pessoa, being joined shortly thereafter by the local military academy. The 300 rebels lob a few shells against strategic targets within the capital, before being put down by advances of

loyal troops, and bombardments from the battleships *Minas Geraes* and *São Paulo*, plus a destroyer. A small group of Fort Igrejinha's youngest officers fight to the very end on its beach, becoming known as the "Eighteen Lieutenants of Fort Copacabana."

JULY 17, 1922. Three and a half months after going on strike to protest a pay cut, dock workers in Curaçao's capital of Willemstad run riot at 10:45 a.m., ransacking the offices of their main employer: the Royal Dutch West Indian Mail Service (KWIM). By the time troops and police restore order, 4 people are dead and 19 injured.

NOVEMBER 15, 1922. Frightened by a mass downtown rally in support of a general strike in Guayaquil (Ecuador) protesting the collapse of cacao exports and the national currency, police and troops suddenly open fire and kill at least 300 people.

JANUARY 25, 1923. Uprisings erupt throughout Brazil's state of Rio Grande do Sul over alleged electoral fraud. They are resolved by December with the Pedras Altas Pact, which allows five-term governor Antônio Augusto Borges de Medeiros to remain in office.



A U.S. Navy Aeromarine 39-B biplane lands on the carrier Langley, ca. 1922. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

JULY 5, 1924. On the second anniversary of the *Tenentes* or “Lieutenants” Revolt, retired Brazilian general Isidoro Dias Lopes leads São Paulo’s garrison in a mutiny against the government of President Artur da Silva Bernardes and is supported by much of the city populace, as well as isolated pockets throughout other states.

Loyal troops soon approach, though, and compel the São Paulo rebels to retreat southwestward on July 27. After attempting to make a stand at the towns of Guáira, Foz do Iguaçu, and Catanduvas at the confluence of the Iguaçu and Paraná rivers, Lopes is eventually compelled to surrender his jungle stronghold by March 27, 1925, and melt deeper into the interior.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1924. In Chile, a prolonged period of economic decline provokes military displeasure, resulting in the appointment of Gen. Luis Altamirano as interior minister. He in turn names Col. Juan P. Bennett and Adm. Francisco Neff to the cabinet, along with three civilians. At this point, the 56-year-old beleaguered president Arturo Alessandri proffers his resignation, but Congress refuses to accept it, instead granting him a six-month leave of absence.

Determined to restore power into conservative hands, the military ministers thereupon pass a popular labor-legislation bill and, in the resultant eu-

phoria, compel their civilian colleagues to resign on September 10. Altamirano, Bennett, and Neff subsequently annul Alessandri’s leave of absence, accept his original resignation, then dissolve Congress in a bloodless coup.

OCTOBER 1924. The young captain Luís Carlos Prestes rebels in the former Misiones Territory of Brazil’s Rio Grande do Sul Province, heading north-eastward out of Alegrete (near the Uruguayan border) in the vain hope of joining Lopes’s rebellion with more than 1,000 exiled former officers, adventurers, and soldiers. They arrive too late to support this cause, and over the next two and a half years, Prestes’s followers march more than 6,000 miles through the Brazilian jungles, avoiding loyal formations until its 800 survivors seek asylum in Bolivia.

NOVEMBER 6, 1924. The Brazilian battleship *São Paulo* mutinies at its anchorage in Guanabara Bay, threatening to shell Bernardes’s presidential palace in nearby Rio de Janeiro. The mutineers then change their minds, sailing out of port under fire from its batteries, before finally surrendering to the Uruguayan authorities in Montevideo.

JANUARY 23, 1925. A group of young Chilean army officers, led by majors Carlos Ibáñez del Campo and Marmaduke Grove, mounts a liberal

countercoup against the conservative military junta (see “September 5, 1924” entry). Although the navy and some civilian elements at first consider resistance, threatening to plunge the nation into civil war, cooler heads prevail, and President Alessandri is restored to office by March 20.

OCTOBER 12, 1925. After several months of economic boycotts and rioting due to exorbitant rent increases by Panamanian landlords, President Rodolfo Chiari requests the intervention of a battalion of U.S. troops to restore order.

DECEMBER 21, 1926. In a publicity stunt intended to highlight the U.S. government’s growing interest in all of Latin America, five Air Corps Loening OA-1 amphibious aircraft depart Kelly Field in Texas under Maj. Herbert Dargue on a goodwill flight throughout Central and South America. After reaching as far south as Valdivia (Chile), they return to Washington by May 2, 1927, to be greeted by President Calvin Coolidge.

JUNE 8, 1929. This evening, about 40 poorly armed Venezuelan exiles led by Rafael Simón Urbina drive two buses into a Dutch military camp at Waterfort, just outside Curaçao’s capital of Willemstad. They kill 3 surprised soldiers and capture the rest, then are joined by another 200 exiled colleagues in cars, who help empty the arsenal. Urbina then compels the Dutch governor to allow his 250 adherents and 13 hostages to set sail at 2:00 a.m. the next morning aboard the commandeered steamer *Maracaibo*.

The Venezuelans disembark near Coro to begin using this stolen weaponry in an unsuccessful insurrection against the dictator Juan Vicente Gómez, while the Dutch return into Willemstad by evening of June 9 to declare a month-long state of siege, fearful of the 2,300 Venezuelan workers still living on their island (this distrust, however, proves to be groundless).

DECEMBER 2, 1929. Amid rising tensions brought on by the economic downturn, Perkins Johnson—director of the American-run customs house at Haiti’s capital of Port-au-Prince—strikes an employee, provoking a general walkout by most government workers two days later. The U.S. Marine “High Commissioner” for this occupied island, Col. Richard M. Cutts, proclaims martial law, resulting in a tragic confrontation at Croix-Marchaterre near

Crash of 1929

On a day remembered as “Black Thursday,” October 24, 1929, record numbers of jittery investors began selling shares on the New York Stock Exchange. Efforts by leading bankers to stem this panic through large-scale purchases failed to quell the spreading fear, so stock prices collapsed by October 29. Over these five days, the Dow Jones Industrial Average lost more than a third of its total value, and this hysteria quickly spread to other markets. Many Americans had borrowed heavily from banks to invest as speculators when share prices were soaring. Now, both they and their lending institutions suffered heavily, many going under when the bubble burst.

The economy and markets recovered shakily by early 1930. Then another crash sent the New York Stock Exchange plunging to its lowest point by July 1932, when total value stood at scarcely 10 percent of pre-crash days. Such cataclysmic losses of billions of dollars contributed significantly to the worldwide Great Depression, as virtually every major industry was adversely affected by this wholesale evaporation of investment capital. Wages contracted, construction ground to a halt, prices for farm and mineral products were reduced by more than half, while unemployment and homelessness spiraled out of control.

Such a severe drop in trade was felt especially hard by South American countries, many of which depended on one or two exports to sustain their economies. Ruled by feeble governments incapable of alleviating public suffering or correcting such problems, they were gripped by popular unrest. The global economy finally began to recuperate in the mid-1930s, thanks to the newly elected administration of U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt. Ironically, demand for goods was to be fully revived by the outbreak of World War II in September 1939. Still, the New York Stock Exchange did not regain its pre-crash levels until 1955.

Les Cayes on December 6 when 1,500 peasants—launching their own independent protest against recently imposed alcohol and tobacco taxes—are fired upon by a jittery marine contingent, suffering more than 24 dead and 50 wounded.

This incident will lead President Herbert Hoover to dispatch a five-member commission to Haiti to investigate matters under W. Cameron Forbes, former U.S. governor general of the Philippines, which reaches Port-au-Prince aboard the cruiser *USS Rochester* on the afternoon of February 28, 1930. After listening to numerous complaints, they defuse

the crisis by proposing that the Haitian Assembly elect an interim president to replace the puppet Louis Borno, as well as recommending that the office of “High Commissioner” be abolished and the country gradually restored to local rule. A rash of arsons occurs in the capital during this tense period, the villas of both the senior marine colonel and lieutenant colonel being burned.

JANUARY 1930. Because of a collapse on international markets of the price of sugar, Cuba’s main export, President Geraldo Machado reduces the salaries of all public employees except soldiers. Public demonstrations are also banned.

MARCH 19, 1930. A plan to depose Paraguay’s liberal president José Patricio Guggiari is revealed by one of the conspirators, 31-year-old major Arturo Bray (born in Asunción of British parents); consequently, the commander of the Campo Grande army base outside the capital, Maj. Rafael de la Cruz Franco Ojeda, is obliged to resign along with the interior minister, Luis de Gasperi.

MAY 19, 1930. A political meeting at Artemisa, near Havana, is broken up by Cuban soldiers. Eight people are killed and several dozen injured, fanning unrest. When railway workers go on strike on May 28, the army takes over their duties.

JUNE 1930. Amid the economic collapse engendered by the worldwide Great Depression, the unpopular Bolivian president Dr. Hernando Siles Reyes is overthrown by student protests and temporarily replaced by a military junta headed by Gen. Carlos Blanco Galindo, before Dr. Daniel Salamanca is elected in his place.

AUGUST 1930. *Peruvian Coup.* At Arequipa, Lt. Col. Luis M. Sánchez Cerro leads a military uprising against the administration of dictator Augusto Leguía, which soon spreads to the garrisons of Puno and Cuzco. With opposition against his rule mounting even within the capital itself, Leguía soon flees Lima for the port of Callao and puts to sea aboard the cruiser *Almirante Grau*.

Sánchez Cerro meanwhile reaches the capital by airplane and receives a tumultuous reception, while quickly establishing a military junta. The *Almirante Grau* eventually returns into port, and the former president is put on trial, dying from medical neglect on February 6, 1932, while still incarcerated.

SEPTEMBER 6, 1930. *Argentine Coup.* This Saturday morning—after several weeks of growing unrest in Buenos Aires’s streets sparked by the worldwide effects of the Great Depression—Lt. Gen. José Félix Uriburu launches a well-planned military uprising against the second term of 78-year-old president Hipólito Yrigoyen, receiving support from the Campo de Mayo Military Camp, the Palomar Air Base, and the Senior Military College outside the city.

At noon, the mutinous general marches into the capital and occupies all its government buildings by 5:30 p.m., having encountered only sporadic opposition around the Congress, in which four cadets are slain. After peacefully inaugurating his provisional rule on Sunday, September 7, another round of fighting erupts overnight on September 8 when nervous sentries at the presidential palace (called the *Casa Rosada* or “Pink House”) mistakenly fire upon another rebel contingent in the gloom, resulting in 1 soldier and 7 civilians killed, plus 12 soldiers and 36 civilians wounded. Yrigoyen departs into exile from nearby La Plata, while Uriburu imposes martial law and sets about purging the Argentine government.

(Upon holding new provincial elections on April 5, 1931, however, Yrigoyen’s Radical Union Party still emerges victorious, much to the general’s dismay—and he promptly annuls the results. When presidential elections are held again on November 8, 1931, the Radical Unionists boycott, and Uriburu engineers the victory of his fellow conspirator, Gen. Agustín P. Justo.)

SEPTEMBER 30, 1930. Cuban soldiers prevent a planned demonstration by University of Havana students. The next day, President Machado alleges that the students “are following orders from Moscow.”

OCTOBER 3, 1930. *Vargas Revolution.* After months of political unrest and uncertainty in Brazil, the 47-year-old liberal reformer Getúlio Dornelles Vargas—defeated as an opposition candidate in the March 1 presidential election—leads a revolt in Rio Grande do Sul, Minas Gerais, and Paraíba provinces against the government of Washington Luís Pereira de Sousa and his handpicked successor, Júlio Prestes. Although poorly equipped, the rebels advance north-eastward out of Vargas’s headquarters at Pôrto Alegre with considerable ease under Lt. Col. Manuel César de Góis Monteiro, soon reaching the border between the provinces of Paraná and São Paulo, while many federal army units either defect to their side or refuse to fight.

A major confrontation is expected in the vicinity of Itararé, but support for President Washington Luís is by now so eroded that he is arrested in Rio de Janeiro on October 24 by a junta comprised of generals Tasso Fragoso and Mena Barreto, plus Rear Adm. Isaías de Noronha, then imprisoned in one of the Copacabana forts. This triumvirate quickly calls for a ceasefire, subsequently sending the president and Prestes into exile, while allowing Vargas to enter the capital on November 3 to a tumultuous reception. The latter immediately assumes office as head of a provisional government.

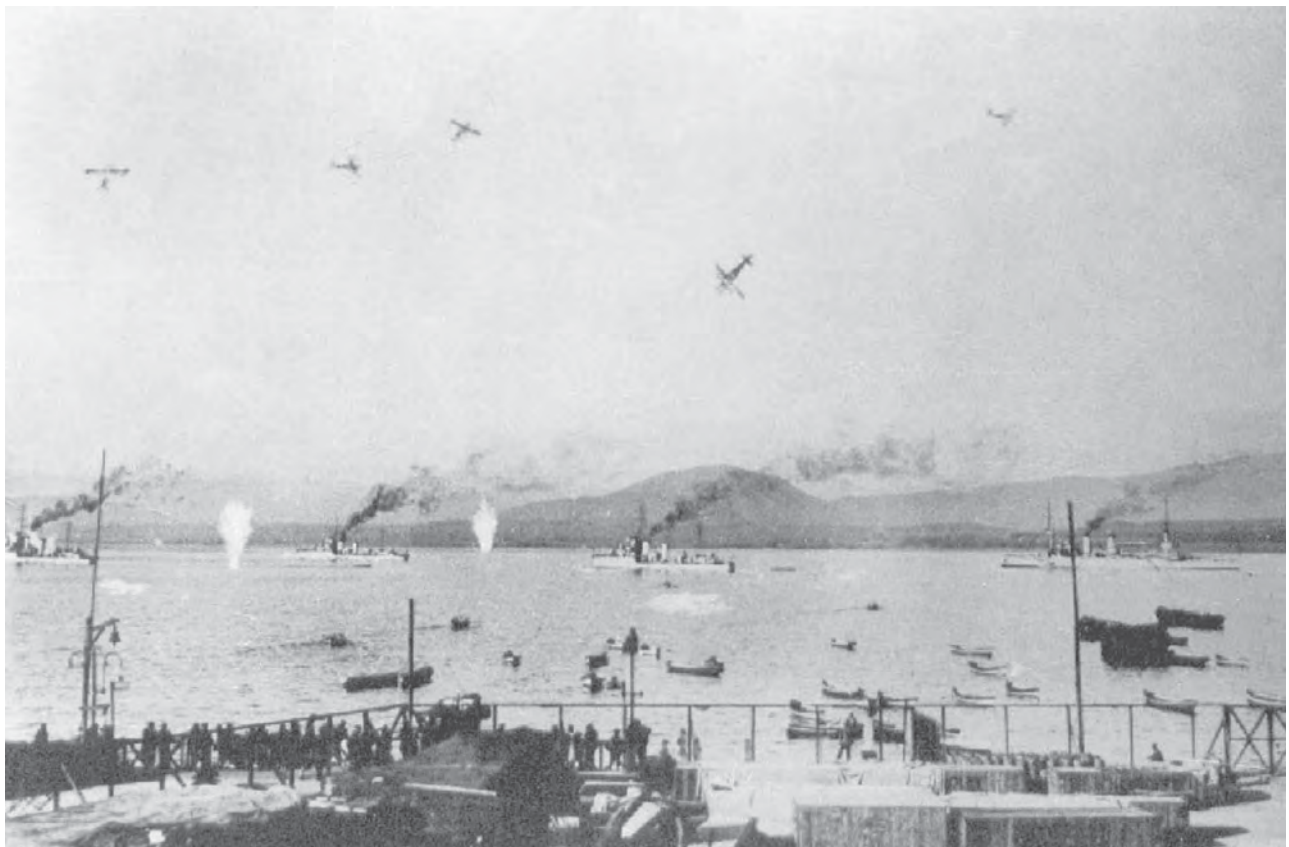
NOVEMBER 11, 1930. Cuban students lead violent protests against the Machado government in Pinar del Río, Santiago de Cuba, Santa Clara, and several other cities. The authorities close down all universities by month's end and tighten press censorship.

JANUARY 2, 1931. This night, the stepbrothers Harmodio Arias Madrid and Francisco Arias Paredes of the radical *Acción Comunal* movement depose Panama's President Florencio Harmodio Arosemena in a bloodless coup.

JULY 20, 1931. This morning, Lt. Col. Gregorio Pomar—second-in-command of Argentina's 9th Infantry Regiment stationed outside the northern provincial capital of Corrientes—revolts against the Uriburu regime, slaying his immediate superior, Lt. Col. Lino H. Montiel, in his office. As loyal units from Brig. Gen. Luis Bruce's 3rd Division begin to close in, Pomar's followers lose heart and return to their barracks. At 8:55 p.m. on July 22, the mutinous colonel goes aboard a barge with a few loyal supporters, then sails up the Paraná River into exile at Humaitá (Paraguay), arriving the next day.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1931. *Chilean Naval Mutiny.* While lying at anchor in Tongoy Bay near Puerto Aldea, 15 miles south of Coquimbo, during annual winter exercises, the bulk of Chile's navy is outraged to learn of pay reductions being enacted by the bankrupt government at Santiago, which will adversely affect their family members in home ports. Junior officers and seamen therefore detain their senior commanders, radioing an ultimatum to naval headquarters in the capital.

To underscore their demands, the rebel warships *Riveros* and *Capitán Arturo Prat* proceed to the main



Loyal Chilean warplanes bombing mutinous warships near Coquimbo. (Armada de Chile)

base of Talcahuano, north of Concepción, to persuade more than 3,000 naval and civilian personnel to join their insurrection. At dawn on September 5, though, two infantry and a cavalry regiment under Gen. Guillermo Novoa, plus a company of loyal naval officers, advance upon the base's Los Leones land gate, eventually deploying artillery to subdue this vast complex by afternoon. In the process, they secure more than 2,000 prisoners, while crippling both rebel warships and driving the *Riveros's* crew into Fort Rondizzoni on Quiriquina Island. Threatened the next day with aerial bombardment by float planes, these last holdouts surrender. This confrontation at Talcahuano costs the lives of nine mutineers and a dozen loyalists. The mutinous fleet at Coquimbo is also bombed by warplanes, and the insurrection collapses.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1931. Amid an escalating cycle of repressive murders and terrorist reprisals, the president of Cuba's Senate—Clemente Vázquez Bello—is assassinated by a secret political group known as the ABC. President Machado's secret police retaliate with even greater ferocity.

OCTOBER 22, 1931. This evening, student and unionist demonstrators march through the streets of Asunción toward the private residence of liberal president Guggiari, protesting against the lack of governmental resolve in stemming Bolivian incursions into the Chaco Boreal. After pelting the house with rocks, the demonstrators are dispersed by bayonet-wielding troops.

The next day, the students gather again outside the home of the opposition figure, Major Franco, after which some 450 decide to approach the presidential palace. This time, 11 are shot and 29 wounded, after which martial law is declared and Franco is deported, along with numerous others. Guggiari nonetheless steps down temporarily on October 25, returning into office on January 28, 1932, after having been exonerated by Congress.

DECEMBER 1931. In El Salvador, the recently elected president Arturo Araujo is deposed by a military coup led by Gen. Maximiliano Hernández Martínez, who subsequently unleashes a bloody purge that allegedly kills 32,000 Indians and political opponents within a year.

DECEMBER 8, 1931. On the day of Sánchez Cerro's installation as newly elected Peruvian president,

his radical opponent Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre of the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana* or "Popular American Revolutionary Alliance" (known as APRA, its members being called *Apristas*) calls for a leftist reaction. Political violence escalates as a result, with the few *Aprista* representatives at the national constitutional assembly being arrested in January 1932. Sánchez Cerro himself is wounded in an assassination attempt on March 6.

MAY 10, 1932. Bonus March. An unemployed cannery superintendent in Portland (Oregon)—a former sergeant of the 146th Field Artillery named Walter W. Waters—calls for a pilgrimage of jobless veterans to Washington, D.C., to encourage passage of a bill introduced by Rep. Wright Patman of Texas for immediate payment of World War I ex-servicemen's adjusted compensation certificates: the so-called Soldiers' Bonuses.

Referred to derisively as the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" or BEF, 300 men depart Portland and reach the nation's capital 19 days later by hopping freight trains, followed by 20,000–30,000 more within the next few weeks from every state of the Union. They are greeted by the sympathetic police chief (and retired brigadier general) Pelham D. Glassford, who provides temporary housing and food. However, the bill itself is voted down 62–18 in the Senate on June 17, after which Congress recesses for the summer. Weary of the BEF shanties within their city, the District of Columbia commissioners eventually request that President Hoover send in federal troops to disperse the protest.

A cavalry squadron, infantry battalion, and tank platoon appear on the afternoon of July 28 under Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur, Maj. Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, and Brig. Gen. Perry Miles (Maj. Dwight David Eisenhower serving as liaison to the police). They drive the BEF out of Washington in short order, inflicting a pair of fatalities, plus numerous injuries.

JULY 7, 1932. Peruvian Uprising. At 4:00 a.m., *Aprista* radicals in their ideological capital of Trujillo assault its powerful government garrison, subduing the defenders after five hours of fighting, then arming the city populace to resist a counterattack. President Sánchez Cerro responds by ordering the cruiser *Almirante Grau* to Salaverry, plus dispatching loyal troops from Cajamarca and other nearby cities to converge upon Trujillo. By the afternoon of July 8, the rebels' defeat seems certain, and government

airplanes begin dropping leaflets demanding the surrender of the city. The *Aprista* leaders flee at nightfall, after ordering the execution of 60 military captives. When loyal columns fight their way in and discover this massacre a few days later, they execute at least 1,000 people by way of retaliation.

JULY 9, 1932. *Brazil's Constitutionalist Revolution.*

Amid growing disenchantment with Vargas's dictatorial policies, Gen. Bertoldo Klinger—dismissed as commandant of the Mato Grosso military region—leads an insurrection at São Paulo against the federal government. Despite his initial surprise, the president is able to contain and throttle this rebellion by September 29 with loyal contingents under General Monteiro, amid heavy loss of life. The Paulista politicians are in turn surprised by the abrupt collapse of their army, which sends them into exile in Portugal; yet, notwithstanding their defeat, they later

claim a moral victory, as their action pushes Vargas into convening an assembly that drafts a new constitution and authorizes elections by January 1934.

AUGUST 31, 1932. *Aprista*-inspired Peruvian adventurers occupy the Amazonian port of Leticia (population 400), ceded to Colombia four years earlier by treaty. This border incident embroils President Sánchez Cerro in an unwanted military confrontation with his Colombian neighbors.

MARCH 31, 1933. Uruguay's President Gabriel Terra, his nation in the grips of deep economic difficulties, uses the military to dissolve Congress and the Executive Council, so as to rule as a virtual dictator.

APRIL 30, 1933. After attending a military review of 25,000 troops at Lima's Santa Beatriz racetrack,



Rebel cavalry parading out of São Paulo. (O Mundo ilustrado)

President Sánchez Cerro is murdered by an *Aprista* assassin named Abelardo Mendoza Leiva.

JULY 25, 1933. Bus drivers in Havana go on strike against the repressive regime of President Machado, who is also viewed with disfavor by the new administration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in Washington. The strike spreads over the next fortnight, until a false rumor appears on August 4 that Machado has resigned. When jubilant crowds attempt to march on the presidential palace, they are met by gunfire from troops and police, who kill about 20 people and injure many others.

On August 12, a group of army officers take over several barracks outside Havana. When Machado visits the Columbia base to assess the situation, he is informed he should resign. The president therefore abdicates and the next day flies to Nassau in the Bahamas. At least 1,000 people die and 300 residences in Havana are ransacked in the ensuing riots. Carlos M. Céspedes is temporarily appointed as president, but confusion reigns.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1933. Led by a group of eight sergeants from the Columbia army base outside Havana, a popular uprising drives the interim Cuban government of President Céspedes from office the next day.

On September 10, the populist intellectual Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín is acclaimed as president. He will annul the Platt Amendment, call for an eight-hour workday, open universities to the poor, grant tenant farmers their land, give women the vote, and reduce electricity rates. U.S. ambassador Sumner Welles denounces these reforms as “communist,” and Washington refuses to recognize the new government, which will be removed from power four months later.

OCTOBER 2, 1933. A power struggle within the Cuban army leads one faction to attack another inside the National Hotel in Havana. Fourteen officers are killed, 17 wounded, and the rest taken prisoner. Other groups also begin fighting among themselves.

NOVEMBER 3, 1933. Sgt. Fulgencio Batista, the leading figure to emerge from Cuba’s “Revolt of the Sergeants” on September 5, narrowly avoids arrest by President Grau.

NOVEMBER 8, 1933. Part of the Cuban Army and Air Force rebel against the government of President

Grau. By noon, several police stations in Havana have been taken, and two planes begin bombarding the presidential palace. But Sergeant Batista orders the remainder of the army to fight on behalf of the government, therefore the coup is crushed by the next evening. U.S. ambassador Welles is withdrawn by Washington two weeks later, believed to have encouraged this insurrection.

JANUARY 15, 1934. Fulgencio Batista, now promoted to colonel and with the connivance of the new U.S. ambassador Jefferson Caffery, forces the resignation of Cuban president Grau. Two days later, Carlos Mendieta becomes provisional president, and Washington recognizes this change of administration.

MAY 1934. After seven months of negotiations at Rio de Janeiro, Peru agrees to withdraw its forces from the disputed port of Leticia, thereby ending its conflict with Colombia.

NOVEMBER 23, 1935. As part of a Comintern-inspired strategy drafted in Moscow, a group of Brazilian noncommissioned soldiers revolts this evening against its officers at Natal in Rio Grande do Norte Province, followed by a similar uprising at Recife in Pernambuco Province. As loyal forces rush in to crush these mutinies, Communist Party leader Luís Carlos Prestes leads an attack against a federal barracks in Rio de Janeiro on November 27, during which numerous loyalists are murdered. After putting down these outbursts, President Vargas uses the communist threat as an excuse to suspend civil liberties and purge all left-wing political parties.

FEBRUARY 17, 1936. In Paraguay, simmering social discontent and economic disappointment in the wake of the victorious Chaco War explode this Monday when lieutenant colonels Federico Wenman Smith and Camildo Recalde stage a military coup against the government of President Eusebio Ayala. Police headquarters in the capital of Asunción is fired upon by mortars at 8:00 a.m., inflicting many casualties. Its loyalist defenders are driven back into the main post office, then into the naval headquarters, during day-long exchanges. Finally, the defeated Ayala goes aboard the anchored 850-ton, Italian-built gunboat *Paraguay* by evening, yet refuses to steam to seek help from the army’s commander in chief, Gen. José Félix Estigarribia, who went the previous day to visit troops at Capirendá. Instead, the president surrenders to Recalde at 9:00 p.m. and is incarcerated.

Communism

This ideology emerged in Europe during the late 19th century, as political philosophers tried to define the evolution of society in a postindustrial era. The German-born socialist Karl Marx imagined a transition from capitalism to “communism”—a classless, stateless utopia of the future, based on common ownership of all means of production. It was to be achieved through revolutions by the proletariat or working class. His theories became influential after the radical Bolshevik faction of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, headed by Vladimir Lenin, seized power in the so-called October Revolution of 1917.

This aggressive new regime beat back its enemies through ruthless one-party rule and nationalizations. These early communists also believed that upheavals would soon occur in other nations as well. So when World War I ended in November 1918, they revived an association known as the Communist International or Comintern in March 1919. Its mission was to fight “by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and for the creation of an international Soviet republic.” Support was promised to socialist revolts, whose leaders were to also attend congresses in Russia every few years, chaired by Grigory Zinoviev.

Yet given the Soviet Union’s early problems, as well as the backlash from failed uprisings abroad during the early 1920s, Joseph Stalin decided to retract such an ambitious goal. The prospect of an immediate global triumph was dismissed, along with Zinoviev. Some money and weapons were still provided for select overseas operations, until the Comintern itself was purged by Stalin in 1935. Many foreign members were shot, while Zinoviev was paraded in a show trial in Moscow before being executed in August 1936.

But although direct Russian incitement failed, communism continued to influence rebel groups around the world, especially in Latin America. The idea of an armed elite spearheading the overthrow of a corrupt regime, then replacing it with a state-run economy to benefit the masses, fitted the guerrillas’ thinking. This ideology inspired many insurgent movements, even after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

He is joined in jail two days later by Estigarribia, who voluntarily flies in to submit. Col. Rafael Franco also flies in from exile in Buenos Aires on February 19—aboard a plane hired by the newspaper *Crítica*—and is sworn in the next day as provisional president. Six months later, the jailed Ayala and Estigarribia are deported to Montevideo (Uruguay), while Franco struggles to redress the country’s problems.

NOVEMBER 10, 1937. Amid a heated campaign to elect a successor to Brazil’s president Vargas, the latter denounces in a radio broadcast another alleged communist conspiracy, which has been revealed on September 27 by his war minister, Gen.

Eurico Gaspar Dutra. He uses this as an excuse to impose martial law, with the backing of generals Dutra and Monteiro, and to create a totalitarian dictatorship known as the *Estado Novo* or “New State,” which will perpetuate his hold on power for another eight years.

MAY 11, 1938. Political opponents of Brazilian strongman Vargas attempt a nocturnal assault against Rio de Janeiro’s Guanabara Palace, only to be repelled by loyal troops under General Dutra.

MARCH 1939. Peruvian troops crush a well-planned *Aprista* military coup against President Oscar R. Benavides.

NICARAGUAN CIVIL WAR (1925–1927)

The 1924 elections in this turbulent country result in the installation on January 1, 1925, of the Conservative candidate Carlos Solórzano as its president, with Liberal Dr. Juan Bautista Sacasa as vice president, to head a coalition government. Gen. Emiliano Chamorro, a former president who has lost in this particular American-sponsored campaign, refuses to honor the results. After the last U.S. marine contingent is withdrawn from the capital on August 3, tensions resume.

OCTOBER 24, 1925. This morning, Chamorro leads a military coup that—at the cost of 20 lives—seizes the fortified La Loma Hill overlooking the capital of Managua, from where he demands the ouster of all Liberal elements from the government, amnesty for his own action, appointment as commander in chief of the armed forces, and \$10,000 in out-of-pocket expenses. Solórzano meekly acquiesces, while Sacasa flees to Washington. By maintaining continual pressure, Chamorro will be appointed Nicaragua’s war minister by January 13, 1926, elected to a vacant senate seat, and designated as Solórzano’s heir apparent.

JANUARY 16, 1926. Solórzano officially resigns as president, to be succeeded by Chamorro. The United States refuses to recognize the legitimacy of this change of government, as do most other Central American and European countries. However, Washington also refuses to uphold Sacasa’s claim to the title, prompting the exiled vice president to travel to Mexico, where President Plutarco Calles will furnish his followers with arms and ammunition.

MAY 2, 1926. *Bluefields.* A force of Liberal exiles, supplied with Mexican arms, disembarks and occupies the eastern Nicaraguan port of Bluefields after a pitched battle against its Conservative garrison. The 3,200-ton light cruiser USS *Cleveland* subsequently arrives from Panama four days later, setting ashore 213 marines and armed sailors on May 7 to “protect American lives and property.” Meanwhile, Chamorro declares a state of war from the capital, jails his Liberal political opponents, and musters 5,000 men to march eastward and confront the invaders.

AUGUST 27, 1926. At the request of the American consul, the light cruiser USS *Galveston* disembarks 200 marines and sailors to maintain a “neutral zone” around Bluefields (Nicaragua).

LATE AUGUST 1926. Nicaragua’s former Liberal war minister, Gen. José María Moncada, captures the American company town of Puerto Cabezas, driving Chamorro’s government forces inland.

OCTOBER 1926. The American ambassador in Nicaragua arranges a 15-day truce between its warring Liberal and Conservative factions, plus face-to-face meetings between delegations aboard the USS *Denver* at the Pacific port of Corinto.

NOVEMBER 1926. Chamorro resigns the presidency, and the ex-President Adolfo Díaz is temporarily installed in his place. Numerous protests ensue, however—both within Nicaragua and from abroad—against this unpopular, American-approved choice.

DECEMBER 1, 1926. The exiled Liberal vice president Sacasa reaches Moncada’s base of Puerto Cabezas and proclaims that Nicaragua’s civil war will continue against Díaz. Landing parties from the American warships *Cleveland* and *Denver* disarm his supporters, yet otherwise do not interfere, although tensions escalate between Washington and Sacasa’s backers in Mexico.

LATE DECEMBER 1926. *Laguna de Perlas.* In a four-day battle at Laguna de Perlas, midway between Puerto Cabezas and Bluefields, Moncada devastates a Díaz army, killing hundreds of troops and driving the survivors back into sanctuary at the neutral port of Bluefields.

JANUARY 6, 1927. At the request of Díaz’s government, a marine contingent from the cruiser USS *Galveston* disembarks at Corinto and occupies the port, preempting its imminent fall to rebel forces. Alarmed at the prospective triumph of a Mexican-backed leftist regime, President Coolidge now begins to further throw his support behind Díaz by lifting the arms embargo and other material aid.

FEBRUARY 6, 1927. *Chinandega.* Just north of the Pacific port of Corinto, Díaz suffers a crushing reversal when the 500-man garrison of Chinandega is overrun in three days of intense fighting by 1,000–2,000 rebels, backed by a pair of aircraft. The latter do not remain in occupation, however, and government forces move to secure this town once more, along with marine assistance.

On February 9, U.S. rear admiral Julian L. Latimer—commander of the “Special Service Squadron” operating off the Nicaraguan coast—orders marine detachments from the cruisers *Milwaukee*, *Raleigh*, and *Galveston* to take control of the Corinto–Managua railway to prevent its service from being disrupted by the civil war.

FEBRUARY 19, 1927. A reinforced marine rifle company reaches devastated Chinandega and is joined the next day by further contingents from the U.S. cruisers *Milwaukee*, *Raleigh*, and *Galveston*.



Smoldering devastation left behind after the rebel withdrawal from Chinandega. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

They declare both Chinandega and the railway line running southeast into León to be neutral territory, effectively preventing their capture by rebel forces.

FEBRUARY 21, 1927. Corinto is garrisoned by 200 marines from the light cruiser USS *Trenton*, and La Loma Fort outside Managua is also occupied “to afford better protection to foreign lives and property.”

Augusto Sandino

Although usually identified as Augusto César Sandino, he was baptized Augusto Nicolás Calderón Sandino upon his birth on May 18, 1895, in the village of Niquinohomo, in Nicaragua’s Masaya Department. The illegitimate son of the wealthy coffee plantation owner Gregorio Sandino and Margarita Calderón, an employee on the former’s estate, Augusto was abandoned by his mother at the age of nine. He lived for a spell with his maternal grandmother before being grudgingly accepted into his father’s family. In September 1912, the teenager witnessed the U.S. intervention that crushed the Liberal insurrection led by Gen. Benjamín Zeledón.

Nine years later, Sandino shot and wounded Dagoberto Rivas, the son of a leading Conservative in Niquinohomo, allegedly over an insult to his mother. The 26-year-old therefore fled to the Pacific coast, working his way up through Honduras and Guatemala as a day laborer on plantations. He finally reached the Veracruz oil fields, finding work at the Standard Oil refinery at Tampico. There he was to be exposed to leftist, nationalistic, and anti-American ideologies.

After the five-year statute of limitations on his crime had expired, Sandino returned to Nicaragua on June 10, 1926. Yet Rivas was still so strongly entrenched at Niquinohomo that Sandino continued into the remote northeastern Segovias Mountains. Sandino took a job there as a clerk at the San Albino gold mine. When another Liberal revolt erupted shortly thereafter at the Caribbean port of Puerto Cabezas, Sandino led a group of miners in an attack against the local Conservative garrison, which failed. His subsequent trip to request arms and a commission from the Liberal leadership at Puerto Cabezas also proved fruitless, yet he was able to become a guerrilla leader after capturing some weapons from fleeing Conservative troops.



The young Sandino. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)



Female Nicaraguan rebel. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

FEBRUARY 22, 1927. Because of the inexorable rebel advance upon Managua, the British government proposes sending the cruiser HMS *Colombo* to Corinto to protect their nationals' interests—galvanizing Washington into even greater efforts to stabilize Nicaragua without outside intervention. Within the next few weeks, the number of marines deployed throughout this country rises to more than 2,000.

MARCH 1927. *Muimuy.* Moncada's 3,000 troops defeat a government army at Muimuy, midway between Matagalpa and the capital, bringing Díaz's government to the verge of collapse. Direct intervention is requested from Washington, which

although officially refused, is in effect implemented by the increasing U.S. presence throughout Nicaragua.

APRIL 15, 1927. A U.S. envoy, Col. Henry L. Stimson, reaches Nicaragua aboard the light cruiser *Trenton* to negotiate an end to its civil war.

MAY 4, 1927. After securing Díaz's agreement to generous peace terms, Stimson persuades Liberal general Moncada to accept them as well at a conference held at Tipitapa on the southeastern shores of Lake Managua. Only one of Moncada's rebel subcommanders, 36-year-old Augusto César Sandino, subsequently refuses to ratify this arrangement. He

instead retires eight days later north toward the Honduran border with 200 followers.

MAY 16, 1927. After nightfall, marine captain Richard Buchanan leads 40 men into the railway town of La Paz Centro between Corinto and Managua, expelling 200 demobilized Liberal soldiers who are looting the place. During a two-hour fire-fight, 14 Nicaraguans are killed, along with Buchanan and another marine.

MAY 19, 1927. The 11th Marine Regiment reaches Corinto and is quickly deployed on garrison duty along its rail lines.

MAY 23, 1927. Elements of the 5th Marine Regiment advance north from Matagalpa and occupy Jinotega, attempting to convince Sandino at nearby Yali to forsake his struggle. The latter instead withdraws farther north into Nueva Segovia Province and launches a stubborn guerrilla campaign.

JULY 16, 1927. Before dawn, Sandino and his military chief Rufo Marín advance out of San Fernando and infiltrate Ocotal (the capital of Nueva Segovia Province) with 300 men, attacking its 40-man marine garrison under Capt. Gilbert D. Hatfield—plus a Nicaraguan National Guard company—at first light. The defenders successfully resist, aided by strafing runs by five DeHavilland 4B biplanes out of Managua under marine major Ross “Rusty” Row-

ell. Sandino retires back into the jungle by this same afternoon, having lost approximately 50 men (including Marín) compared to a single man dead, 5 wounded, and 4 captured among the garrison.

JULY 25, 1927. This afternoon, a column of 50 mounted marines under Maj. Oliver Floyd surprise Sandino’s headquarters at San Fernando, killing 11 Sandinistas and driving the rest into the jungle.

SEPTEMBER 19, 1927. Before sunrise, Sandino with 200 men assaults the government garrison at Telpaneca (10 miles southeast of Ocotal), which consists of 21 marines and 25 Nicaraguan national guardsmen under marine lieutenant Herbert Keimling. The latter repel their attackers, suffering two killed and one wounded, compared to unknown enemy casualties.

For the next five years, Sandino wages a persistent guerrilla struggle against the U.S.-backed government of Nicaragua, until finally signing a peace pact with newly elected president Juan B. Sacasa on February 3, 1933. Little more than a year later, on the night of February 21, 1934, the guerrilla chief is murdered following a banquet held in his honor at the national palace—allegedly with the connivance of the country’s ruthless new war minister and national guard commander, 38-year-old Anastasio (“Tacho”) Somoza García. Two years later, in June 1936, the latter drives Sacasa out of office and becomes the country’s dictator.

CRISTERO WAR (1926–1929)

Radical new policies, drafted yet never enacted during the Mexican Revolution of 1910, are finally introduced by President Plutarco Calles in January 1926. These policies threaten the Catholic Church’s dominant position in the national economy and society. Archbishop José Mora y del Río of Mexico City responds with a pastoral letter restricting religious services. Calles increases the pressure on June 24 by ordering that all priests be native Mexicans, by decertifying religious schools, by ordering monasteries and other Church properties nationalized, plus other restrictive measures.

JULY 31, 1926. Mexican Church officials, with the backing of the Vatican, suspend all religious services and call for an economic boycott against the government.

AUGUST 15, 1926. A pro-Catholic mob overruns the municipal offices of Valparaíso (Zacatecas).

NOVEMBER 26, 1926. The *Liga Nacional para la Defensa de la Libertad Religiosa* or “National League

for the Defense of Religious Liberty” organizes a “war committee” from exile in the United States, headed by René Capistrán Garza.

JANUARY 1927. Mexico’s reelection law is amended to allow an ex-president—such as Álvaro Obregón—to stand for a second term, although not in direct succession.

JANUARY 1, 1927. On instructions from the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty, general hostilities commence against the federal government throughout Mexico. The mountainous back country of the state of Jalisco becomes a particular hotbed for guerrilla activity, spearheaded by the local leader Anacleto González Flores. The Catholic forces—mostly impoverished peasant soldiers—call themselves *defensores* or “defenders,” but because they often shout *Viva Cristo Rey!* or “Long Live Christ

the King!” as a rallying cry, they soon become more widely known as *cristeros*.

MARCH 20, 1927. *Cristeros* waylay the Laredo–Mexico City train at San Miguel Allende (Guajuato), killing its conductor and guards, thus gaining a reputed 100,000 pesos in government funds.

APRIL 1927. The Mexico City–Guadalajara train is intercepted near La Barca (Jalisco) by 400 *cristeros*, who not only kill its guards and crew but set it ablaze, killing 113 innocent passengers—many of them already wounded. The government retaliates by expelling all archbishops and bishops from Mexico and sending the army on brutal sweeps throughout this state.

LATE JUNE 1927. Shortly after Obregón announces that he will seek a second term as president, an



Bodies of cristero suspects dangling from telegraph poles beside a railway as part of the Mexican Army's counterinsurgency operations in Jalisco. (Hemeroteca Nacional, Mexico)

“anti-reelectionist” party nominates Arnulfo F. Gómez as their candidate and deplores the ex-president’s participation. Gen. Francisco R. Serrano—an old crony of Obregón—also decides to run, at the head of the “National Revolutionary Party.”

OCTOBER 2, 1927. *Anti-Reelectionist Mutiny.* Military maneuvers scheduled for Balbuena Park east of Mexico City are cancelled by President Calles on suspicion that he and ex-President Obregón—both scheduled to be present in the reviewing stands—are to be seized in a coup. Indeed, approximately 1,000 men of the 48th and 50th Infantry battalions, plus the 25th and 26th Cavalry regiments, mutiny under Gen. Héctor Ignacio Almada and march east toward Veracruz.

Fearing a more widespread conspiracy, Calles orders General Serrano arrested in Cuernavaca (Morelos), where the latter is attending his birthday party. Detained along with 13 companions by federal troops under Gen. Claudio Fox, Serrano is driven part of the way toward Mexico City—until reaching Huitzilac, where all 14, their hands bound with barbed wire, are taken out the next dawn and shot. A wave of executions follows throughout Mexico: at Torreón, Gen. Agapito Lastra, Lt. Col. Augusto Manzanilla, and all officers of the 16th Infantry Battalion are shot; in Mexico City, generals Luis Hermosillo and José C. Morán are killed; in Zacatecas, generals Alfredo Rodríguez and Norberto Olvera; in Sonora, generals Pedro Medina and Alfonso de la Huerta (brother of the exiled ex-president Adolfo de la Huerta); in Pachuca, Arturo Lasso de la Vega; in Chiapas, Gen. Luis Vidal; and so forth.

Most of Almada’s mutinous troops surrender to loyal forces a short distance outside Mexico City, at San Juan Teotihuacán, leaving him to press on toward Veracruz with only a small contingent in the hope of joining Arnulfo Gómez. Pursued by federal columns under generals Jesús M. Aguirre and José Gonzalo Escobar, the conspirators disperse into the hills. Gómez’s hiding place is eventually betrayed by a companion, and he is shot on November 4—despite being so ill he has to be tied to the execution wall.

NOVEMBER 13, 1927. This Sunday, four pro-Catholic fanatics toss two bombs at the Cadillac of ex-President Obregón—who is now running for reelection—as he sits in Chapultepec Park in Mexico City awaiting a bullfight. He emerges unscathed, his attackers being captured and killed, along with

the Jesuit priest Miguel Pro, plus other conspirators implicated in this plot.

JULY 17, 1928. Obregón, after having been re-elected president—although not yet installed into office—is assassinated while attending a political banquet at “La Bombilla” Restaurant in Mexico City’s suburb of San Ángel by the 27-year-old itinerant artist and Catholic fanatic José de León Toral.

OCTOBER 28, 1928. After González Flores is captured and executed by federal troops, he is succeeded in command of the Catholics’ *Ejército Nacional Libertador* or “National Liberator Army” by the military veteran Enrique Gorostieta (a West Point graduate).

NOVEMBER 30, 1928. Calles leaves office, being temporarily replaced by Emilio Portes Gil, although still retaining great power and influence.

MARCH 2, 1929. *Escobar’s Revolt.* This afternoon, General Aguirre rises in rebellion at Veracruz, being seconded in Sonora by Gen. Francisco R. Manzo



A cristero praying before his execution. (Hemeroteca Nacional, Mexico)

and Gov. Fausto Topete. They are joined the next day by General Escobar in Coahuila and Nuevo León, and on March 4 by Gen. Francisco Urbalejo and Gov. Juan Gualberto Amaya in Durango. Other insurrections soon occur in Oaxaca and Sinaloa.

The rebels' objective is to depose Portes Gil in favor of Gilberto Valenzuela and rescind the anti-Catholic legislation of Calles. They are quickly joined by the remnants of the *cristeros* under Gorostieta, but loyal federal troops drive north out of Mexico City under Gen. Juan Andrew Almazán and

defeat the principal concentration of insurgents under Escobar at Monterrey (Nuevo León).

JUNE 2, 1929. Gorostieta is betrayed to federal soldiers by a colleague and killed. His successor, General Degollado y Guizar, proves less intractable.

With the mediation of U.S. ambassador Dwight W. Morrow, the Mexican Church and government finally resolve their differences so that a general amnesty is declared. Still, hostilities persist in the hinterland for many years.

CHACO WAR (1932–1935)

Ever since losing access to the Pacific Ocean a half century previously due to its defeat at the hands of Chile, Bolivia has been seeking by diplomatic means to assert ownership over the Chaco Boreal—an arid, almost uninhabitable territory lying between its Andean foothills and distant Paraguay. La Paz believes that by claiming and driving roads through this no-man's land they can establish a river port on its far side, thereby gaining an outlet to the Atlantic.

However, Paraguay has regarded the Chaco as part of its adjacent hinterland ever since colonial times and, furthermore, earns much of its scarce foreign exchange from exports of *mate* tea and tannin into Argentina, so it bristles at these Bolivian claims. As rail lines are driven both southeastward and northwestward to service isolated outposts within this stark region, a few minor clashes erupt, before oil deposits are also discovered near the Andean foothills in 1928.

Believing vast reserves are waiting to be tapped, both impoverished countries redouble their efforts. Bolivia even receives a line of credit from Standard Oil to purchase modern weaponry from the Vickers Company of England to help re-equip its 4,000–5,000 regular servicemen, while Paraguay receives the same from Shell Oil for its slightly fewer than 3,000 troops. The latter manages its acquisitions more discreetly, the Paraguayan military engineer Gen. Manlio Schenoni L. touring France, while some additional purchases are made in Argentina.

The devastating effects of the Great Depression accelerate La Paz's policy as the price of tin—the Andean country's sole major export—plunges from \$794 a ton in 1929 to a mere \$385 a ton within three years. Desperate to relieve the crippling economic crisis and social unrest it is engendering, Bolivia's forces push deeper into the Chaco. Ironically, no significant oil reserves will ever be found.

JUNE 14, 1932. After an arduous three-week trek from the outpost of Camacho through the stark Chaco landscape, 4 Bolivian officers and 25 soldiers of the Lanza Cavalry Regiment under Maj. Oscar Moscoso reach the western banks of solitary Lake Pitiantuta (also called Chuquisaca), one of the region's few major bodies of water. More than a mile away on its eastern shoreline, the weary Bolivians see the tiny Carlos Antonio López outpost, manned by a Paraguayan corporal and 5 soldiers.

Moscoso consequently circles around to the south, and at 5:30 a.m. the next dawn, leads 18 of his Bolivian soldiers in a surprise charge that scatters the startled Paraguayan garrison, which flees through the brush and reports to its superiors about this dispossession three days later.

JUNE 22, 1932. Five days after assuming command over the 1st Infantry Division stationed at Puerto Casado, the 44-year-old lieutenant colonel José Félix

Chaco Boreal

The Gran Chaco is a flat, forbidding expanse. Once an ancient seabed, it runs west from the fertile Paraguay River to the well-irrigated Andean foothills, and south from the dark fringes of the Amazon Basin to the lush cattle lands of the Argentine Pampas. The portion south of the marshy Pilcomayo River is known as the *Chaco Austral* or “Southern Chaco,” which was claimed by Argentina as long ago as the 19th century. The remaining 250,000-square-mile, arid heartland is known as the *Chaco Boreal* or “Northern Chaco,” the area so fiercely contested by Bolivia and Paraguay from 1932 to 1935.

The terrain over which each side had to campaign has been described as “not exactly desert, and not exactly jungle.” It features the worst characteristics of both. During the dry season from late March through December, the Chaco’s southeastern half becomes a grassy dust-bowl interspersed with thick belts of spiny brush and occasional clusters of twisted Quebracho trees. During the rainy season, large segments become flooded, while higher parts dissolve into sodden mire. The western half is more arid still, and temperatures everywhere can soar into the 100s, or plunge below 0, especially when frigid *surazo* winds sweep in from Antarctica. The few thousand inhabitants of this so-called Green Hell were nomadic Guaraní herdsman, descendants from its original tribes, who tried to keep clear of the fighting.

Despite lying across the river from the Paraguayan capital of Asunción (whose population in 1930 stood at 120,000 inhabitants), few Spaniards were tempted to venture deep into the Chaco Boreal throughout the colonial or early independence eras. Bolivia’s interest in this wasteland was even more distant, until its defeat by Chilean forces during the War of the Pacific cut off its access to the sea.

Estigarribia—Paraguay’s chief of staff, inspector general, and deputy commander for its armed forces—sends 98 men forward to probe this Bolivian incursion.

JUNE 29, 1932. The Paraguayan reconnaissance unit launches a probing attack against Moscoso’s Bolivian garrison within “Carlos Antonio López,” finding that it has been reinforced. The Paraguayans therefore pull back a dozen miles and inform Estigarribia, who from Casanillos orders the 27-year-old captain Abdón Palacios to lead his 388-man battalion of the 2nd “Ytororó” Infantry Regiment across more than 110 miles of the harsh terrain and

recuperate Pitiantuta at any cost. His contingent sets out on July 4.

JULY 3, 1932. Directed by La Paz to retire to the west bank of Lake Pitiantuta, Moscoso instead burns the original Paraguayan outpost, then ensconces his Bolivian troops on the northeastern corner of this lake, calling the new site Fortress “Mariscal Santa Cruz.”

JULY 6, 1932. Paraguayan diplomats, incensed by Bolivia’s provocation, walk out of the American-sponsored “Nonaggression Pact Conference” in Washington, which has been attempting to mediate the Chaco boundary disputes.

JULY 15, 1932. *Pitiantuta.* After resting his 388 men from the Paraguayan “Ytororó” Infantry Regiment for three days, Captain Palacios leads them in a dawn attack against Moscoso’s 170 Bolivians, who are defending the “Mariscal Santa Cruz” fortress on the northeastern shores of Lake Pitiantuta. The occupiers are broken and driven off the next day, in no small part thanks to the intimidating, long-range Paraguayan shelling by their lone, 81-mm Stokes-Brandt mortar. Palacios’s losses total two dead and nine wounded.

JULY 18, 1932. With both La Paz and Asunción boiling with tens of thousands of protesters because of the clash at Pitiantuta, the Bolivian and Paraguayan armies begin secret mobilizations for war. The Bolivian president Daniel Salamanca furthermore instructs his senior commanders to prepare retaliatory strikes against the forward Paraguayan outposts of Corrales, Toledo, and Boquerón.

JULY 27, 1932. A Bolivian contingent under Col. Enrique Peñaranda Castillo overruns the disputed Guaraní outpost of Corrales, followed the next day by Toledo, then Boquerón three days later.

AUGUST 2, 1932. Bolivian president Salamanca proposes a suspension of hostilities, with his country retaining its latest territorial acquisitions.

AUGUST 8, 1932. Bolivian forces occupy the Paraguayan outpost of Huijay, northeast of Boquerón.

AUGUST 15, 1932. The recently reelected Dr. Eusebio Ayala is officially inaugurated into office as Paraguayan president.



Paraguayan troop train heads toward the front from Puerto Casado. (Author's Collection)

SEPTEMBER 7, 1932. *Boquerón.* Estigarribia's 7,500-man army advances from Isla Poí to drive the Bolivian invaders from their recently won Boquerón outpost. The next day, his vanguard under the 38-year-old major Carlos J. Fernández of the 2nd Division, including elements of the 1st and 3rd Infantry divisions and the 1st "Valois Rivarola" Cavalry Regiment, push forward from Pozo Valencia and drive in the enemy outposts, coming within two miles of their main objective.

At 5:30 a.m. on the morning of September 9, batteries of the 2nd Paraguayan Artillery Group open fire, and 5,000 soldiers launch a disjointed, groping, frontal assault against the Bolivian garrison, which consists of Lt. Col. Manuel Marzana's 710 men, 5 artillery pieces, 13 machine guns, and 27 automatic rifles. The Bolivians, well dug in, easily repel these attacks, so the next day Fernández tries a flanking maneuver by having his 2nd Toledo Cavalry Regiment circle around and seize Yucra. Although this envelopment is unsuccessful, the Bolivian defenders also underestimate Paraguayan strength, sending in small units piecemeal—such as the "Lairana" Battalion of the 14th Infantry Regiment—to clear the road, only to be annihilated.

After scattered skirmishes, the Paraguayans launch a renewed drive against Boquerón at dawn of September 17, with Maj. Arturo Bray's 1,800-man 6th Infantry Regiment advancing out of the west. They fight all day, only to be hit in the rear at sunset by a Bolivian relief column advancing up the Lara road, which crumples two Paraguayan battalions and carries desperately needed refreshments into Marzana's garrison. Both armies then settle in for trench warfare, the besiegers pounding Boquerón from a distance, while the Bolivians under Peñaranda, Col. Francisco Peña, and Brig. Gen. Carlos Quintanilla Quiroga prove unable to extricate their beleaguered colleagues or to resupply them adequately with Fokker tri-motor planes.

On September 25, Peña's 4th Bolivian Division mounts a relief effort out of the west, only to blunder into the fresh 3rd Paraguayan Cavalry Regiment, which halts its advance. Four days later, Marzana finally capitulates, his garrison having suffered 320 dead, 150 wounded, and 240 prisoners—in addition to another 1,300 casualties sustained by other Bolivian units. Paraguayan casualties during this siege total 1,500 men. Estigarribia is promoted to full colonel on October 4 as a reward for his triumph.



Paraguayan troops with a captured French-made Schneider 75mm gun after the hard-fought Siege of Boquerón. (Author's Collection)

SEPTEMBER 27, 1932. Paraguayan forces recapture the outpost of Toledo.

OCTOBER 8, 1932. After a lengthy reorganization following his capture of Boquerón, Estigarribia ponderously resumes his advance south toward Arce with 9,200 Paraguayan troops—having been reinforced by the newly created 4th Division under Lt. Col. Nicolás Delgado.

OCTOBER 10, 1932. In the Bolivian government's backlash following the Boquerón debacle, Quintanilla is recalled to La Paz and temporarily replaced as commander in chief by Colonel Peña.

OCTOBER 11, 1932. Estigarribia attempts an enveloping movement against Peñaranda's 4,000-man 4th Bolivian Division, which is contesting his advance down the Yucra–Arce road. The latter withdraws his troops at nightfall, thereby escaping this encirclement.

OCTOBER 21, 1932. Peñaranda attempts a stand at Mula Muerta camp with 3,000 men and some artillery, yet his troops are so demoralized that most run away late this afternoon, after the initial Paraguayan probes. Only the “Loa,” “Campero,” and 16th Infantry battalions, plus the 5th “Lanza” Cavalry Regiment, remain firm, but they are too few for effective resistance. Peñaranda therefore sets fire to Arce, before continuing his retreat south toward Alihuatá.

OCTOBER 23, 1932. Estigarribia occupies the smoldering remains of Arce.

OCTOBER 25, 1932. Discovering that only 1,000 of his 4,000 Bolivians are still willing to fight, Peñaranda abandons Alihuatá.

OCTOBER 27, 1932. The Paraguayan 2nd Guaraní Division occupies Alihuatá.

OCTOBER 30, 1932. The Paraguayan 1st Division seizes the Fernández outpost, then one week later captures Platanillos, as Estigarribia wishes to secure his right flank.

NOVEMBER 7, 1932. Kilometer 7. The previous afternoon having driven in the Bolivian picket line 12 kilometers north of Saavedra, the 3rd Corrales Infantry mounts an attack against the 1,500 remaining members of the 4th Division, dug in 5 kilometers farther south under their inspirational new leader, air force lieutenant colonel Bernardino Bilbao Rioja. The Bolivians repel this assault from their well-chosen defensive positions, then on November 8 use their artillery to check an attempted turning of their right flank.

On November 9, the Paraguayans are reinforced by the 1st Infantry Battalion, while the next day the Bolivians receive an additional 3,500 troops and six aircraft. When Bilbao launches a counterattack against the Paraguayan right that same afternoon, he encounters the newly arrived 2nd Guaraní Infantry and draws back after suffering 317 casualties, compared to 139 Paraguayans. Estigarribia joins his own attacking forces with the Paraguayan 1st and 4th divisions, launching unsuccessful assaults against Bilbao's lines on November 16 and 19. A flanking

march the night of November 30—around the Bolivian left by 3,700 Paraguayans under Fernández—is detected after becoming lost in the jungle and halted by artillery batteries stationed at Montaña.

The Paraguayans try one more assault on December 7, then a week later bring up Maj. Basiliano Caballero Irala's 1st Engineers to dig heavy fortifications and wait out the rainy season. Bilbao's tenacious stand at Kilometer 7 has effectively ended the long Bolivian retreat.

NOVEMBER 8, 1932. The 1st Paraguayan Cavalry seizes Loa, Corrales, Bolívar, and Jayucubás unopposed.

DECEMBER 6, 1932. German-born general Hans Kundt—a mercenary who has three times served as Bolivia's chief of staff—returns to La Paz from exile abroad and is given the title “General-in-Chief” of its field armies. (Kundt originally entered Bolivian service when Gen. José Manuel Pando requested that two-dozen officers be hired in Germany in 1910 to modernize its military establishment and establish a cadet school at La Paz.)

DECEMBER 13, 1932. Gen. Julio Sanjinés's newly created, 2,000-man, 8th Bolivian Division assaults Platanillos, driving its 700 defenders of the 1st Paraguayan Cavalry Regiment east-southeast toward the “Fernández” outpost.

DECEMBER 14, 1932. Lt. Col. Ángel Rodríguez's 3rd Bolivian Division expels the small Paraguayan garrison from Loa. A week later, the Bolivian 8th Division reoccupies Jayucubás and Bolívar, forcing the Paraguayans eastward into Corrales.

DECEMBER 25, 1932. Taking advantage of the Christmas truce, Paraguay's 1st Division retreats north from Kilometer 7 into prepared positions at Kilometer 12.

DECEMBER 27, 1932. The Bolivian 4th Division launches an attack with 3,135 men—backed by artillery and low-level air support—against the Paraguayans' new positions at Kilometer 12, only to suffer 700 killed before withdrawing.

DECEMBER 30, 1932. Gen. Arturo Guillén's 7th Bolivian Division captures Duarte, then nine days

German Military Advisers

In the summer of 1870, French armies—then believed to be the world's finest—were smashed by untried, yet much more effective, German forces. The wholesale surrender of Napoleon III along with 120,000 men at Sedan started a major shift in strategic thinking around the globe. Governments began overhauling their armed forces in the hope of imitating the German success. Emergent nations such as Japan patterned their new armies on the Prussian system and their navies upon Britain's Royal Navy.

This change was most obvious in Latin America. Prior to the War of the Triple Alliance, Paraguay bought steel Krupp cannon, using them to great effect before suffering its inevitable defeat. Argentina's President Julio Roca began hiring German instructors as of 1880 to upgrade his nation's military institutes. German armaments firms such as Mauser were contracted a decade later to manufacture rifles, establishing local subsidiaries. Chile's French-trained army, despite its triumphs during the War of the Pacific from 1879 to 1883, switched almost completely over to German instructors and methods before that decade was out. Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, and Mexico all followed suit. By the end of the 19th century, Prussian-style *pickelhaube* spiked helmets were being worn by soldiers in Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Cuba, and even the United States.

The impoverished Andean nation of Bolivia was one of the last to forsake French influence. A German military delegation was finally invited to visit in 1908, however. Among its members was the 39-year-old staff officer Capt. Hans Kundt. Three years later, now a major, he was hired as head of Bolivia's Military Academy. He brought along 5 German officers and 13 non-commissioned officers to help modernize and retrain the national army. Their work was interrupted by their return to Europe in 1914 to serve in World War I. Notwithstanding Germany's defeat, Kundt was rehired as Bolivia's chief of staff in 1921. He added an air corps two years later and reorganized the army into divisions of six regiments apiece by 1924. The next year, he also became minister of war, hiring even more German instructors (including the unsavory Ernst Röhm, creator of Adolf Hitler's SA storm troopers).

Yet Bolivia's army performed poorly during the Chaco War against an outnumbered Paraguayan foe, which was ironically equipped with modest amounts of French weaponry. In the harsh environment of the Chaco, the Andean conscripts were outmaneuvered and outfought by the better-led, more committed defenders.

later overruns the “Mariscal López” outpost in anticipation of initiating a major drive farther north against Nanawa.

JANUARY 1, 1933. The 3rd Bolivian Division captures lightly held Corrales, pursuing its fleeing Paraguayan garrison toward Puesto Betty.

JANUARY 13, 1933. The Paraguayan 7th San Martín Cavalry Regiment advances westward out of Toledo and probes the new Bolivian defenses at Corrales, only to be repulsed.

JANUARY 20, 1933. *Nanawa (First Battle).* At dawn, Kundt launches a three-pronged attack against this stronghold with 6,000 men of the Bolivian 7th Division (10 infantry and 5 cavalry regiments, supported by the 2nd Artillery, plus 10 aircraft). Nanawa is held by 2,500 men of Lt. Col. Luis Irrazábal's 5th Paraguayan Division, well dug in behind barbed wire entanglements, with numerous machine guns.

(In a diversionary move, the 8th Bolivian Division also marches out of Platanillos farther to the northwest this same morning and storms the Fernández outpost, only to be repelled by the 2nd Guaraní Division. A second attempt on January 23 is repulsed as well, the Bolivians withdrawing after sustaining heavy casualties. The Paraguayans for their part probe the Bolivian lines at Kilometer 7, only to find Peñaranda's 1,500-man 4th Division still holding firm.)

After his initial assault is checked, Kundt makes a second try on January 24, sending the 41st Bolivian Infantry in an encircling movement against the Ayala outpost, in Irrazábal's rear. Paraguayan cavalry advancing from Puesto Florida finally halt this drive, and the beleaguered defenders are then resupplied by air and reinforced on the ground, Bray's 4th Division bringing Irrazábal's strength up to 5,000 men. Kundt persists with smaller-scale attacks before eventually calling a halt to offensive operations on January 28, having lost 2,000 men, compared to 248 Paraguayans.

JANUARY 29, 1933. Lt. Col. Juan B. Ayala's 5,000-man 6th Paraguayan Division, decimated by dysentery and typhoid, makes a feeble and uncoordinated assault against the Bolivian defenses at Corrales, and is easily repelled.

FEBRUARY 2, 1933. The 3,600-man 3rd Bolivian Division advances eastward out of Corrales, march-

ing slowly along muddy roads to drive the Paraguayan skirmishers back from Puesto Betty one week later.

FEBRUARY 16, 1933. *Toledo.* The 3rd Bolivian Division arrives before this town's outer Paraguayan defenses and slowly deploys through the mud for an assault. This attack does not materialize until February 25, after a dawn raid by Bilbao's air group. Over the next two days, the Bolivians vainly drive against the defenders' trench system—designed and installed by the ex-czarist “White Russian” officers Belaieff and Ern—and suffer appalling losses.

Nocturnal attacks prove equally unsuccessful, hence the Bolivians have lost nearly 2,000 men by March 5. Six days later, the defenders launch an enveloping counterattack, prompting the 3rd Bolivian Division to retreat toward Puesto Betty. Numerous mutinies follow, and the 30th Infantry flees on the night of March 16 after shooting at its officers. The veteran 9th Warnes Infantry also rebels along the Platanillos road, streaming into Camacho to commandeer trucks for their return home.

MARCH 11, 1933. *Alihuatá.* At dawn, Col. Victorino Gutiérrez's 1,500-man 9th Andean Division—after circling overland from Sosa—takes Charata, driving the Paraguayan garrison out of nearby Alihuatá and cutting the road leading north toward the Paraguayan rear. A simultaneous attack is made by Peñaranda's 4th Division against the Paraguayan front lines farther south at Kilometer 12, while Capt. Germán Busch's cavalry squadron takes Campo 31.

The Paraguayans respond by extemporizing a large force under Maj. Roque Samaniego, to reopen the Alihuatá road from the north. This relief column is checked, though, and after five days of fighting on two fronts, Fernández's 1st Paraguayan Division extricates itself from Kilometer 12, retreating under cover of darkness on March 16, and reaching safety on the Gondra road two days later. Despite their victory, the Bolivians have let slip an opportunity to annihilate an entire enemy division.

MARCH 25, 1933. The weak Bolivian 8th Division launches an unsuccessful attack against the Paraguayan garrison at the Fernández outpost.

APRIL 5, 1933. Col. Gaudioso Núñez's 2nd Paraguayan Division, supported by three bombers, begins flanking maneuvers against the 8th Bolivian Division, compelling it to retreat within nine miles of Platanillos.

APRIL 7, 1933. Busch's 5th Bolivian Cavalry pushes back some Paraguayan outposts below Falcón (modern Rojas Silva), closing the road northwest toward Arce for four days. Busch is then temporarily dislodged by a strong detachment from the 7th Guaraní Division, only to return to the attack on April 13. Eventually, a new front develops at Campo Aceval, three miles west of Rancho Ocho.

MAY 10, 1933. After the collapse of U.S.-mediated attempts at achieving a truce, Paraguay officially declares war against Bolivia.

MAY 16, 1933. At Gondra, Lt. Col Rafael Franco's 1st Paraguayan Division opens a small breach in Peñaranda's left, only to be quickly contained by the redeployment of Bolivian machine guns and mortars. Both sides then settle in for trench warfare, as winter is commencing.

MAY 18, 1933. *Fernández.* The 2,000-man 8th Bolivian Division storms the Fernández outpost out of the west and is quickly pinned down by withering counterfire from its reinforced Paraguayan garrison. A second assault also fails on May 27, after which Lt. Col. Felipe Arrieta arrives three days later out of the east with 500 men of the Bolivian 16th and 41st Infantry, plus Busch's 5th Cavalry.

They are still unable to carry this outpost or completely encircle it. After another failed assault on June 1, all the attackers retreat northwest to-

ward Platanillos—harassed by Paraguayan bombers—having suffered 556 killed and 314 wounded.

JULY 4, 1933. *Nanawa (Second Battle).* In an operation designed to coincide with a League of Nations assembly to discuss the problem of the Chaco War, Kundt launches a massive new Bolivian assault against Nanawa. At 9:05 a.m., a subterranean mine is detonated beneath a fortified strongpoint in the center of the Paraguayan line, after which nearly 7,000 troops of the 7th Bolivian Division charge across the intervening no-man's land. They are supported by aircraft, 32 heavy artillery pieces, tanks, and flame throwers.

Notwithstanding the 100-foot crater blasted in the defenders' line, the Bolivians are greeted by heavy fire, and their columns begin to lose cohesion. By noon, their artillery shuts down for lack of shells, and the offensive gradually grinds to a halt. Although Kundt persists with localized actions over the next two days, his main effort has failed, costing 2,000 Bolivian lives.

JULY 12, 1933. At Gondra, Franco's 1st Paraguayan Division turns Peñaranda's right, compelling the Bolivians to retreat northwest three days later into Campo Vía.

AUGUST 5, 1933. A Bolivian flying column briefly occupies Falcón (Rojas Silva).



Bolivian mortar teams. (Author's Collection)

AUGUST 25, 1933. Pirijayo (called Pirizal by the Paraguayans) is seized by a Bolivian task force under Col. Carlos Banzer and held for a short period.

AUGUST 30, 1933. The 27th Bolivian Infantry—sitting astride the Arce–Alihuatá road—is briefly surrounded by growing Paraguayan strength.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1933. Franco shortens his Paraguayan lines, obliging Peñaranda to recall his outposts from Rancho Ocho and Pirizal.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1933. *Pozo Favorita.* Estigarribia's latest Paraguayan offensive cuts the Pampa Grande–Alihuatá road behind the 2nd and 4th Bolivian Infantry regiments. This incursion is strengthened the next day and successfully repels a counterattack by the 27th Bolivian Infantry. By September 14, part of the 18th Bolivian Infantry is trapped at Pozo Grande, and Kundt tries to break through with a relief column of merely 200 soldiers but is powerless against the 3,500-man 7th Guaraní Division of Lt. Col. José A. Ortiz. This same afternoon, more than 930 Bolivians capitulate, and both armies resume trench warfare.

At Villa Militar, Estigarribia is promoted to brigadier general on September 29 for this victory, while Kundt is left at Muñoz to contemplate either flight into Argentina or suicide. On October 2, he is recalled to La Paz, and a major shuffle ensues among Bolivia's high command.

OCTOBER 23, 1933. Estigarribia launches a general offensive along all fronts, having mustered 26,500 Paraguayans in nine infantry divisions and two cavalry brigades—17,000 being destined for frontline duty—in a major effort aimed at ending the war.

OCTOBER 30, 1933. While maintaining pressure on all fronts, Estigarribia hurls his reserves against the Bolivian trenches at Pozo Favorita, only to suffer grave losses.

NOVEMBER 4, 1933. Kundt returns to Alihuatá and reassumes command over Bolivia's field armies, in the face of Estigarribia's unremitting pressure.

NOVEMBER 12, 1933. While gradually being forced back everywhere, 318 members of the 16th Bolivian Infantry are cut off in their trenches at Nanawa and captured.

NOVEMBER 16, 1933. Estigarribia's relentless offensive recaptures the Mariscal López outpost from its Bolivian occupiers, and Kundt commits his final reserves in a desperate attempt to shore up his crumbling lines.

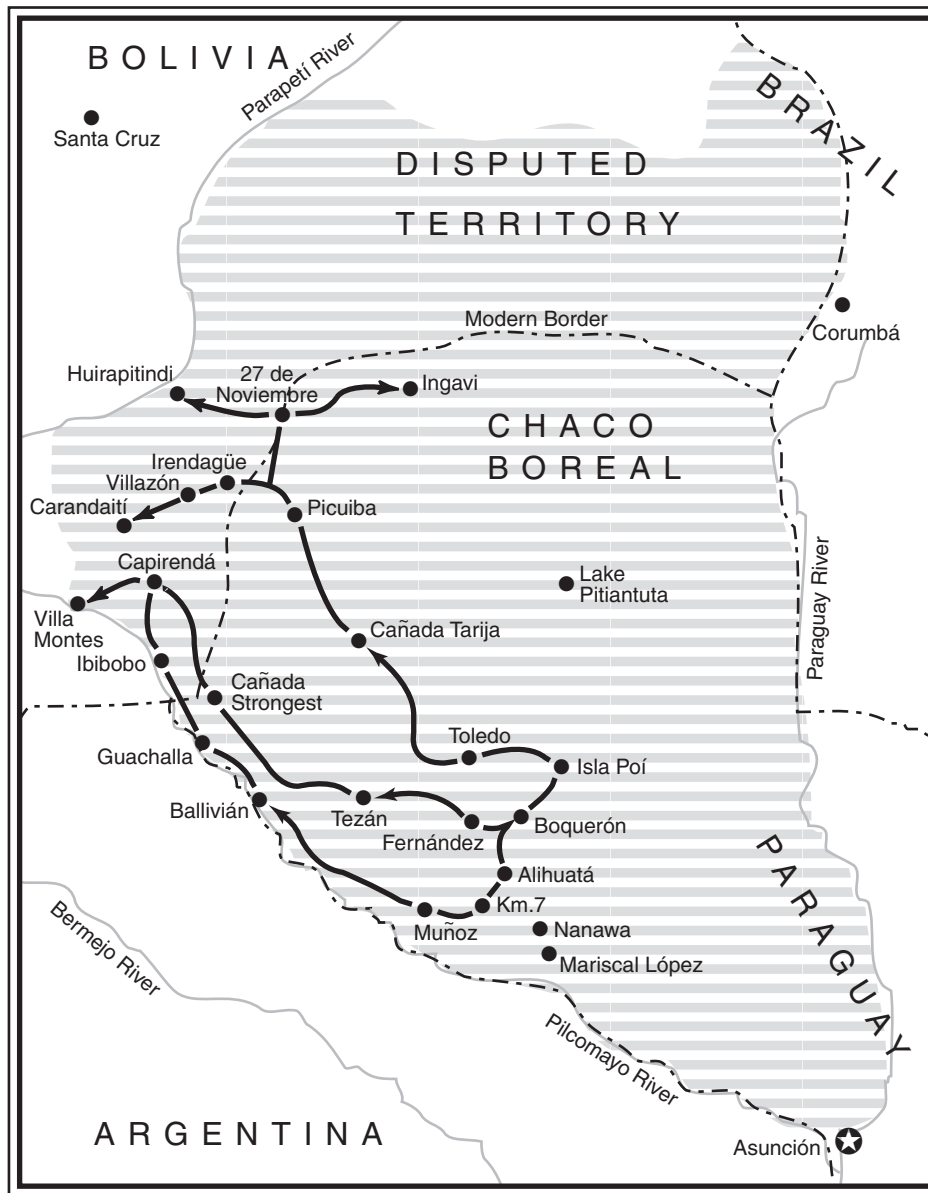
DECEMBER 3, 1933. *Campo Vía.* Estigarribia replaces the hesitant Col. Juan B. Ayala on his right flank with the more aggressive Ortiz of the 7th Guaraní Division. The next day, he instructs the latter to commence a huge envelopment of the Bolivian left by leading 14 regiments from Pampa Grande to the road west of Alihuatá—despite torrential rains. Bolivian reconnaissance flights sight this movement, but Kundt dismisses the pilots as “alarmists.”

On December 6, Paraguayan units cut the Alihuatá–Saavedra and Alihuatá–Pozo Negro roads, prompting Kundt to belatedly authorize Banzer's 9th Bolivian Division to retreat toward Campo 31. Alihuatá is fired and abandoned by December 7, but Kundt's retirement is then further hampered by Franco's sudden attack out of Gondra, which mauls Col. Emilio González Quint's 4th Bolivian Division and seals the Campo Vía–Ustares road. Estigarribia follows up this gain by directing the Paraguayans' 3rd Corrales Division to continue circling southeast from Charata to link up with Franco's 1st Division.

Kundt hopes to reestablish a new defensive line from Campo Victoria to two miles west of the Saavedra road in Campo 31, but this plan fails because of his army's utter confusion and Franco's timely occupation of the woods north of Campo Vía, thereby sealing the road from Campo Victoria. A feeble Bolivian relief effort marching north from Saavedra under Peñaranda is also checked, which dooms its surrounded colleagues at Campo Vía. On the afternoon of December 11, 8,000 men of the 4th and 9th Bolivian divisions surrender to Estigarribia, who is promoted to full general two days afterward. Paraguayan booty includes 20 guns, 25 mortars, 840 Vickers machine guns and automatic rifles, and 13,000 rifles.

DECEMBER 12, 1933. Following Kundt's disastrous defeat, Peñaranda this evening scrapes together 2,500 men around the old Bolivian trench system at Kilometer 7, then is promoted to brigadier general and put in command of Bolivia's field armies. Kundt meanwhile flies back to La Paz to face a court-martial.

DECEMBER 13, 1933. At 8:15 p.m., Estigarribia's Paraguayan forces occupy Saavedra but are too



General theater map of the Chaco War.

exhausted to pursue Peñaranda's few survivors, now limping west toward Muñoz.

DECEMBER 19, 1933. A truce is arranged between Bolivia and Paraguay to allow foreign diplomats to negotiate a peace in Montevideo. Estigarribia attacks Peñaranda's headquarters at Muñoz just before the midnight deadline, overrunning this outpost in an action that provokes angry Bolivian recriminations at the conference table.

JANUARY 5, 1934. Unable to agree upon a boundary, Paraguayo-Bolivian hostilities resume. Because of weariness on both sides, however, the former

merely reoccupies a few small, isolated outposts—Platanillos, Loa, Jayucubás, Bolívar, and Camacho—with small units during the next few days, while the latter concentrates upon reconstructing its shattered army.

FEBRUARY 1, 1934. Estigarribia launches a flanking maneuver against Arrieta's 8th Bolivia Division at La China, compelling this contingent to retreat into Pozo Tortuga three days later.

FEBRUARY 9, 1934. Under continuous Paraguayan pressure, the II Bolivian Corps retreats into Tezen, then farther westward.



Paraguayan officer sitting atop a six-ton Bolivian Vickers tank captured at Saavedra. (Author's Collection)

MARCH 20, 1934. *Cañada Tarija.* After advancing 70 miles northwestward from Camacho through dense jungle, Lt. Col. Federico W. Smith's 6th Paraguayan Division contacts the 1,500-man 18th Montes Infantry at Garrapatal near Cañada Tarija, under Bolivian lieutenant colonel Ángel Bavia. Fighting erupts four days later, the Paraguayans outflanking and encircling their opponents by March 26. The next day, Bavia commits suicide, and his surviving troops either surrender or are left to die in the jungle. This defeat prompts Peñaranda to sack his subordinate Peña and order a general retreat to within seven miles of Ballivián, on the border with neutral Argentina.

APRIL 5, 1934. In La Paz, disgruntled cadets from the *Colegio Militar* or "Military Academy" attempt to overthrow President Salamanca, but are put down by loyal troops under General Lanza.

MAY 10, 1934. *Cañada Strongest.* The 2nd and 7th Paraguayan divisions come into contact with Bilbao Rioja's II Bolivian Corps, dug into a long line stretching northeastward from the Pilcomayo River. The defenders fall back before Estigarribia's attempts at encirclement, after which Peñaranda launches a ponderous counteroffensive of his own with the 14,000-man 9th Division, stationed 20 miles north of Guachalla.

On May 19, a 7,000-man 9th Division column cuts the road behind Ortiz's 7th Paraguayan Division, which is also heavily engaged in front. Col. Gaudioso Núñez manages to briefly check this incursion, and these Paraguayans then retreat on the night of May 21–22 along a jungle trail cut by the 1st Engineers. Lt. Col. José Rosa Vera's 2nd Paraguayan Division, however, becomes trapped in the meantime, and disintegrates over the next few days. By May 25, 1,500 survivors surrender to the Boliv-

ians, many others having escaped individually through the jungle.

JUNE 1934. Franco's Paraguayan corps presses back the 3rd Bolivian Division in light fighting.

JUNE 18, 1934. Despite being outnumbered almost two to one, Delgado's 9,000-man III Paraguayan Corps thrusts a salient into the lines of Col. David Toro Ruilova's I Bolivian Corps at Ballivián, only to be ejected shortly thereafter with extremely heavy casualties.

JULY 15, 1934. Under relentless Paraguayan pressure, Peñaranda orders Toro's 16,000 Bolivian troops to retreat from Ballivián to join Bilbao Rioja's 9,000 at Guachalla, but the former refuses to withdraw, citing national honor.

AUGUST 14, 1934. *Picuiba Breakout.* At dawn, Franco's 6th Division launches a major new Para-

guayan offensive by surprising and overrunning Lt. Hugo Pol's 600 Bolivians on the road leading into Picuiba. Pol escapes that same evening with barely 50 survivors. Without encountering any other significant resistance east of Carandaití, Franco advances unimpeded in truck columns, reaching Irendagüe by August 17, Villazón the next day, "27 de Noviembre" by August 19, and Huirapitindi the day after, and compels a Bolivian battalion to surrender at Algodonal by August 22.

On August 27, Franco reaches the Chiriguano Mountains—the natural limit of the Chaco, three miles east of Carandaití. He is soon obliged to shorten his overextended supply lines, however, to fend off Bolivian reinforcements being dispatched north from Ballivián. Estigarribia directs Franco to make a slow, fighting retirement, draining strength from Toro's concentration farther south.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1934. After cobbling six Bolivian cavalry regiments into a strike force at Carandaití,

Marshal José Estigarribia

José Félix Estigarribia Insaurrealde was born on February 21, 1888, at Caragatay in south central Paraguay. He studied agronomy at the Agricultural School of Trinidad before joining the army as a first lieutenant of infantry in 1910. That August, he was sent to train with the Buin Regiment at Santiago de Chile. Returning home, he was stationed at the jungle outpost of Concepción, on the fringes of Brazil's Mato Grosso.

Because he supported President Eusebio Ayala during the military revolt that erupted in late May 1922, Estigarribia was promoted to major on November 13. Early the next year, he was named head of the expanded military school at Asunción. He went abroad again in 1925, this time to receive advance training under the famed French general Maurice Gamelin at Paris's *Ecole Supérieure de Guerre*. Enrolled on November 3, 1925, he rejoined the Paraguayan high command by September 26, 1927.

Estigarribia quickly rose to chief of staff by March 1, 1928. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel on August 9 and became deputy commander of all the armed forces by December 17. As tensions escalated because of Bolivian incursions into the Chaco, Estigarribia—now regarded as Paraguay's leading military authority—added the title inspector general on December 20, 1931, to supervise the distribution of modern weaponry among his troops. He also emboldened strategic planning by convincing his superiors not to await a Bolivian offensive along the Paraguay River. Rather, his outnumbered forces penetrated into the Chaco and confronted the invaders. His view was summed up as: "Whoever strikes first, can probably strike for a second time."

Once fighting erupted in the late summer of 1932, Estigarribia avoided direct clashes, which would have favored the invaders. Bolivia enjoyed a three-to-one advantage in population. Instead, he used his small and decentralized forces to circle around Bolivian concentrations. After being isolated and weakened in the harsh terrain, they were easier to defeat. Thanks to his successes, he was made Paraguay's commander in chief on December 20, 1935, a prerogative previously reserved for presidents.

Yet after Col. Rafael Franco's coup deposed President Ayala in February 1936, Estigarribia spent six months in prison before being sent into exile at Montevideo. He returned two years later to participate in the negotiations that finally wrapped up the war with Bolivia, as well as to serve as ambassador to the United States. An acclaimed national hero, he was elected and assumed office as president on August 15, 1939, only to be killed along with his wife, Julia, in a plane crash a year later near Los Altos, on September 7, 1940. He was promoted posthumously to the rank of marshal.

Toro attempts to envelop Franco's slowly retreating column at Pozo del Burro, only to have his Paraguayan opponent slip away east under cover of darkness toward Algodonal on the night of September 8. Fourteen trucks, some spiked guns, and 78 automatic weapons are the only booty left behind.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1934. In the Bahía Negra sector, small Paraguayan contingents take Vanguardia and Vargas.

SEPTEMBER 22, 1934. Toro envelops Algodonal and seizes the road three miles east of this position, thereby cutting Franco's 6th Division off from his reserves. Nevertheless, the Paraguayan commander fights his way farther east on the night of the 23rd, killing 200 troopers of the 3rd Bolivian Cavalry, while suffering considerable casualties among his own ranks before escaping.

OCTOBER 5, 1934. Paraguayan troops capture Ingavi, threatening Bolivia's Santa Cruz Department.

NOVEMBER 6, 1934. *Villazón.* Toro attempts a pincer movement against this 5,000-man Paraguayan stronghold, advancing with 12,000 Bolivians in two columns: the 3rd Infantry and 2nd Cavalry divisions to the north, and the 1st Cavalry Division to the south. Heavy rains hamper his progress, so it is not until November 9 that Toro's forces can close in.

Late on November 10, however, Franco's defenders make a thrust southeast, escaping through the Bolivian siege lines toward Picuiba with help from a diversionary attack out of Irendagüe by Lieutenant Colonel Caballero Irala's 2nd Paraguayan Engineers. Toro is only able to capture 400 prisoners and 50 trucks.

NOVEMBER 11, 1934. *El Carmen.* Col. Carlos Fernández's I Paraguayan Corps—comprised of the 1st, 2nd, 7th, and Col. Manuel Garay's 8th divisions—begin to envelop Col. Zacharías Murillo's 1st Reserve Bolivian Division, which is lying at El Carmen. By November 13, the 2nd Division reaches the Bolivian rear and captures Murillo's headquarters, closing the road toward Oruro two days later and meeting up with the 8th Division circling down out of the north.

On the morning of November 16, Murillo and Col. Walter Méndez's 2nd Bolivian Reserve Division mount a feeble attempt to escape, then capitulate, having suffered 2,500 killed and 4,000 captured.

NOVEMBER 13, 1934. Toro's most forward units link up at El Cruce with motorized elements from Bilbao's 7th Bolivian Division, advancing southward out of Santa Fe via "27 de Noviembre."

NOVEMBER 17, 1934. With the Bolivians retreating northwest, Paraguayan forces occupy Ballivián.

NOVEMBER 20, 1934. The Paraguayans temporarily abandon Picuiba, yet only make a strategic retirement five and a half miles southward, in good order.

NOVEMBER 21, 1934. The Paraguayan III Corps reaches Guachalla, and the next day Fernández's I Corps punches through the new Bolivian lines at Cañada Oruro, pressing on toward Ibibobo.

NOVEMBER 27, 1934. Bolivia's President Salamanca visits his defeated commanders at Villa Montes, intending to replace the inept Peñaranda with Lanza. Instead, the president is arrested and deposed by 300 soldiers of the 4th Artillery Group under Peñaranda, Sanjinés, Busch, and Col. Felipe Rivera Lino. Salamanca comments wryly, "This is the only maneuver in which they have been successful." Vice President Tejada Sorzano is then elevated into his place.

DECEMBER 4, 1934. Tejada Sorzano—although prior to the war an avid Liberal pacifist—now orders a general mobilization in Bolivia.

DECEMBER 6, 1934. *Irendagüe.* Colonel Garay's 1,800-man 8th Paraguayan Division departs La Faye to drive on Irendagüe and seize its water wells. This is part of a much larger offensive by Franco's II Paraguayan Corps—which includes 5,500 men of the 6th and Reserve divisions, plus the 1st Division—aimed at destroying Toro's 12,000-man Bolivian Cavalry Corps, now exposed following Peñaranda's retreat westward. The Paraguayan Reserve Division begins to turn the Bolivian left, while the 14th Paraguayan Infantry advances down out of Ingavi in the north to threaten "27 de Noviembre," and the 1st Division moves out of the southwest toward Villazón.

Toro—his headquarters being at Carandaití, 85 miles away—is slow to react, not issuing orders until almost midnight of December 7. Shortly thereafter, 200 Paraguayan troops surprise the 130-man Bolivian garrison at Irendagüe, seizing this vital water

supply and severing Toro's communications. The Bolivian commander attempts to communicate with his far-flung troops by flying overhead and dropping orders, but by noon of December 9, all cohesion is lost, and his contingents stream north out of the Chaco, desperately seeking water. Some 3,000 either die of thirst or surrender to the pursuing Paraguayans.

DECEMBER 11, 1934. Paraguayan cavalrymen occupy "27 de Noviembre," and Peñaranda resigns as Bolivian commander in chief.

DECEMBER 27, 1934. *Ibibobo.* After encountering a hastily extemporized Bolivian defense line stretching north from the Pilcomayo River at Ibibobo toward Carandaití, Delgado's 2,400-man III Paraguayan Corps pushes the 5th Cavalry through a five-mile gap, their movement hidden by gloom of night and heavy rain. The next afternoon, this contingent cuts the Palo Mercado Road, trapping 2,000 Bolivian troops. Some 200 of them drown attempting to cross the swollen Pilcomayo, while another 1,200 surrender after a feeble effort at breaking out. Paraguayan casualties total 46 wounded.

JANUARY 11, 1935. Paraguayan forces surround two Bolivian regiments at Capirendá, killing 330 and capturing 200, thus compelling the main enemy concentration to resume their retirement westward into the Andean foothills.

JANUARY 16, 1935. Paraguayan troops reach the Parapeti River, traditionally the western boundary of the Chaco.

JANUARY 23, 1935. Franco's II Paraguayan Corps enters Carandaití.

JANUARY 28, 1935. Boyuibe is occupied by Paraguayan forces, and the Villa Montes–Santa Cruz road is severed.

FEBRUARY 7, 1935. Franco's II Paraguayan Corps turns the flank of the Bolivian defenders holding Ñaincorainza Pass, only to in turn be checked by the timely arrival of the 1st Bolivian Cavalry Division, which obliges the outnumbered attackers to withdraw in defeat four days later.

FEBRUARY 13, 1935. *Villa Montes.* Despite being outnumbered two to one, Estigarribia sends 5,000

Paraguayans down Capirenda Road to storm Bilbao Rioja's defenses at Villa Montes. These defenders prove to be formidable, and the attackers furthermore have no shells for their siege guns. Consequently, the assault progresses slowly until February 16, when the Paraguayans succeed in creating a two-mile salient near the mountains on the Bolivian left.

Nevertheless, the defenders contain this incursion thanks to close air support and artillery barrages. Estigarribia sends in more assault waves on February 20, suffering heavy casualties, and by March this bulge is closed, with the Paraguayans stalled in trench warfare.

MARCH 8, 1935. Franco's II Paraguayan Corps strikes the 7th Bolivian Division in the narrow valley between the Aguarague and Charagua ranges, only to have these defenders surround a battalion of the 15th Infantry the next day, obliging it to surrender. This success raises Bolivian morale, and by March 12, the Paraguayans draw off after suffering heavy losses.

APRIL 5, 1935. Paraguayan colonel Eugenio Garay—detached from Franco's II Corps—crosses the Parapeti River with 2,600 men and captures Copere. Then, pushing back the 3rd Bolivian Cavalry Division, he advances to intersect the Charagua–Santa Cruz highway.

APRIL 12, 1935. Col. Eugenio Garay turns the Bolivian flank at the village of Carandaití Moza, then drives on through its pass toward Charagua.

APRIL 14, 1935. The Bolivian defenders of Villa Montes make a number of sallies to break the Paraguayan siege trenches, which stretch in a crescent northwestward from the Pilcomayo around the town toward the mountains. After three days of attempting to break through along Camatindi Road, the Bolivians give up, but on April 19—despite heavy losses—they seize Tarairi, compelling Colonel Fernández's Paraguayan contingent to withdraw from this sector.

APRIL 15, 1935. Col. Eugenio Garay's column, in cooperation with the 8th Paraguayan Division pushing up from the south, occupies Charagua.

APRIL 16, 1935. General Guillén launches a counteroffensive from Santa Cruz with 15,000 ill-equipped

Bolivian troops to reverse Eugenio Garay's incursion. Driving ponderously to cut the Casa Alta–Machareti road, Guillén fails to trap the Paraguayans, who retire in good order toward Carandaití by April 17. He nonetheless recuperates Mandeyapecua on April 20.

APRIL 21, 1935. Col. Eugenio Garay's 2nd Paraguayan Division evacuates Charagua, along with Carandaití Moza, and retires southward.

APRIL 23, 1935. While retiring southward, the 8th Paraguayan Division is surrounded near Cambeiti. Five days later, it breaks through the 7th Bolivian Division's lines and escapes toward Santa Fe on the Parapeti River.

APRIL 24, 1935. Gen. Raimundo González Flor's 6th Bolivian Division envelops a Paraguayan force nine miles north of Ingavi at Pozo del Tigre, only to allow it to escape shortly thereafter.

MAY 13, 1935. Having retreated from the Parapeti River, 3,500 Paraguayans establish a new defensive line in front of Huirapitindi.

MAY 16, 1935. Estigarribia launches a surprise counteroffensive out of Carandaití with the 6th

Paraguayan division, crossing the mountains to fall upon Mandeyapecua.

JUNE 1, 1935. *Ingavi.* With peace talks deadlocked at Buenos Aires, an 800-man Paraguayan regiment sallies from Ingavi and mauls the 6th Bolivian Division. The latter calls for reinforcements and attempts to encircle its foes, only to become enveloped itself four days later.

No Bolivian reserves are available from Roboré, so when the 14th Bolivian Infantry then attempts to fight its way out of this encirclement, they are cornered in the jungle and forced to surrender by June 8. This latest defeat prompts Bolivia's peace delegates to reduce their demands at the conference table in the Argentine capital the next day.

JUNE 12, 1935. A ceasefire, which recognizes Paraguayan ownership of almost the entire Chaco, is signed, taking effect at noon on June 14. During the preceding three years of conflict, 57,000 Bolivian and 36,000 Paraguayan soldiers have died, and both countries have been driven to the brink of bankruptcy and exhaustion. Some 30,000 Bolivian servicemen are also released from captivity by the victorious Paraguayans, 10 times the number held by Bolivia.

Modern Era (1939–Present)



Victory has a hundred fathers,
but defeat is an orphan.

—President John F. Kennedy, after the Bay of Pigs fiasco (1961)

WORLD WAR II (1939–1945)

As with World War I, the Americas are almost entirely spared any fighting on their soil during this second global conflict, being separated from the major overseas theaters by both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. In addition, more than two years will elapse between Germany's invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939—which sparks Britain's and France's retaliatory declarations of war two days later—and the U.S. entry into the hostilities after the Japanese attack against Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Nevertheless, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt will begin taking a hand in the proceedings prior to this latter date.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1939. Roosevelt orders the U.S. Navy to establish a “Neutrality Patrol”—also referred to as the “American Defense Zone”—in the mid-Atlantic to discourage overseas belligerents from conducting operations in the Americas. This line runs southward from Canadian waters along longitude 60° W, roughly parallel down the South American coast. Germany, Britain, and France will by and large respect this boundary.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1939. Having slipped out of Germany on August 21 before war was declared between London and Berlin, Capt. Hans Langsdorff's 16,200-ton “pocket battleship” *Admiral Graf*

Spee—armed with six 11-inch, eight 6-inch, and six 4-inch guns—claims its first victim by sinking the British merchantman *Clement* off Pernambuco (Brazil).

With a top speed of 26 knots, the *Graf Spee* has been designed as a commerce raider capable of out-gunning any Royal Navy warship that it cannot outrun. It then disappears eastward to prey upon British shipping rounding South Africa's Cape of Good Hope.

NOVEMBER 1939. Washington repeals its Neutrality Act. Henceforth, war matériel can be supplied to Britain on a “cash-and-carry” basis.

End of U.S. Isolationism

After World War I ended in November 1918, America recoiled from foreign entanglements. Horrified by the losses in men and matériel, a vocal minority reverted to isolationism, preferring the natural barriers of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. As a result of this shift, President Woodrow Wilson failed to win congressional approval for his Treaty of Versailles or for U.S. membership in the League of Nations. He even lost his own reelection. The “Open Door” policy of admitting European immigrants was also severely reduced, while trade barriers were raised to protect national industries.

The United States, of course, remained involved in international affairs during the 1920s and 1930s, but its participation relied more on “banks rather than tanks.” Republican administrations used America's financial strength to address foreign problems, such as the Naval Disarmament Treaty or Germany's reparations crisis. Even after the Great Depression swept the Democratic candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt into office in 1932, enough isolationist spirit remained in Congress to pass the three Neutrality Acts of the mid-1930s. And although American citizens viewed the rise of Adolf Hitler's Nazi regime in Germany with distaste, it seemed to pose no real threat to France's armies or Britain's Royal Navy.

Sentiment began to swing away from isolationism once the German *Blitzkrieg* overran France in June 1940, leaving Britain to fight on alone. U.S. defense spending increased five-fold that same year, while aid to Britain was widely endorsed. Even the Republican Convention of 1940 bypassed its top presidential contenders—senators Robert A. Taft of Ohio and Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan, as well as Gov. Thomas Dewey of New York—because of their isolationist past. Instead, the former Democrat, Wendell Wilkie, was nominated.

Wilkie was soundly beaten and the congressional elections were marked by a broad repudiation of most isolationist candidates. Their views were now discredited. Roosevelt was free to commit American resources in support of Britain. Senator Vandenberg later wrote that isolationism had died at Pearl Harbor, yet it really died during the summer and autumn of 1940.



The German pocket battleship Graf Spee sinking after being scuttled outside Montevideo. (U.S. Naval Institute)

DECEMBER 13, 1939. *River Plate.* At 6:00 a.m., British commodore Henry Harwood's Hunting Group "G" is stationed 150 miles east of the River Plate, consisting of the 8,300-ton heavy cruiser *Exeter* (flag) with six eight-inch and four four-inch guns under F. S. Bell; the 7,100-ton light cruiser *Ajax* with eight six-inch and eight four-inch guns under C. H. L. Woodhouse; and the 7,000-ton New Zealand light cruiser *Achilles* with eight six-inch and four four-inch under W. E. Parry. Eight minutes later, they sight the *Graf Spee* approaching out of the South Atlantic, making toward Uruguay to refuel.

Action commences at 6:14 a.m., when the *Ajax* and the *Achilles* open fire at a range of 19,000 yards, while the *Exeter* turns westward to divide the *Graf Spee*'s targeting. Langsdorff concentrates his counterfire against the *Exeter*, believing that he has encountered only a British cruiser and two destroyers. The *Exeter* is struck repeatedly by accurate German salvos, and by 6:50 has a heavy list to starboard, only

one of its three main turrets remaining in action. Meanwhile, the two British light cruisers steadily shell the *Graf Spee*, while closing the range. At 7:16, Langsdorff begins circling south toward the crippled *Exeter*, prompting Woodhouse and Parry to turn in this same direction and intercede, driving the German raider northwestward. At 7:25, the *Ajax* is struck by an 11-inch shell and loses use of both its aft turrets; 13 minutes later, its topmast is also brought down by a hit. The British thereupon make smoke and break off the action two minutes later.

The *Graf Spee* continues toward the River Plate, closely shadowed by the limping British cruisers, which the *Graf Spee* occasionally turns to bombard. Langsdorff enters Montevideo that same evening, and although technically allowed to remain in a neutral port for only 24 hours, receives a 72-hour extension to repair his damaged ship. Harwood meanwhile detaches the *Exeter* toward the Falklands and maintains a steady stream of false wireless traffic,

suggesting that strong reinforcements—the 22,000-ton aircraft carrier *Ark Royal* and 32,000-ton battle-cruiser *Renown*—have already joined him rather than being several hundred miles distant.

Convinced that he cannot break out against such odds, Langsdorff—after consulting via wireless with Hitler and Grand Adm. Erich Raeder in Berlin—weighs anchor at 6:15 p.m. on December 17 and stands out of Montevideo, trailed by the German merchantman *Tacoma* and two Argentine tugs. A short distance out, he and his crew transfer aboard their consorts, then the *Graf Spee* is scuttled at 7:56, exploding shortly thereafter. Three days later, amid criticisms of his performance, Langsdorff commits suicide in Buenos Aires.

JUNE 22, 1940. A German *Blitzkrieg* or “lightning offensive” smashes through northern France, whose government collapses and signs ruinous capitulation terms with the Nazis.

That same day, the 22,100-ton aircraft carrier *Béarn* arrives at Fort-de-France (Martinique), having reversed course in the mid-Atlantic while bound from Halifax toward France with 107 planes purchased from the United States; two days later, the 5,900-ton light cruiser *Émile Bertin* also enters port, bearing 300 tons of the Bank of France’s gold reserves, which are to be secured underground in Fort Desaix for safekeeping. These vessels, along with the 6,500-ton training cruiser *Jeanne d’Arc*, the 2,600-ton destroyer *Terrible*, plus numerous lesser consorts, will comprise the 2,500-man squadron of 65-year-old vice admiral Georges Joseph Robert, already stationed at Fort-de-France as *haut commissaire* or “high commissioner” and military commander in chief for the entire French Antilles and Guiana.

This French naval presence takes on added significance eight days later when the British—until recently, France’s allies—destroy a large French fleet anchored at the North African port of Mers-el-Kebir near Oran on July 3; the British are fearful that these warships are about to be handed over to the victorious Germans and Italians as indemnity. Immediately upon learning of this bombardment, in which 1,300 French sailors have perished, Robert commands the visiting British cruiser HMS *Fiji* to depart Fort-de-France, then places all his forces upon alert against any similar attempt, even issuing orders to fire upon any approaching Royal Navy formation.

One week later, a new French regime is created at Vichy, and Adm. Jean Darlan emerges as one of its

cabinet ministers. Personally loyal to his naval superior, Robert consequently aligns Martinique and other French colonies in the Americas under Vichy control.

JULY 24, 1940. Roosevelt declares “all aid [to Britain] short of war,” exemplified by his offer to exchange 50 old “four-piper” U.S. Navy destroyers for 99-year leases on British air and sea bases stretching from Canada to the Caribbean. This deal is ratified on September 2.

Vichy France

The German *Blitzkrieg* that cut through northern France in the spring of 1940 did not overrun that entire nation. The defeated French were left in control of the central portion of their country, plus its Mediterranean coastline, overseas colonies, and navy. When disheartened members of the National Assembly gathered at the small inland city of Vichy on July 10 to ratify this humiliating surrender, ex-Premier Pierre Laval persuaded them to create an entirely new regime. It was headed by the elderly marshal Henri Pétain as president.

Not surprisingly, this new administration was marked by weakness and an unseemly collaboration with the Germans. Conservative reactionaries gravitated around Pétain, attributing France’s collapse to its social inadequacies. Even the proud national motto of *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* or “Liberty, equality, fraternity” changed into the milder *Travail, famille, patrie* or “Work, family, homeland.” More ominously, many members would seek a place in Hitler’s brutal “new order” for Europe. Such pro-Nazi proclivities created contempt and suspicion abroad, especially in America.

When Adm. Jean Darlan accepted the position of minister of marine in this new Vichy cabinet, his naval subordinate Georges Joseph Robert at Fort-de-France ensured that Martinique and other French colonies passed under Vichy control. But when America’s entry into the war in December 1941 was accompanied by a vigorous U-boat offensive, U.S. forces quickly moved to isolate these Vichy outposts in the Antilles. Despite France’s neutrality, they were suspected of providing shelter and supplies to the Germans. And when Hitler finally sent his armies into the remainder of France and incorporated it into his Reich less than a year later, the last traces of Vichy rule were swept away. In the Americas, France’s colonies were seized in the name of the “Free French” movement led by generals Charles de Gaulle and Henri Giraud.

JULY 28, 1940. Capt. Otto Kähler's disguised German merchant-raider *Thor*—code-named *Schiff 10* by Berlin and Raider "E" by London—engages the British armed merchant-cruiser *Alcantara* near Trinidad Island (Brazil), severely damaging its over-matched opponent before disappearing back out into the Atlantic.

DECEMBER 5, 1940. The *Thor* engages the British armed merchant-cruiser *Carnarvon Castle* southeast of Brazil (30°52' S, 42°53' W), mauling it without receiving any damage.

MARCH 11, 1941. The U.S. Congress passes the Lend-Lease Act, whereby the government can lend arms, munitions, and supplies to nations whose interests "the President deems vital to the defense of the United States"—namely, Britain and its satellites.

Four days later, warships of Adm. Ernest J. King's Atlantic Fleet are ordered to return into port to have their peacetime color scheme replaced by gray camouflage, and a "Support Group" is formed this same month, consisting of three destroyer flotillas and five flying boat squadrons.

APRIL 4, 1941. British warships are allowed to refit in American yards, the battleships HMSS *Malaya* and *Resolution* being among the first to avail themselves of this recourse.

APRIL 7, 1941. U.S. air bases are opened on Greenland and Bermuda.

APRIL 10, 1941. Roosevelt outlines plans for four U.S. task forces to patrol the Atlantic and broadcast the positions of any U-boats that they find.

APRIL 11, 1941. Washington decides to extend the American security zone farther out into the Atlantic, from longitude 60° to 26° W, announcing this measure one week later.

APRIL 19, 1941. In Mexico, Rear Adm. Luis Hurtado de Mendoza—on orders from President Ávila Camacho—sends marines from the 31st Battalion to impound nine Italian vessels idled at Tampico, plus another three German merchantmen at Veracruz.

MAY 15, 1941. The U.S. Navy takes over the leased British base of Argentina in southeastern Newfoundland.

MAY 27, 1941. Roosevelt announces an "unlimited national emergency."

JUNE 1, 1941. The United States agrees to help defend Iceland.

JULY 7, 1941. A U.S. marine brigade, backed by naval forces, relieves the British garrison at Reykjavik (Iceland).

JULY 19, 1941. The U.S. Navy is ordered to escort shipping of any nationality to and from Iceland.

AUGUST 10, 1941. British prime minister Winston Churchill and Roosevelt meet at Argentina, signing an understanding known as the "Atlantic Charter."

SEPTEMBER 4, 1941. Washington orders implementation of "Western Hemisphere Defense Plan Number 4," which authorizes U.S. Navy escorts to include non-American vessels in their convoys and Canadian warships to escort American vessels.

This same day, south of Iceland, the German *U-652*—after being tracked for three hours by the U.S. destroyer *Greer*—fires two torpedoes at its tormentor, which miss.

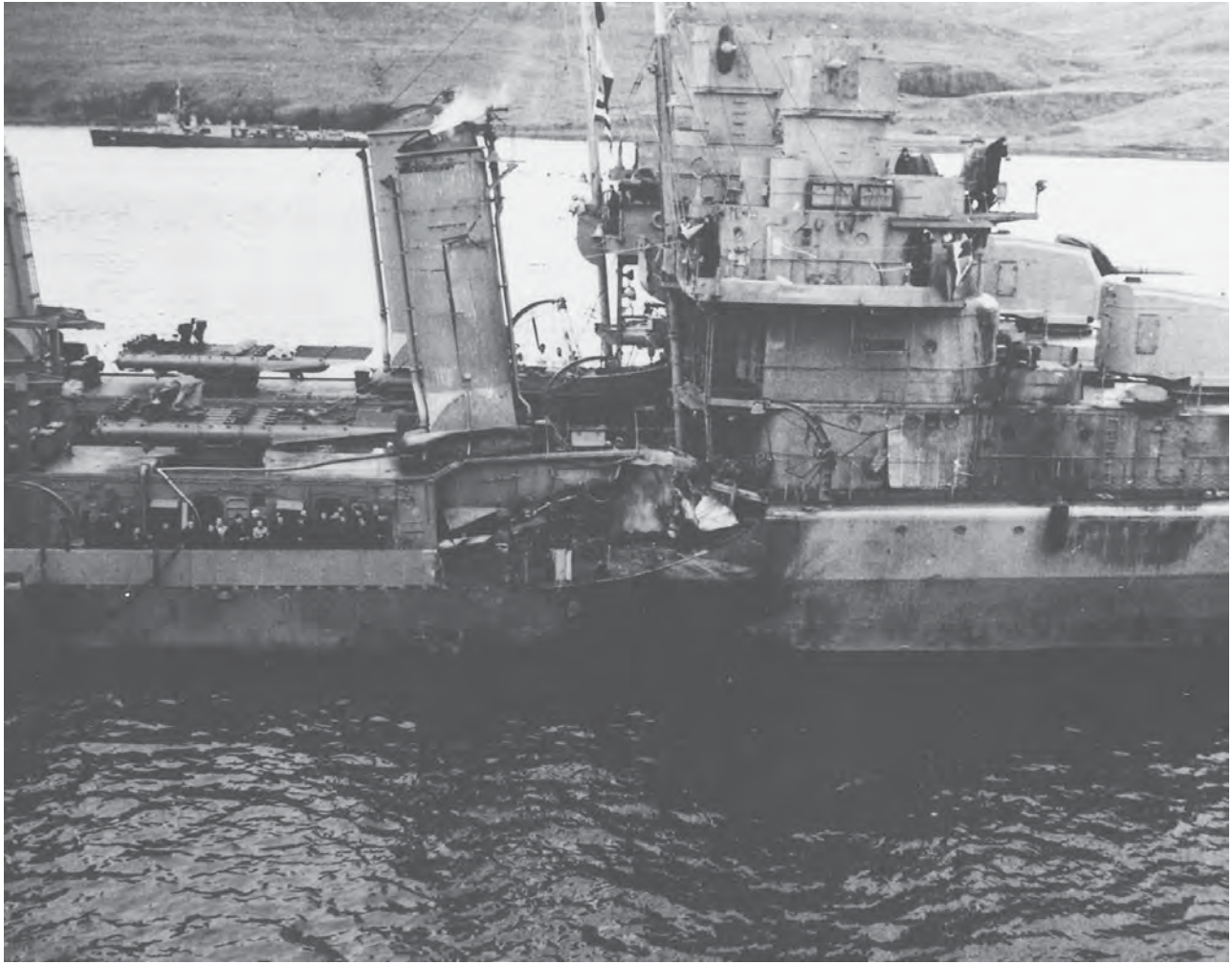
SEPTEMBER 16, 1941. The Halifax-to-England convoy HX-150 sails with a U.S. Navy escort.

OCTOBER 17, 1941. Responding to a nocturnal attack upon convoy SC-48 by a German wolf pack, the U.S. destroyer *Kearny* is struck amidships by a torpedo, killing 11 of its crew members.

OCTOBER 31, 1941. Just after dawn, the old, 1,200-ton, U.S. "four-piper" destroyer *Reuben James* (DD-245)—escorting convoy HX-156—is struck by a German torpedo, breaking in two and going down within five minutes with 115 of its 160-man crew.

NOVEMBER 7, 1941. U.S. merchantmen are authorized to arm themselves.

DECEMBER 8, 1941. The day after attacking Pearl Harbor (Hawaii), various other Japanese expeditions surprise the British protectorate of Hong Kong and invade Malaya and Thailand, while carrier-based Japanese aircraft bombard U.S. airfields in the Philippines. Over the next few weeks, these offensives will



Damage sustained by the U.S. destroyer Kearny from a German torpedo in the North Atlantic prior to the United States' entry into World War II. The vessel is tied up beside its sister ship in Iceland. (U.S. Naval Institute)

secure virtually all of Southeast Asia, against only token resistance.

DECEMBER 9, 1941. Germany and Italy, Japan's Axis partners in Europe, declare war against the United States.

DECEMBER 11, 1941. Cuba joins the United States and declares war on the Axis powers.

DECEMBER 20, 1941. The 3,250-ton, long-range, Free French submarine *Surcouf* (the largest submersible in the world) departs Halifax in company with the corvettes *Mimosa*, *Aconit*, and *Alysse* to wrest the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon from Vichy control four days later.

JANUARY 12, 1942. *U-Boat Offensive.* Contrary to instructions from Adm. Karl Dönitz, Lt. Reinhard

Hardegen's 740-ton, Type-IXB submarine *U-123*—after stealthily departing Lorient in occupied France on December 23—sinks the 9,000-ton British liner *Cyclops* of Capt. Lesley Webber Kersley 300 miles off Cape Cod (Massachusetts), thus forewarning American and Canadian authorities of the shift of U-boat operations out of the mid-Atlantic closer to North America.

The German high command has originally hoped to unleash a surprise offensive code-named Operation *PAUKENSCHLAG* or "DRUMBEAT" as of January 13 by launching coordinated strikes all the way from the Saint Lawrence River mouth to Cape Hatteras, using Hardegen's craft plus four other 1,200-ton Type-IXC boats: *U-66* of Cmdr. Richard Zapp, *U-109* of Lt. Heinrich Bleichrodt, *U-125* of Lt. Ulrich Folkers, and *U-130* of Cmdr. Ernst Kals.

At 1:00 a.m. of January 13, Kals sinks the Norwegian steamer *Frisco* in the Gulf of Saint Lawrence,

followed eight hours later by the Panamanian vessel *Friar Rock*. Hardegen surfaces 60 miles off Long Island's Montauk Point (New York) on the morning of January 14, claiming the tanker *Norness*, the tanker *Coimbra* the next day, and the steamer *San Jose* on January 17. The next day, *U-66* sinks the tanker *Allan Jackson*, while Hardegen adds another three vessels to his kills on January 19. Two days later, Kals destroys the tanker *Alexander Hoegh* south of Cape Breton, after which numerous other attacks ensue.

All told, these five U-boats claim 26 Allied vessels during their two-week patrol, totaling 163,000 tons of shipping. After the fierce combat conditions experienced against Royal Navy warships closer to Europe, German submariners are delighted by their North American foes' lack of preparedness: cities are fully illuminated, buoys and beacons are still in place, and merchantmen are running undarkened and alone, with only a few inexperienced escorts. Recalling their easy hunts of 1940, the U-boat crews dub this period their second "happy time."

As these first five submarines retire, another quintet of Type-IXC boats arrives—Werner Winter's *U-103*, Hermann Rasch's *U-106*, Harald Gelhaus's *U-107*, Klaus Scholtz's *U-108*, and Ulric Heyse's *U-128*—to claim another 19 merchantmen by February 12, totaling 127,000 tons.

JANUARY 21, 1942. Eight smaller Type-VIIC submarines—Rollman's *U-82*, Greger's *U-85*, Gysae's *U-98*, Reinhard Suhren's *U-564*, Borchert's *U-566*, Heinicke's *U-576*, Gerhard Bigalk's *U-751*, and Oestermann's *U-754*—arrive to patrol from the Newfoundland Banks to Nova Scotia. Because of harsh winter conditions, they only sink 13 Allied merchantmen, totaling 74,000 tons, before withdrawing on February 19.

FEBRUARY 10, 1942. A third wave of German submarines arrives off North America, consisting of 3 Type-IXC boats—Adolf Piening's *U-155*, Erich Rostin's *U-158*, and Poske's *U-504*—plus 10 VIICs: Zahn's *U-69*, Otto Ites's *U-94*, Lehmann-Willenbrock's *U-96*, Otto von Bulow's *U-404*, Heinz-Otto Schultze's *U-432*, Gunther Krech's *U-558*, Ernst Rehwinkel's *U-578*, Ulrich Borchardt's *U-587*, Gerhard Feiler's *U-653*, and Kröning's *U-656*. By March 20, they claim 34 Allied merchantmen totaling 184,000 tons, principally south of Long Island (New York). With few escort ships or aircraft, American rear admiral Adolphus Andrews—commander of the "Eastern Sea Frontier"—is powerless to halt this onslaught.

FEBRUARY 16, 1942. *Caribbean Theater.* At 2:01 a.m., inaugurating a new offensive into West Indian waters code-named Operation NEULAND, Lt. Werner Hartenstein's Type-IXC submarine *U-156* torpedoes the 4,000-ton tanker *Pedernales* at anchor inside San Nicholas Harbor on the island of Aruba, followed by the *Oranjestad*. After reloading, he furthermore strikes the 6,400-ton American tanker *Arkansas* at 3:43 a.m., before unsuccessfully attempting to shell the Standard Oil refinery and some oil tanks ashore, then exiting.

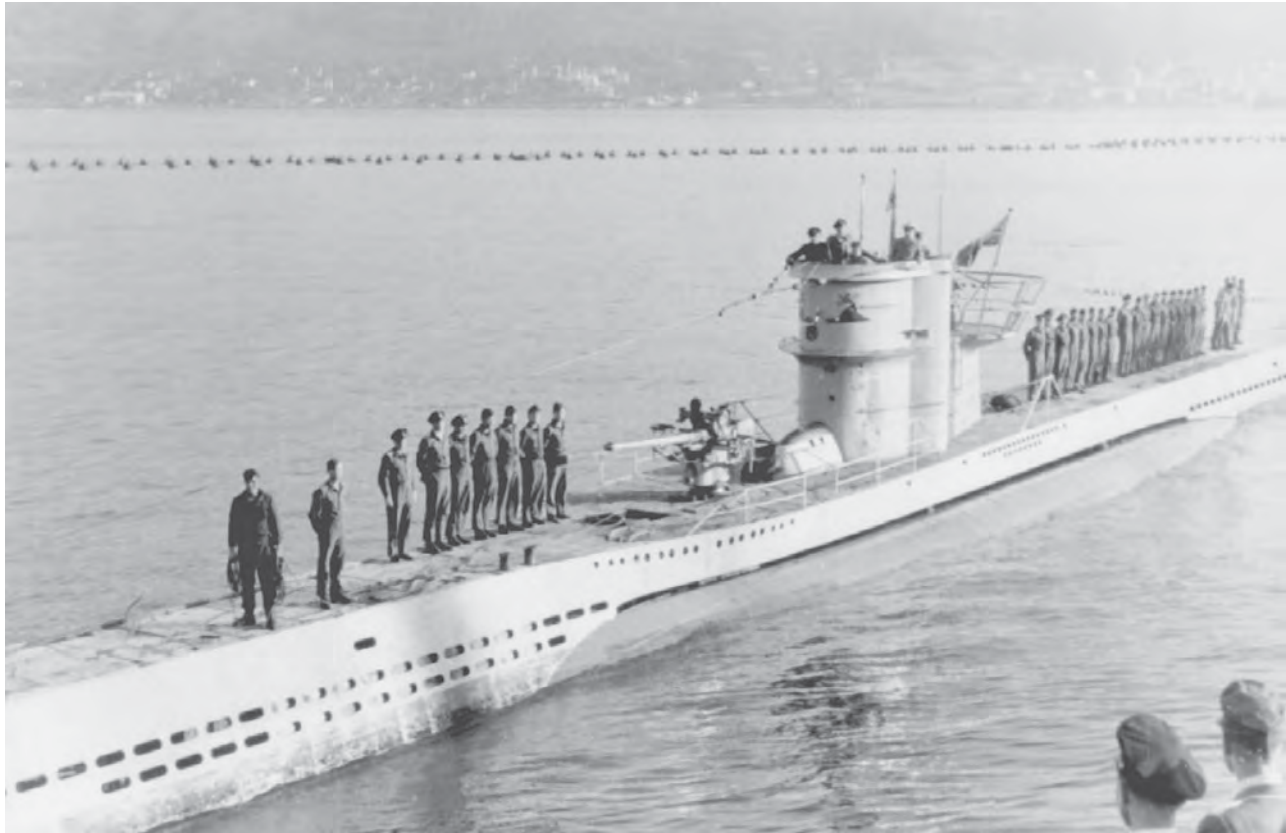
At 4:35 a.m., his consort *U-67* under Lt. Gunther Muller-Stockheim torpedoes three tankers outside of Willemstad on the neighboring island of Curaçao, although only the 3,100-ton *Rafaela* actually burns and sinks; also prior to sunup, *U-502* of Jürgen von Rosenstiel destroys the tankers *Tía Juana* and *San Nicholas* inside the Gulf of Venezuela.

FEBRUARY 18, 1942. After a stealthy, daylong penetration into the main anchorage at Port-of-Spain

Type-VIIC U-Boat

First commissioned in 1940 as a slightly improved version of the successful Type-VIIB, the somewhat larger and heavier VIIC boats were to become the workhorse of the German submarine service for the remainder of World War II. A total of 568 were eventually launched, each measuring roughly 200 feet in length and 20 feet in width, while displacing 1,000 tons. Armament consisted of four torpedo tubes in the bow and one in the stern for firing the 14 torpedoes that each boat typically carried. There was also a fixed heavy deck gun and some removable machine guns. Speed on the surface was 18 knots or 20 miles an hour, less than half that while submerged. Maximum dive depth was 750 feet. Crews usually consisted of 45 to 50 men.

With an operating range of only 5,100 miles on a single load of fuel, Type-VIIC boats could not remain in American waters for as long as the larger Type-IXCs, so they tended to see more service in the West European approaches. Still, many Type-VIICs participated in the initial wave of raids off the eastern seaboard of the United States and in the Caribbean, until improved Allied defensive measures and patrols by land-based aircraft forced all German submarines to retreat back out into the North Atlantic by September 1942. Although Type-VIIC boats continued to be upgraded throughout the last two and a half years of the conflict, their basic design remained unchanged. They eventually became obsolete, being hunted into virtual extinction by sonar-equipped Allied aircraft and "hunter-killer" naval squadrons.



U-255, a Type-VIIC U-boat, approaching its berth in Bergen, Norway. (U.S. Naval Historical Center)

on the British island of Trinidad, Lt. Albrecht Achilles's Type-IXC *U-161* torpedoes the 7,400-ton American freighter *Mokihana* and the British tanker *British Consul* at 11:35 p.m., then escapes in the resultant confusion. The next afternoon, the 7,200-ton British freighter *Scottish Star* is sunk far to the east of this island by the Marconi-class Italian submarine *Luigi Torelli* of Captain de Giacomo; while at 10:00 p.m. that same night of February 19, *U-129* of Lt. Cmdr. Nicoli Clausen destroys the small Norwegian tanker *Nordvangen* two miles off Galera Point.

Over the ensuing month, these five German U-boats will wreak havoc in the virtually defenseless Caribbean zone, claiming 41 Allied merchantmen totaling 222,651 tons, while heavily damaging 11 more vessels. Farther east out in its Atlantic approaches, numerous other sinkings are made by the *Luigi Torelli* and its Marconi-class sister submarine *Leonardo da Vinci* under Captain Longanes Cattani, the Pietro Calvi-class *Giuseppe Finzi* of Captain Guidice and the *Enrico Tazzoli* of Captain Fecia di Cossato, plus the Marcello-class *Morsini* of Captain Fraternali.

MARCH 1942. After repeated complaints about merchantmen being silhouetted at night against illuminated cities, Lt. Gen. Hugh Drum—chief of the U.S. Army's "Eastern Defense Command"—introduces blackouts.

MARCH 1, 1942. *U-656* goes down with all hands 25 miles south-southeast of Cape Race (Massachusetts), destroyed by American aircraft of the 88th Squadron.

APRIL 1, 1942. The first of 10 British corvettes and two-dozen 900-ton antisubmarine trawlers reach New York to bolster American naval efforts against the U-boats. A convoy system is also inaugurated shortly thereafter between Hampton Roads (Virginia) and Key West (Florida), and although German submarines continue to claim a heavy toll, losses eventually decline.

APRIL 4, 1942. The Type-IXC *U-154* of Lt. Cmdr. Walter Kolle sinks the 5,000-ton American tanker *Comol Rico* north of Puerto Rico, signaling the arrival of a second wave of German submarines into

the Caribbean. Over the ensuing month, it is followed by *U-66* under Zapp, *U-130* under Kals, *U-108* under Scholtz, *U-125* under Folkers, *U-507* of Harro Schacht, *U-162* of Jurgen Wattenburg (former navigation officer of the *Graf Spee*), *U-69* under Ulrich Graf, *U-558* of Gunther Krech, *U-502* under von Rosenstiel, *U-103* under Winter, *U-155* under Piening, *U-107* under Gelhaus, *U-156* under Hartenstein, *U-106* under Rasch, *U-68* of Cmdr. Karl Friedrich Merten, *U-159* of Helmut Witte, *U-172* of Carl Emmermann, *U-504* under Poske, *U-751* under Bigalk, *U-753* of Alfred von Manstein, and *U-755* of Walter Göing. By the end of May, they will have sunk 72 Allied merchantmen representing 364,000 tons; in June, they will claim another 76 vessels totaling 378,000 tons.

APRIL 20, 1942. The 1,700-ton, Type-XIV German supply submarine *U-459* (nicknamed a “milch cow”) arrives off Bermuda, eventually refueling 14 boats. Such measures allow U-boats to remain on patrol somewhat longer rather than risk the lengthy return voyage into their home ports in Western Europe.

MAY 9, 1942. Rathke’s *U-352* attempts to torpedo the American Coast Guard cutter *Icarus* off Cape Lookout (North Carolina), missing and being sunk in turn.

MAY 13, 1942. While sailing past Miami, the neutral Mexican oil-tanker *Potrero del Llano* is sunk by a German submarine, with the loss of 15 of its 35-man crew. The Mexican government lodges a protest with Berlin, which is ignored.

MAY 20, 1942. The Mexican merchantman *Faja de Oro* is sunk near Key West by a German submarine, resulting in the death of 8 of its 36-man crew.

MAY 22, 1942. Mexico declares war against the Axis powers.

MAY 25, 1942. Suspecting German submarines are receiving support from Vichy French collaborators on Martinique, the destroyers USS *Blakeley* and *Ellis*, plus a smaller patrol cutter, have been inspecting every vessel entering or departing Fort-de-France for evidence of clandestine contacts. This morning, Hartenstein’s *U-156* spots the *Blakeley* patrolling inshore and blows off its bow with a torpedo. The heavily damaged American destroyer staggers into port,

while Hartenstein requests permission by wireless from U-boat headquarters in Lorient to enter and finish it off. This is denied, and the *Blakeley* is rescued shortly thereafter by the destroyers USS *Breckenridge*, *Greer*, and *Tarbell*, plus two PBY “Catalina” flying boats of the U.S. Navy Patrol Squadron 53.

MAY 26, 1942. Vice Adm. Boshiro Hosogaya departs the port of Omimato in northern Honshu (Japan) to initiate an operation code-named “AL,” ostensibly intended to occupy the Aleutian islands of Attu and Kiska, yet actually designed as a diversion for Adm. Isoroku Yamamoto’s much larger effort against Midway. Hosogaya sets sail with his flag aboard the 15,000-ton, 775-man heavy cruiser *Nachi*, accompanied by the 5,500-ton, 440-man light cruiser *Abukuma*, the 2,000-ton destroyers *Ikazuchi* and *Inazuma*, plus two oilers and three transports. They are escorting Rear Admiral Omori’s “Attu Invasion Force,” consisting of the 1,800-ton destroyers *Hatsuharu*, *Hatsushimo*, *Wakaba*, and *Nenohi*; the transport *Kinugasa Maru*; and minelayer *Magane Maru*.

On the afternoon of May 28, Rear Adm. Kakuji Kakuta also sets sail from Omimato with the 12,750-ton, 1,000-man light carrier *Ryujo* bearing 37 planes and the 27,000-ton, 1,250-man carrier *Junyo* bearing 53 planes; the 15,000-ton heavy cruisers *Maya* and *Takao*; the 2,100-ton destroyers *Akebono*, *Ushio*, *Sazanami*, and *Shiokaze*; plus the seaplane tender *Kimikawa Maru*. This whole second formation is designated as the Fifth Fleet, Northern Force, Second Strike Force and is to launch covering air strikes against Dutch Harbor in the Aleutians six days later. Kakuta is also escorting Capt. Takeji Ono’s “Kiska Invasion Force,” comprising the 5,800-ton light cruiser *Tama*, the 2,000-ton destroyers *Akatsuki* and *Hokaze*, plus six transports.

MAY 30, 1942. This morning, Rear Adm. Raizo Tanaka sets sail from northern Japan with the 5,600-ton light cruiser *Jintsu*, plus the 2,500-ton destroyers *Kuroshio*, *Oyashio*, *Hatsukaze*, *Amatsukaze*, *Tokitsukaze*, and *Shiranui*, as well as the 2,400-ton *Kasumi*, *Kagero*, and *Arare*, plus an oil-tanker—all designated as Second Fleet–Escort Force—to convey 15 additional transports bearing 5,000 Imperial Army troops, who are actually to hold the islands of Attu and Kiska.

JUNE 3, 1942. At 3:00 a.m., Rear Admiral Kakuta—steaming 180 miles southwest of Dutch Harbor—launches 14 attack planes and 3 fighters from his



German prisoners from the sunken submarine U-352 being brought ashore at Charleston, South Carolina, for internment. (U.S. National Archives)

light carrier *Ruyjo*, plus 15 bombers and 13 fighters from the *Junyo*. Because of bad weather, only 9 of the *Ruyjo*'s attack planes and 3 fighters manage to find Dutch Harbor five hours later.

Radar aboard the anchored seaplane tender USS *Gillis* has given the Americans a brief advance warning, but the destroyer *Talbot*, submarine S-27, a Coast Guard cutter, two U.S. Army transports, and other lesser vessels are unable to exit in time. (Rear Adm. Robert A. Theobald's Task Force 8—consisting of the heavy cruisers *Indianapolis* and *Louisville*; the light cruisers *Nashville* (flag), *St. Louis*, and *Honolulu*; plus the destroyers *Gridley*, *Gilmer*, *McCall*, and *Humphreys*—are on patrol several hundred miles farther to the south.) The Japanese planes are met with heavy anti-aircraft fire, plus a few P-40 fighters, claiming one bomber. Nevertheless, the attackers set the American oil-tank farm ablaze, destroy several parked PBVs,

and damage the army barracks at Fort Mears before retiring by 8:30 a.m.

The air-strike commander informs Kakuta that five U.S. destroyers and two submarines are also lying in Makushin Bay, prompting the Japanese admiral to launch a second wave at 9:45 a.m.: 14 attack planes, 15 bombers, 12 fighters, and 4 observation planes. They are unable to locate their target in the fog and return to their carriers by 10:50 a.m., landing over the next hour—having skirmished with some P-40s en route and lost a Zero. Kakuta thereupon turns southwestward to make a preinvasion bombardment of Adak Island, only to turn back again because of foul weather. (The Japanese invasion of Adak is later canceled.)

This same evening, Rear Adm. Takeo Kurita sets sail eastward from Paramushiro Island with the Second Fleet, Occupation Support Force—the 14,000–

ton heavy cruisers *Kumano*, *Mogami*, *Mikuma*, and *Suzuya*; the 2,400-ton destroyers *Arashio* and *Asashio*, as well as the 2,500-ton *Hayashio*; plus the seaplane tenders *Chitose* and *Kamikawa Maru*—to help cover the forthcoming landings on Attu and Kiska.

JUNE 5, 1942. *Aleutian Invasion.* This morning, Tanaka's expedition arrives off Attu, his trailing troop transports arriving two days afterward to disembark their charges without resistance. The island garrison will eventually rise to almost 3,000 men.

At 4:00 this same afternoon of June 5, several hundred miles farther to the east, Kakuta's carrier force launches another strike against the American base at Dutch Harbor, dispatching 9 attack planes, 11 bombers, and 11 fighters. They complete the destruction of Dutch Harbor's oil-tank farm, plus severely damage the beached barracks-ship *Northwestern*. While this air raid is going on, the Japanese carriers are attacked by U.S. B-17 and B-26 bombers, which score a few near misses, although losing two of their number. The Japanese carrier planes thereupon return, having lost two fighters.

JUNE 13, 1942. The U.S. Coast Guard cutter *Thetis* (WPC 115) surprises *U-157* of Lt. Cmdr. Wolf

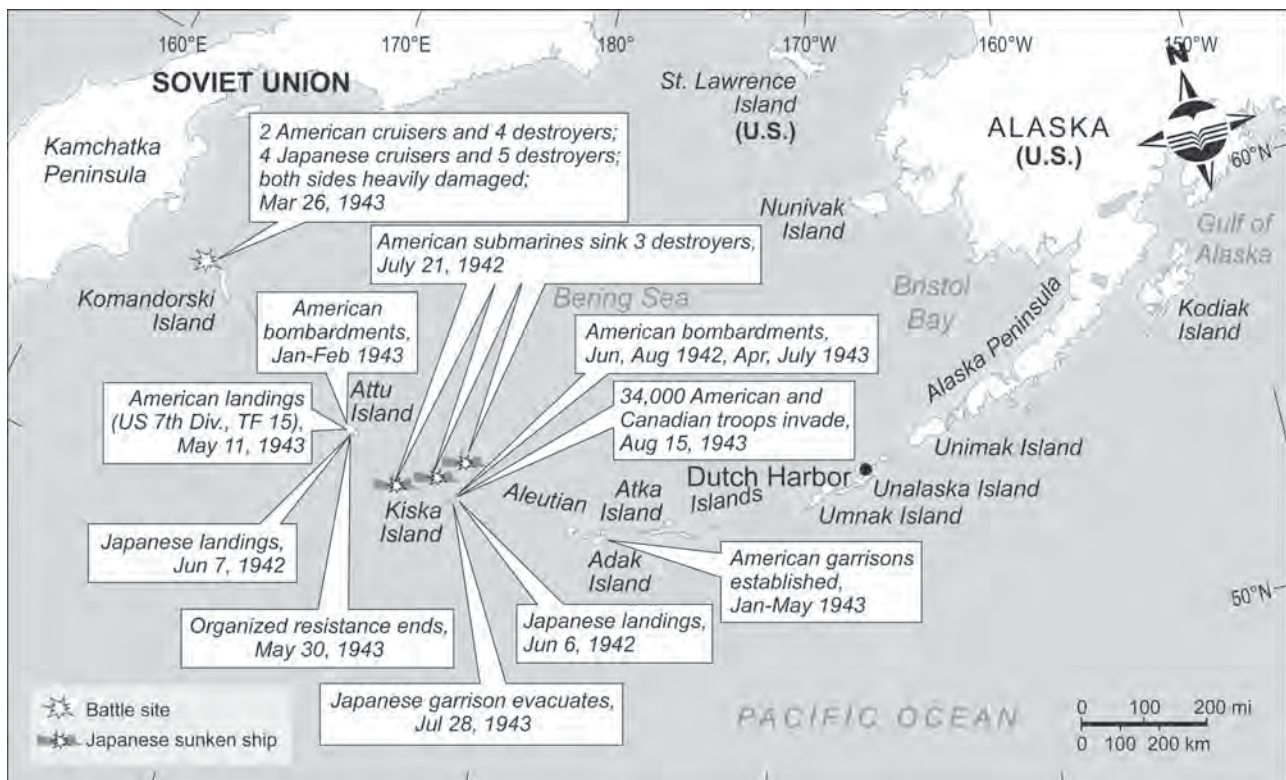
Henne, which has surfaced 30 miles from Key West in the Straits of Florida, and destroys it when the German submarine belatedly attempts a crash dive.

JULY 4, 1942. The American submarine *Triton* torpedoes the 1,800-ton Japanese destroyer *Nenohi*, which is off the Aleutian island of Agattu as escort for the seaplane tender *Kamikawa Maru*. Only 36 of the *Nenohi*'s 228-man crew are saved.

JULY 5, 1942. Off Kiska, the U.S. submarine *Growler* (SS-215) of Lt. Cmdr. Howard W. Gilmore sinks the 2,400-ton Japanese destroyer *Arare*, plus severely damaging its consorts *Shiranui* and *Kasumi*.

AUGUST 1, 1942. One week after laying a dozen mines 600 yards off the mouth of the Mississippi Delta, *U-166* of Jr. Lt. Hans-Gunther Kuhlmann is sunk by planes of U.S. Coast Guard Squadron 212.

AUGUST 7, 1942. Rear Adm. William W. Smith's Task Group 8.6—the heavy cruisers *Louisville* and *Indianapolis*; light cruisers *Nashville*, *Honolulu*, and *St. Louis*; plus the destroyers *Elliot*, *Reid*, *Case*, *Gridley*, and *McCall*—shells the Japanese installations on Kiska.



Aleutian Invasion.

AUGUST 22, 1942. Seven months after severing diplomatic relations with the Axis powers because of merchant losses due to U-boats, Brazil declares war against Germany, Italy, and Japan when *U-507* sinks five freighters directly off its coast. In addition to helping defend the South Atlantic against enemy submarines, this country will eventually send a *Força Expedicionária Brasileira* or “Brazilian Expeditionary Force” to fight in Italy, which distinguishes itself during the Battle of Monte Cassino.

AUGUST 30, 1942. American forces reoccupy Adak Island, constructing runways within the next couple of weeks that are capable of sending air strikes against Japanese-held Kiska and Attu, farther to the west.

SEPTEMBER 1942. Discouraged by declining results because of the implementation of regular convoys and other defensive measures, Dönitz withdraws the bulk of his U-boats from American coastal waters to instead attack shipping farther out in the Atlantic, beyond the range of land-based aircraft. Technological innovations, such as radar and asdic, plus mass production of improved vessels and weaponry, will eventually allow the Allies to hunt German submarines into virtual extinction.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1942. Cuba signs an agreement with the United States allowing a flotilla of a dozen American-manned patrol vessels to operate out of Havana under Cuban colors.

OCTOBER 16, 1942. A U.S. air raid against Kiska sinks the 2,100-ton destroyer *Oboru* with all 200 hands, while the 1,800-ton destroyer *Hatsuharu* is severely damaged.

NOVEMBER 8, 1942. American forces land in Morocco and Algeria, encountering no resistance from its French colonial garrisons. Vichy minister of marine Darlan, who happens to be in Algiers, even switches allegiance and orders the main French battle fleet to escape from Toulon and join the Allied cause, which is preempted when the Germans quickly overrun the remainder of France and incorporate this territory into their Reich.

Given these changed circumstances—France now being completely occupied by Germany and its Vichy administration openly cooperating with the Nazis—Washington grows impatient with Admiral Robert’s continuing refusal to align himself with

the Free French; therefore, as of November 13, a diplomatic delegation compels him to immobilize his warships and remove propellers from his planes at Fort-de-France, after which the U.S. Navy also institutes a blockade of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and French Guiana.

JANUARY 12, 1943. American forces reoccupy Amchitka, 60 miles from Kiska, and begin building airstrips.

MARCH 19, 1943. With French Guiana’s economy stalled and unrest brewing among its populace, its governor cables Gen. Henri Giraud in North Africa, switching allegiance from the Vichy to the Free French cause. With U.S. assistance, a Giraud representative soon arrives and assumes control over this South American colony, despite a conflicting claim

Brazilian Expeditionary Force

Soon after declaring war against the Axis powers, Brazil began raising a *Força Expedicionária Brasileira*. This “Brazilian Expeditionary Force” or FEB was to join the Allied armies encircling Europe. Command was given in October 1943 to the diminutive 60-year-old general João Batista Mascarenhas de Moraes. The next month, he visited the Mediterranean front, while FEB training was being conducted with American help. His force adopted a cigar-smoking cobra as their crest to refute those skeptics who scoffed that “it would be easier for a cobra to smoke a cigar, than for Brazil to participate in the war.”

The first 5,000 men departed under Gen. Zenóbio da Costa in July 1944 to become part of U.S. general Mark Clark’s 5th Army in Italy. The Brazilians won their first victories in September at Massarosa, Camaione, and Monte Prano. The FEB was joined by more contingents, eventually numbering 25,300 men. Early the next year, they fought bravely while breaching the German “Gothic Line” during the bitter battle for Monte Cassino. The last Nazi forces in Italy capitulated by May 2, 1945. Some 454 fallen Brazilians were buried in the Allied graveyard at Pistoia, and another 1,000 were wounded.

The FEB returned triumphantly to Brazil in July 1945, only to be disbanded and its officers dispersed by President Getúlio Vargas. He feared the influence of this battle-hardened army in his autocratic regime. Being widely regarded as national heroes, they indeed came to exert considerable political influence, helping depose the dictator that October and becoming known as the *febianos*.

by the original Free French leader, Gen. Charles de Gaulle. By the end of that same month, American troops take over all of French Guiana's bases and broker an arrangement to station antisubmarine aircraft at Gallion Field.

Combat planes are further marshaled on the island of St. Lucia, and a task force is assembled around the brand-new fleet-carrier USS *Essex*, plus other warships, to prevent any attempted Vichy counter coup by Admiral Robert's squadron from Martinique.

MARCH 22, 1943. The United States officially gives 10 patrol vessels to Cuba, which are already operating out of Havana.

MARCH 26, 1943. *Komandorski Islands.* At 5:00 a.m., Vice Admiral Hosogaya is steaming north toward the Komandorski Islands with the 15,000-ton heavy cruisers *Nachi* and *Maya*; the 5,800-ton light cruisers *Tama* and *Abukuma*; the 1,800-ton destroyers *Wakaba* and *Hatsushimo*, and 2,000-ton *Ikazuchi* and *Inazuma*; plus the transports *Asaka Maru* and *Sakito Maru*, bearing reinforcements and supplies for the Attu garrison. (The 2,100-ton destroyer *Usugumo* is supposed to join later, with a third transport.)

Twenty miles southeast on a parallel course runs Rear Adm. Charles H. McMorris's Task Force 16.6 in two columns: the destroyer *Coughlan*, light cruiser *Richmond*, plus destroyers *Bailey* and *Dale* in the nearest one, with the heavy cruiser *Salt Lake City* and destroyer *Monaghan* five miles farther to the east. They are part of a larger American fleet intent on disrupting Japanese supply routes between Siberia's Kamchatka Peninsula and the Aleutians.

The U.S. vessels spot their opponents on radar and begin forming into a single column. A few minutes later, Japanese lookouts also sight this movement, and Hosogaya turns southeast in a double column at 5:30 a.m. to offer battle (detaching the *Inazuma* to escort the transports northwestward, away from danger). McMorris's two cruisers are by now screened on either side by a pair of U.S. destroyers and turn westward in hopes of overtaking the vanishing Japanese transports.

Both sides open fire at 5:42 a.m., at approximately 20,000 yards' range. The Japanese cruisers split into two pairs, the *Abukuma* and the *Tama* steering southwestward, while the *Nachi* and the *Maya* continue southeastward, exchanging salvos with the *Salt Lake City*. There ensues a cautious long-range bombardment until 7:15 a.m., when the American heavy cruiser—after being hit for a third time—

requests a smoke screen from its destroyer escort, then breaks off the action by 9:00 a.m. Hosogaya subsequently leads his convoy back to Paramushiro by March 28, and one month later is retired from the service in disgrace for not having accomplished more against such an inferior American force during this engagement.

MAY 11, 1943. *Reconquest of Attu.* Leapfrogging 170 miles past the main Japanese concentration on Kiska, Rear Adm. Thomas C. Kincaid's Task Force 16 and Rear Adm. Francis W. Rockwell's Task Force 51 initiate an intense naval bombardment to cover the disembarkation of 11,000 troops of the U.S. 4th and 7th divisions under Maj. Gen. Eugene M. Landrum at three points in Holtz and Massacre bays on fog-shrouded Attu. Its 2,630 occupiers under Col. Yasuhiro Yamazaki retire into the most defensible valley on the island to make their last stand. After two and a half weeks of steady pressure, the Americans fight their way into both ends of this valley, little realizing that the Japanese—starved and desperate and having lost radio contact with Tokyo as of May 27—are intent upon resisting fanatically to the last man.



A 105mm U.S. Army howitzer firing against Japanese positions atop the fog-shrouded heights of Attu Island. (U.S. Naval Institute)

On the night of May 29, Yamazaki leads his last 1,000 men out of the old Russian sealing station of Chichagof in a banzai charge, which breaks through U.S. picket lines and overruns a field hospital and quartermaster depot, despite having half their number shot down. The 500 cornered Japanese survivors then commit suicide by pulling pins on their grenades, only 28 maimed prisoners being taken alive by the time all resistance ceases. American casualties for this campaign total 600 dead and 1,200 wounded.

MAY 24, 1943. Having lost 41 U-boats and 4 Italian submarines this month alone against superior Allied forces in the North Atlantic, Dönitz withdraws all but 4 boats and orders this quartet to maintain false wireless chatter, while redirecting 52 surviving boats toward the Caribbean and north coast of Brazil in the vain hope of finding weaker opposition.

However, forewarned by intelligence intercepts, the Allies inflict heavy casualties on these out-coming vessels and sink their mid-Atlantic U-tankers, so that only 28 German submarines actually reach the Western Hemisphere. They will destroy a mere 3 tankers, 2 freighters, and a pair of schooners by the end of July, while losing 13 of their own number to relentless Allied air and sea patrols. Another 5 submarines will be sunk on their homeward leg.

MAY 26, 1943. Because of Attu's fall, Japanese headquarters orders Kiska resupplied by 13 I-Class submarines. However, when 7 of these long-range vessels are quickly lost to U.S. forces, it is decided to instead withdraw the garrison from that island with a swift move designated as Operation KE.

LATE MAY 1943. Having at last decided to invade Martinique and remove its recalcitrant Vichy French administration, the 33rd U.S. Infantry Regiment and 135th Combat Engineers begin practicing amphibious landings on the island of Trinidad, while the 13th Marine Regiment and 501st Airborne Regiment of the 101st Airborne Division do the same on Puerto Rico. These first two units are to land on the beaches immediately south of Fort-de-France and assault Fort Desaix, while the 501st is to seize Lamentin Airport north of the town. The 13th Marines—plus the 295th Infantry Regiment and

78th Combat Engineers—are to disembark on the eastern shores of the island at Le Robert.

While this training is still in progress, U.S. emissaries advise the French of their general intent in June. Disheartened by their isolation and the prospect of resisting an American invasion on behalf of a now thoroughly discredited Vichy regime, discipline collapses, and many defenders desert to the Free French cause—including the commanders of Martinique's colonial infantry regiment and artillery regiment, plus Robert's own second-in-command, Rear Adm. Robert Marie-Joseph Battet of the light cruiser *Émile Bertin*.

Undermined, Robert finally requests terms on June 30 and, by July 14, cedes his office to 52-year-old Henri Hoppenot. He then sails for Puerto Rico the next day to surrender along with his remaining staff and Vichy supporters.

JULY 21–22, 1943. *Evacuation of Kiska.* Having been advised that foggy weather will cover their approach, the 5,800-ton Japanese light cruisers *Tama* and *Kiso* under Rear Adm. Masatomi Kimura, as well as 10 destroyers and 3 auxiliaries, slip out of Paramushiro Island overnight to steam eastward and make their second attempt to stealthily remove Kiska's isolated 5,183-man garrison. Despite a collision that obliges 4 vessels to turn back, the remainder enter Kiska's dangerous roadstead of Trout Lagoon at 5:40 p.m. of July 29 in a brilliant feat of seamanship, reemerging 55 minutes later with the entire island's contingent aboard. They safely convey the garrison back to Paramushiro by August 1, without the Americans even learning of its removal.

AUGUST 15, 1943. After a prolonged aerial and naval bombardment, some 29,000 U.S. troops, plus 5,300 soldiers of the 13th Canadian Infantry Brigade under Brig. Gen. Harry Foster, disembark on the western coast of Kiska, only to find—after two days of “sweep and search”—that the Japanese have abandoned the island altogether.

For the remaining two years of World War II, the Allies mount enormous drives against the Axis powers in both Europe and Asia, culminating in the unconditional surrender of Germany on May 8, 1945, and Japan by August 15.

LATIN AMERICAN TROUBLES (1941–1989)

The massive mobilization of World War II transforms the United States into a global superpower, whose mastery over the Americas can no longer be challenged from overseas. Nevertheless, minor localized frictions persist throughout its sphere of influence, exacerbated by entrenched dictatorships, rural guerrilla campaigns, urban terrorism, and antigovernment coups—militarily insignificant events when compared to the nuclear strength now at Washington’s disposal, yet still capable of affecting geopolitical change.

JULY 5, 1941. *Ecuadorian-Peruvian Border Conflict.*

Boundary disputes more than a century old prompt Ecuador to seek to assert control over Tumbes, Jaén, Maynas, and most especially the recently seized town of Zarumilla on the eastern banks of the river of this same name, thereby gaining more direct access to the Amazonian headwaters. Peru counters, and an undeclared war erupts when a 13,000-man army known as the *Agrupamiento del Norte* or “North-

ern Group” under generals Eloy G. Ureta Montehermoso and Antonio Silva Santisteban—complete with armor, artillery, and air support—invades the Amazonian province of El Oro on July 5. It easily bests the 1,800 scattered Ecuadorian defenders, who are left unsupported by the surprised government in Quito.

Zarumilla is reconquered in a three-day battle fought by Ureta on July 23–25, after which a

Fascism

The name of this militant ideology comes from the Italian word *fascio*, which means “union” or “league.” The original term was derived from the Latin word *fascis* or *fasces*, a bundle or bundles of sticks tied around an ax. Early Roman woodsmen carried such loads back into their city. With time, they came to embody strength through unity, for while a single rod might easily be snapped, a bundle was difficult to break. *Fasces* therefore became symbols of authority, carried behind Roman magistrates.

Amid Europe’s social upheavals after World War I, Benito Mussolini founded a party called the *Fasci di Combattimento* in 1919. He rejected liberal democracy and international socialism, the two major trends that were vying to replace the discredited monarchy. Instead, Mussolini embraced a “Third Way”: one-party rule, but without the class warfare or removal of traditions advocated by communists or anarchists. His *Fascisti* formed bands of war veterans to battle their opponents. By late October 1922, they grew so prominent that King Victor Emmanuel III asked Mussolini to become premier.

Once in office, Mussolini quickly placed Fascist Party members in every position of power. His “Volunteer Militia for National Security” assumed paramilitary duties as of January 1923, and electoral laws were changed that June to make the Fascist grip permanent. Party and state became one. The police and courts were co-opted, along with the bureaucracy and army. Middle- and working-class voters went along because Mussolini promised a return to order and full employment. Wealthy industrialists and landowners were won over by legislative favors. Patriotic propaganda pointed to national greatness for all.

Such a total seizure of a state inspired many imitators in other troubled nations during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Some of the more notorious variants were Adolf Hitler’s Nazi Party in Germany, António de Oliveira Salazar’s *Estado Novo* or “New State” in Portugal, and Generalissimo Francisco Franco’s Falange Party in Spain. Each began as a right-wing militaristic movement that took over all state functions once in office. Authoritarian rule was imposed. Militarism and traditional mores were idealized, while the popular will was supposedly expressed through a single leader or elite.

There were many strains of fascism. The Portuguese model led Brazil’s President Getúlio Vargas to seize power when his four-year elected term was about to expire in 1937. Spanish-style regimes also emerged in Argentina, Paraguay, Chile, and so on. Even after the German, Italian, Hungarian, and Romanian parties were wiped out by World War II, fascism still retained an appeal among the most conservative segments of Latin American society. The military and the rich in particular saw it as a way of imposing order on their unstable republics and reviving traditional values against the inroads being made by foreign influences, such as communism or democracy.

paratroop drop results in the capture of Puerto Bolívar two days later, and a preliminary ceasefire goes into effect as of July 31. The Ecuadorians have suffered a total of 400–500 killed, as opposed to 107 among Peruvian ranks. General Silva has meanwhile also cleared the territory between Cónдор Range and the Putumayo River of Ecuadorians, and a formal armistice is signed at Piura by October. Subsequent peace negotiations at Rio de Janeiro end with the confirmation of Peruvian sovereignty over these 120,000 square miles of disputed territory on January 29, 1942, although Ecuador does retain access to the Amazon in the region of Quijos and San Miguel de Sucumbios.

OCTOBER 9, 1941. Panama's profascist, 40-year-old president, Dr. Arnulfo "El Hombre" Arias Madrid, while absent on a visit to Cuba, is deposed in a bloodless military coup—with Washington's tacit approval.

JUNE 3, 1943. In Argentina, military resentment against the civilian government of President Ramón S. Castillo has escalated after he calls for Gen. Pedro Pablo Ramírez's resignation as minister of war; he is to be replaced by the pro-British landowner Patrón Costas. Gen. Arturo Rawson Corvalán, cavalry commander at the "Campo de Mayo" military base outside Buenos Aires, is therefore contacted on June 3 about the possibility of launching a coup by members of a clique of nationalistic, pro-Axis army officers with totalitarian leanings known as the *Grupo de Oficiales Unidos* or "Group of United Officers" (GOU, initials that are sometimes represented as standing for *Gobierno, Orden, Unidad* or "Government, Order, Unity").

Rawson, who has already been contemplating just such a scheme, quickly agrees and leads 10,000 troops into the capital the next day—his 58th birthday—to proclaim himself as president. However, his choice of cabinet ministers alienates the GOU leadership, who force him to resign by June 7 in favor of General Ramírez, who establishes a permanent new administration by June 18. It is apparent, though, that the real power behind this new regime is the GOU, dominated by the 47-year-old colonel Juan Perón, who becomes private secretary to the minister of war, Gen. Edelmiro J. Farrell.

SEPTEMBER 1943. More than 70 Argentine newspapers are forced to suspend publication in retaliation for criticizing the country's military dictatorship.

DECEMBER 20, 1943. The dictatorial Bolivian president, Gen. Enrique Peñaranda, is overthrown in a well-planned revolution organized by his fascist rivals, the *Movimiento Nacional Revolucionario* or "National Revolutionary Movement" (MNR). Maj. Gualberto Villarroel replaces him, although real power is wielded by the bespectacled MNR political leader Víctor Paz Estensoro, who becomes finance minister. Argentina recognizes this new regime as of January 3, 1944, although the United States and other American countries refuse to do so until June 23 on the grounds that the MNR is pro-Axis and that Argentina has aided in its seizure of power.

JANUARY 26, 1944. Under pressure from Washington because of extensive fascist activities in Argentina, President Ramírez severs diplomatic relations with Nazi Germany and Japan.

FEBRUARY 24, 1944. In a swiftly executed coup, an inner clique of GOU officers oust General Ramírez as Argentina's president, fearing that he is about to declare war against the Axis powers. He is replaced by his vice president, General Farrell, yet real power continues to be wielded by Farrell's immediate subordinate, Perón, who is appointed war minister on May 4 and vice president as of July 8.

APRIL 2, 1944. After the subservient Salvadoran National Assembly has voted in February to once more extend the 13-year rule of President Hernández Martínez, dissent grows, culminating on April 2 (Palm Sunday) with an abortive rebellion led by Arturo Romero, Adolfo Marroquín, and Gen. Tito Calvo. Three aircraft strafe the police and National Guard headquarters in San Salvador, while rebel columns carry the barracks of the Infantry and 6th Machine-Gun regiments, Ilopango Air Base, and Santa Ana outside the capital. However, Martínez is able to hold on at El Zapote barracks and begins organizing a counteroffensive, so the rebellion soon loses strength. It is defeated when a rebel column approaching from Santa Ana retreats and blunders into an ambush at San Andrés.

Numerous arrests are consequently made on April 4, and executions ensue, although without fully quelling the country's simmering unrest. A student intervention on May 2 escalates into a general strike three days later, prompting the dictator to finally resign on May 9 and go into exile—after commenting that it is impossible to "shoot everybody." He is succeeded by Gen. Andrés Ignacio Menéndez.

JUNE 25, 1944. After a student strike in Guatemala City has mushroomed into a general strike, soldiers and policemen fire into a crowd, killing at least one woman demonstrator. The 65-year-old president Jorge Ubico Castañeda subsequently ends his 13-year reign by resigning as of July 1, being succeeded by a military triumvirate that provisionally installs his crony, Gen. Federico Ponce Vaides, into office.

OCTOBER 20, 1944. Dissident young Guatemalan military officers, joined by disgruntled workers and students, overthrow the administration of President Ponce. A triumvirate comprising the army captain Francisco Javier Arana, Maj. Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, and the civilian Jorge Toriello Garrido holds elections that result in Juan José Arévalo's installation into office as of March 15, 1945.

OCTOBER 21, 1944. Salvador's interim president, General Menéndez, is overthrown in a military uprising led by Col. Osmín Aguirre y Salinas, director of the National Police, who is temporarily sworn into office before hastily summoned legislative members in the Zapote barracks. However, the country's liberal political opposition coalesces around the former chief justice of the Salvador's Supreme Court, Miguel Tomás Molina, who establishes a government-in-exile in neighboring Honduras. This group refuses to participate in the election held on March 1, 1945, when Gen. Salvador Castañeda Castro is elected amid rigged balloting.

MARCH 27, 1945. To ingratiate his government with Washington, Argentina's President Farrell belatedly declares war against the Axis powers, now virtually annihilated in both Europe and Asia.

JULY 1945. Suspicious of the potential political threat posed by his country's *Força Expedicionária Brasileira* or FEB (see sidebar titled "Brazilian Expeditionary Force" in "World War II"), which is returning victorious from Europe, the dictatorial president Getúlio Vargas quickly disbands this battle-hardened army and disperses its officers—who subsequently gain considerable influence and become known as *febianos*.

OCTOBER 9, 1945. Amid concerns about Perón's growing populist following, a military faction led by Gen. Eduardo J. Ávalos and Adm. Héctor Vernengo Lima arrests the colonel, stripping him of his titles of Argentine vice president and war minister, while

Juan Perón

Juan Domingo Perón was born on October 8, 1895, in the town of Lobos, about 60 miles south of the national capital in the Province of Buenos Aires. His father was an employee of the local courts who moved the family to a remote farm near Santa Cruz, then to northern Chubut Province. Young Juan's parents did not marry, and his father abandoned them when Juan was five years old. Five years later, Juan was sent to live with his mother's sisters in Buenos Aires. He was enrolled in Argentina's Military College in 1910 and graduated six years later as a second lieutenant of infantry. He continued his postgraduate studies, writing and lecturing until 1929. Six feet tall, he was also very athletic, excelling at skiing and fencing. He married Aurelia Eugenia "Potota" Tizón in 1928, and they adopted a baby daughter.

In 1930, he took part as a captain in the coup that toppled President Yrigoyen. Perón then served as private secretary to the minister of war until 1935. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel and named as Argentina's military attaché to Chile in 1936; however, he was recalled after apparently failing in an attempt to set up a spy ring. Two years later, after his wife's death from cancer, he was sent as a member of a military delegation to Europe. Perón traveled widely through the fascist states of Italy, Germany, Hungary, Spain, and Portugal. The ravages left by Spain's civil war left a particular impact on him. He also was most impressed with Benito Mussolini's government and returned to Argentina in 1941 convinced that the Axis powers were winning World War II.

Upon returning home, Perón delivered a series of influential lectures on the state of hostilities in Europe. He was promoted to full colonel and given command of a mountain regiment in the Province of San Juan. He also became involved with a secretive "brotherhood" of junior officers known as the *Grupo de Oficiales Unidos*, who intended to affect national politics. Although Perón was not present at their meeting on the evening of June 2, 1943, his plan of attack was used to topple President Castillo two days later.

In the ensuing military regime, Perón took control of the minor department of labor. Through passage of scores of favorable laws, he won support from many unions representing millions of workers. When Perón was seized by rival officers on October 9, 1945, and sent as prisoner to Martín García Island, mass protests from this powerful base won his release eight days later. He then married the charismatic actress María Eva "Evita" Duarte on October 22 and won his first presidential election the next February. Despite being elected two more times and dominating Argentine politics for decades, Perón divided the nation and ruined its economy.

leaving President Farrell in power. Eight days later, Perón engineers a successful counter coup from his prison on Martín García Island, winning freedom through massive protest marches by his supporters in organized labor.

OCTOBER 18, 1945. In Venezuela, beleaguered president Isaías Medina Angarita orders the arrest of the 31-year-old leader of the revolutionary *Unión Patriótica Militar* or “Patriotic Military Union” (UPM), Marcos Pérez Jiménez. Instead, the president himself is deposed by a rapid UPM coup and succeeded the next day by a junta headed by Rómulo Betancourt of the “Democratic Action” Party, who sends Pérez Jiménez abroad on an extended diplomatic mission.

OCTOBER 29, 1945. In Rio de Janeiro, Brazilian motorized troops directed by the war minister, Gen. Pedro Aurélio de Góis Monteiro, and General Dutra mutiny and occupy the capital’s streets without opposition, bringing an end to the unpopular 15-year reign of President Vargas, who retires to his ranch in Rio Grande do Sul Province.

JANUARY 7, 1946. Thirteen students go on strike against the unpopular administration of Haiti’s President Elie Lescot. Four days later, he is deposed by a “Military Executive Committee” comprising Col. Frank Lavaud and majors Antoine Lévelt and Paul Eugène Magloire. The former president is expelled into exile on January 14.

FEBRUARY 24, 1946. Perón is elected president of Argentina, backed by the army and organized labor. He launches an ultranationalistic program of reforms.

Also this same evening, some 30 soldiers on leave from the 140-man company of *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, who have long garrisoned Cayenne (French Guiana), run riot through various dance halls, venting their frustration against the Creole citizenry, who openly despise them. Matters worsen on Monday, February 25, when more troops sally from their barracks after morning parade and again fall upon the populace, leaving 9 dead and more than 100 wounded amid widespread destruction. Many terrified residents flee for protection to the American air base at Rochambeau Field, but Gov. Jules Surlemont defuses the crisis this same afternoon by ordering all Senegalese troops to board the steamer *Saint-Domingue* and set sail for Dakar via Martinique.

JULY 21, 1946. In Bolivia, its MNR officeholders (see “December 20, 1943” entry) are swept from power by a counterrevolution, President Villarroel being hanged from a lamppost in La Paz, while Paz Estensoro flees into exile in Argentina.

DECEMBER 11, 1947. Anti-American riots erupt in Panama, the citizens being incensed by Washington’s plans to extend the lease arrangement for numerous bases used during World War II. Eleven days later, President Enrique A. Jiménez is obliged to reject this deal amid great public clamor.

FEBRUARY 8, 1948. After a heated electoral campaign marred by street fighting, charges of corruption, and a 15-day general strike, Costa Rica’s governing *Partido Nacional Republicano*’s (PNR) candidate, Rafael Ángel Calderón Guardia, is defeated by opposition leader Otilio Ulate Blanco. Outgoing president Teodoro Picado Michalski refuses to honor these results, having them annulled by the National Congress and calling out the 340-man Costa Rican army in his support. Ulate flees to Guatemala, but his supporters threaten rebellion.



Spectators viewing the bullet-riddled body of Bolivian president Gualberto Villarroel, dangling from a lamppost in La Paz. (Clendenen Papers, Hoover Institution)

Cold War

The United States and Soviet Union emerged triumphant from World War II in 1945, their societies and economies mobilized on a massive scale. Their mutual Axis enemies were crushed, Europe and the Far East lay devastated, and the last imperial overseas colonies were about to fall. With all external pressures removed, both superpowers moved into this global void to begin a protracted, yet bloodless, geopolitical competition. Over the next 45 years, each tried to extend its influence into every corner of the world.

This bitter rivalry started early, when President Harry S. Truman—wary of the expansionism inherent in Marxist dogma—tried to contain the Soviet Union's moves beyond its borders. One such counter was his Marshall Plan, which generously financed the rebuilding of Western Europe for humanitarian reasons, as well as to minimize the Left's political appeal among throngs of unemployed and impoverished citizens. The term "Cold War" was applied to this unique struggle as of September 1947, taken from the works of George Orwell by the American journalist Walter Lippman for a series of newspaper articles and a book that he would publish.

The contest proved to be broad and long lasting. It came to feature an arms race, trade rivalries, propaganda exchanges, military alliances, proxy wars, espionage, even athletics. Fortunately, direct armed confrontation between the two nuclear powers was avoided. The Americans championed democracy and free-market principles, while the Soviets upheld communist rule and state-run economies. Finally, the wealth and productivity of the United States could not be matched by the Soviet Union. When President Ronald Reagan initiated a large military buildup, the Soviet Union collapsed, and the Cold War ended.

MARCH 12, 1948. *Costa Rican Civil War.* Col. José "Don Pepe" Figueres Ferrer, leader of Costa Rica's Social Democratic Party, rises in revolt against Picado and Calderón's PNR government. In a month's time, his "Caribbean Legion" defeats the small Costa Rican Army in a campaign that claims 1,600 lives. By April 20, a truce is arranged, and Santos León Herrera is proclaimed interim president until Ulate can return from exile in Guatemala. Picado and Calderón flee into Nicaragua, and on March 28, Figueres's troops enter the capital of San José in triumph to greet Ulate upon his return.

(When a new constitution is drafted the next year, the Costa Rican Army is abolished because of

its recent antidemocratic stance, being replaced by an all-volunteer Civil Guard.)

APRIL 9, 1948. "*Bogotazo.*" At 1:05 p.m. in Bogotá, the populist Liberal leader and presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán is killed while leaving for lunch by a lone assassin. Although decades of turmoil have inured Colombians to political violence in rural areas—*La Violencia* having claimed almost 14,000 lives the previous year alone—this brazen murder unleashes a torrent of pent-up wrath against the administration of Conservative president Mariano Ospina Pérez, who is inaugurating an agricultural fair as host of the Ninth Pan American Conference. (Prominent international guests include U.S. secretary of state George Marshall, U.S. secretary of commerce Averell Harriman, Venezuelan president Rómulo Betancourt, and a youthful Fidel Castro.)

The assassin is beaten to death by a mob, then his body is cast before the presidential palace as a rebuke. Shots ring out, and 80 soldiers of the Presidential Guard under Lt. Silvio Carvajal clear the street, eventually opening fire into the increasingly frenzied crowds in adjacent Plaza de Bolívar. A widespread orgy of vandalism ensues, with government ministries and churches throughout the city center being gutted and burned and many stores looted, as authorities hesitate to call out the 800-man garrison because of fears regarding their loyalty. Eventually, rain sets in and some measure of calm returns the next day, losses being calculated at 1,000 dead and 2,500 injured, with more than 100 buildings destroyed in the capital's core.

Inflamed by reports about this outburst—dubbed the *Bogotazo*—Conservative reactionaries subsequently escalate their campaign of violence in the countryside, claiming another 43,000 lives this same year.

OCTOBER 3, 1948. In Callao (Peru), young naval seamen and civilian adherents of the leftist *Aprista* Party revolt against President José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, storming the garrison in Fort Real Felipe without success. The rebels are quickly crushed by loyal units under the 48-year-old general Zenón Noriega Agüero, and the radical movement is banned.

OCTOBER 27, 1948. *Peru's "Restorative Revolution."* Amid widespread social discontent and economic difficulties, the garrison at Arequipa rises up

against President Bustamante, proclaiming 50-year-old brigadier general Manuel A. Odría Amoretti to fill his place. When General Noriega, commander of the troops at the capital of Lima, refuses to obey the president and march upon Arequipa, Bustamante realizes that all is lost. He withdraws from the National Palace two days later, and a junta provisionally assumes power, stamping out leftist *Aprista* sentiment.

NOVEMBER 24, 1948. After less than a year in office, Venezuela's 64-year-old novelist president Rómulo Gallegos Freire is overthrown by a bloodless military coup engineered by 34-year-old colonel Marcos Pérez Jiménez; Freire flees first to Cuba and then on to Mexico. The ruling Acción Democrática and numerous other Venezuelan parties are subsequently banned, being replaced by a three-man junta, which Pérez Jiménez comes to control after his colleague, Lt. Col. Carlos Delgado Chalbaud, is murdered on November 13, 1950. Through manipulation or blatant fraud, Pérez Jiménez is able to rule directly as president for almost six years, from 1952 onward, during which Venezuela's oil wealth assures considerable national prosperity.

DECEMBER 13, 1948. When the Salvadoran president Castañeda Castro obtains an extension from his obeisant legislature to remain in office another two years, he is deposed the next morning by a military uprising led by moderate army officers under Col. Manuel de Jesús Córdova. Government administration passes into the hands of a junta comprising three officers and two civilians, Lt. Col. Oscar Osorio emerging as leader by January 5, 1948. The latter eventually resigns so as to be elected president himself in late March 1950.

APRIL 2, 1949. In the Costa Rican capital of San José, War Minister Edgar Cardona Quirós seizes the armory, seconded by Fernando Figuls at the Bella Vista Barracks, in an unsuccessful coup attempt.

JULY 1949. In the highly charged atmosphere immediately prior to Guatemala's presidential elections, Defense Minister Jacobo Arbenz attempts to arrest Francisco Arana—commander in chief of its army and an openly avowed rival candidate—on charges of allegedly plotting a military coup. When the latter resists, he is killed, prompting a series of uprisings by Arana supporters that are suppressed by the government. Upon the collapse of the last of

these revolts, led by Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, Arbenz emerges as Guatemala's new president.

AUGUST–SEPTEMBER 1949. Bolivia is wracked by factional fighting.

NOVEMBER 20, 1949. When Panama's President Daniel Chanís attempts to remove the corrupt colonel José Antonio "Chichi" Remón as head of the National Guard, he is instead deposed and replaced in office by Remón's cousin, Roberto Chiari. Within a week, however, the latter is also pushed aside and succeeded by the nationalistic ex-president Arnulfo Arias.

JULY 28, 1950. Peruvian troops in the main square of Arequipa open fire upon a protest march against the policies of President Odría, led by striking students of the Colegio Independencia, killing many.

MAY 7, 1951. In Panama, President Arnulfo Arias dissolves the National Assembly, arrests over 120 political opponents, and assumes dictatorial powers. These actions provoke a general strike and disapproval from Washington, leaving Arias isolated. On the afternoon of May 10, Colonel Remón's police force storms the presidential palace, capturing the strongman. Before surrendering, Arias shoots the commander of his palace guard; he is subsequently stripped of office two weeks later, being succeeded by interim president Alcibiades Arosemena.

SEPTEMBER 28, 1951. Perón easily stifles a military coup planned by the retired general Benjamín Menéndez, a few months prior to Argentina's presidential election, during which Perón is reelected with a large majority. (Because of army disapproval, though, he removes his wife, Evita's, name from his vice presidential slate; she will die of cancer the next year.)

MARCH 10, 1952. Conservative elements in Cuba, disaffected with the government of leftist president Carlos Prío Socarras, throw their support behind the former army chief of staff and ex-president, Gen. Fulgencio Batista, who is running a distant third in polls for the upcoming elections. Batista therefore seizes power through a bloodless military coup, suspends the constitution, and installs a repressive regime. Washington will recognize his government 17 days later. Nonetheless, resistance to this unscrupulous dictator will quickly spring up throughout the Cuban countryside.

Korean War

When Imperial Japan was defeated in August 1945, American and Soviet officials agreed to share responsibility for the Korean Peninsula. U.S. forces were to receive the surrender of Japanese occupiers below latitude 38° N, and Soviet forces, above it. Afterward, Korea was to be left on its own. But ideological rivalry between the two superpowers spoiled this arrangement. The Soviets brought a guerrilla hero named Kim Il Sung back from exile and helped him install a communist regime over the North's 9 million people by December. The United States, in turn, gave economic and logistical support to the 16 million people of the South.

Washington tried to end this impasse by going before the United Nations (UN) in 1947. Elections in the South resulted in Syngman Rhee being named "president of Korea" on August 15, 1948. The North replied three weeks later by creating a rival "Democratic People's Republic." The Soviet Union and its satellites recognized Kim's government and withdrew their troops from the North by year's end. All but 500 American advisers also departed by June 30, 1949, having raised a 65,000-man South Korean Army. Tension simmered between both halves until the South held a second round of elections in May 1950. The North angrily demanded new elections for a joint Korean legislature.

When the South refused, a full-scale attack burst across the 38th Parallel on June 25, 1950. The 135,000 well-equipped North Koreans overran the South's capital of Seoul within four days, hoping to finish off all resistance before the United States could react. Despite being surprised, Washington that same day obtained a UN Security Council resolution that condemned the invasion. Because of the Soviet ambassador's boycott, President Harry S. Truman also won a UN vote two days later that called for military aid. Fifteen member nations eventually contributed troops to a very large American contingent, led from Japan by Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur.

The first American division to arrive in early July 1950 could not stem the North Korean onslaught. Within a month, U.S. and South Korean forces were huddled in a defensive corner around the city of Pusan. However, the North Koreans could not fight across the Nakdong River while American air strikes destroyed their supply lines. MacArthur built up his strength and then landed almost 80,000 soldiers on September 15 at Inchon, behind North Korean lines. The invaders fell apart, only 25,000–30,000 regaining North Korea.

However, when UN forces pushed past the 38th Parallel and seized the northern capital of Pyongyang by October 19, 1950, Communist China intervened. Six days later, the first clashes occurred against 270,000 Chinese troops. American forces reeled south, and Seoul again fell to the communists by January 4, 1951. Because the Chinese had outrun their supply lines, however, Lt. Gen. Matthew Ridgway was able to slowly press them back by mid-March. Seesaw fighting persisted around the 38th Parallel until an uneasy truce was finally signed on July 27, 1953.

APRIL 6, 1952. *Bolivian Revolution.* The national police commander at La Paz, Gen. Antonio Seleme Vargas, is discovered to be secretly plotting with MNR adherents—whose party has been denied victory in the 1951 presidential elections—to topple the illegal dictatorship of Gen. Hugo Ballivián Rojas and nine other junta members. Seleme is consequently dismissed, yet not detained, so that still faced with a threat, Gen. Humberto Torres Ortiz must depart the city to raise an army of troops in support of the junta.

During his absence, the moderate MNR vice presidential candidate, Hernán Siles Zuazo, orders Seleme and his subordinate police chief, Donato Millán, to seize control of La Paz on April 9 with their 2,000 men, thereby inaugurating the revolt. Upon examining the contents of the arsenal, though, the insurgents find it to be empty, so that a despondent Seleme and Millán seek sanctuary within the Chilean Embassy.

However, armed worker militias then arrive in the capital from Oruro under the radical union leader Juan Oquendo Lechín, and offer effective resistance against Torres, who is approaching with 8,000 men. Many of the raw conscripts in his hastily-raised army, though, refuse to fight against the citizenry, so switch allegiances or desert. The troops who remain loyal to the junta are therefore defeated in a two-day series of bloody street clashes that leave some 500–600 people dead.

A provisional government is subsequently formed to pave the way for Paz Estensoro's return from exile in Argentina by April 16. He and Siles will reluctantly enact many measures over the next few months demanded by their more radical followers, especially Oquendo's miner union. Bolivia's army is virtually dissolved, the tin industry is nationalized, and other reforms are attempted—notwithstanding severe economic and social dislocations.



Bolivia's restored president Paz Estenssoro posing with MNR miner militiamen. (Organization of American States)

OCTOBER 23, 1952. Bolivia's new MNR government creates four concentration camps named Corocoro, Uncía, Catavi, and Curahuara de Carangas, where political opponents are to be held without trial, often in deplorable conditions.

JUNE 13, 1953. In Colombia, the 53-year-old head of its armed forces—the well-connected general and military engineer Gustavo Rojas Pinilla—topples the regime of conservative president Laureano Gómez in a coup d'état. Initially, Rojas Pinilla receives enthusiastic popular support. When he offers a general amnesty to the nation's thousands of rural rebels, many accept, and widespread peace ensues. The hated National Police force is absorbed into the military, political prisoners are released, press censorship is eased, the tax system is reformed, and expensive public projects are undertaken.

Disillusionment soon sets in, though, so that rural violence resumes by year's end. The new president resorts to increasingly repressive methods, while his fiscal policies will prove to be ruinous and his family

and cronies become embroiled in corrupt schemes, eventually resulting in his own deposal four years later.

JULY 26, 1953. At dawn, the ex-University of Havana law student and political agitator Fidel Castro Ruz enters the city of Santiago de Cuba with a disguised convoy of cars, hoping to surprise its 1,000-man garrison under Col. Alberto del Río Chaviano while it is recuperating inside Moncada Barracks from the Carnival celebrations of the previous night. This assault is defeated, however, after an hour-long firefight during which 19 troops and 3 rebels are killed. The outraged soldiery subsequently hunt down, torture, and execute approximately 80 rebels and sympathizers over the next several days, until a delegation of city notables—including Santiago's bishop, university rector, a judge, and the wealthy department-store owner Enrique Canto—appeal to Batista to halt such brutal measures.

Castro is caught on August 1 while sleeping in a hut in the woods of Gran Piedad Mountain, along with a few other rebels, and taken to the Boniato jail. He will be tried that October and sentenced to 15 years' incarceration on Isla de Pinos, but a groundswell of public sentiment allows him to be amnestied by mid-May 1955. He goes into exile in Mexico on June 24, to begin plotting another coup.

MARCH 1954. Convinced Arbenz's Guatemalan administration is a socialist front, Washington persuades the Organization of American States, meeting in Caracas, to authorize mutual defense against "Communist aggression" in the Americas—in effect, gaining free rein to topple this government.

MAY 15, 1954. Learning that a 2,000-ton shipment of Czechoslovakian arms has reached the Arbenz government at Puerto Barrios (Guatemala) aboard the Swedish ship *Alfhem*, Washington increases its own supplies to a CIA-backed counterrevolutionary group under the exiled Castillo Armas and Gen. Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes, operating out of neighboring Honduras. Arbenz responds by declaring a state of siege within Guatemala in early June, arresting numerous conservative sympathizers.

JUNE 18, 1954. *Guatemalan Coup.* The exiled counterrevolutionary leader Castillo Armas invades Guatemala from Honduras with 160 men, backed by CIA-provided aircraft. Only the border town of

Esquipulas is actually occupied, yet aerial bombardments of pro-Arbenz concentrations in the capital and other Guatemalan cities sap the regime's resolve. Isolated diplomatically, and with many army officers defecting to the opposition, Arbenz resigns on June 27. Castillo Armas thereupon enters Guatemala City aboard a U.S. embassy plane and is installed as president by July 8. Some 9,000 Guatemalans subsequently flee into exile or are imprisoned, while 8,000 peasants are killed in retribution for their reformist demands.

JULY 14, 1954. To legally be able to run in Cuba's forthcoming presidential elections, the dictator Batista temporarily turns power over to the placeholder, Dr. Andrés Domingo Morales del Castillo.

AUGUST 5, 1954. On Toneleros Street in Copacabana, Brazilian newspaperman Carlos Lacerda is wounded and air force major Rubem Florentino Vaz is murdered by shots fired from a passing car. An investigation reveals that this crime has been instigated by Gregório Fortunato, chief of Getúlio Vargas's presidential guard; the public, therefore, demands this leader's resignation.

AUGUST 23, 1954. Under universal opprobrium, Brazil's President Vargas offers to temporarily step aside, but when this proposal is deemed insufficient, he commits suicide the next morning. He is succeeded in office by his vice president, João Café Filho, who schedules elections for October 1955.

JANUARY 1955. Supporters of the exiled leader Calderón Guardia (*see* "March 12, 1948" entry) invade the northern provinces of Costa Rica from neighboring Nicaragua, with the backing of dictators Anastasio Somoza García and Rafael Leónidas Trujillo Molina of the Dominican Republic.

At first, this invasion makes good progress, occupying Ciudad Quesada. However, President Figueres quickly mobilizes 16,000 Costa Ricans and secures the support of both Washington and the Organization of American States. Ciudad Quesada is soon retaken, and the invaders are driven back into Nicaragua.

JANUARY 2, 1955. Panama's President José Antonio Remón is assassinated by two machine gunners while attending horse races outside his capital. The killers are never convicted.

Central Intelligence Agency

Prior to World War II, the United States had no intelligence service. The U.S. Army and Navy maintained small units for tactical matters, nothing more. After the devastating surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed William J. "Wild Bill" Donovan to create a full-fledged organization that became known as the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). With help from Canada's William Stephenson and the head of Britain's MI6, Stewart Menzies, Donovan built up a network that eventually employed 16,000 agents and resistance fighters in occupied Europe.

After the war ended, President Harry S. Truman was persuaded to dissolve the OSS in October 1945. Some functions were turned over to the U.S. State or War departments. Yet only three months later, Donovan convinced Truman to authorize a new postwar organization to keep the U.S. government better informed about global threats. In theory, such an agency was to gather and evaluate foreign-obtained data, which could be passed on to the relevant departments. Despite opposition from the Pentagon, State Department, and FBI, this "Central Intelligence Group" was formed by January 1946.

Soviet aggression overseas greatly spurred its growth, so the CIA was formally constituted by the National Security Act of September 18, 1947. Early operations in Eastern Europe proved disappointing, although some successes were made in containing communist infiltration into France, Italy, and Greece. The agency's original intelligence-gathering role was expanded to counter Soviet funding, weaponry, and covert operations. It was later revealed that, to achieve its ends, the CIA entered into deals with ex-Nazis and other unsavory right-wing extremists.

Once the Iron Curtain descended over Europe, leaving both sides entrenched on each side, the rivalry began to shift into the developing world. Amid the CIA's other legitimate surveillance and information-gathering missions, its Directorate of Plans also was charged with carrying out covert "black operations." They included the removal of unfriendly foreign leaders by "executive action." In 1953, a CIA operation run out of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran by Brig. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf Sr. and Kermit Roosevelt Jr. overthrew the government of Iran. The next year, the same was done in Guatemala. It was also achieved in the Congo in 1960 and was attempted against Cuba two years later.

APRIL 14, 1955. *Failed Argentine Coup.* With the economy sliding toward collapse because of President Perón's ruinous policies in favor of his union supporters, relations between his faltering government and the Catholic Church also worsen when all religious teaching is suspended. One month later, ecclesiastical institutions furthermore lose their tax-exempt status when a constitutional amendment officially separates church and state as of May 20. This move so antagonizes conservative sensibilities that rightist elements within the armed forces start plotting a coup. The traditional Corpus Christi procession in Buenos Aires on Saturday, June 11, turns into an anti-Perón demonstration, to which his loyal unionists respond by attacking the cathedral the next day, 19 priests and 400 communicants being arrested after a series of scuffles. Monseigneur Manuel Tato, auxiliary bishop of Buenos Aires, is expelled.

Conservative elements within the navy finally move against Perón at 10:00 a.m. on Thursday, June 16, when Rear Adm. Aníbal Olivieri authorizes 22 AT-6 North American and 5 AT-11 Beechcraft warplanes to take off from Punta Indio Naval Air Base, east of the capital, to bomb the presidential palace in Buenos Aires—known as the Casa Rosada or “Pink House” because of its distinctive coloring. This bombing is to precede a direct assault by a marine contingent. However, when these planes land one and a half hour later at Ezeiza to refuel, Perón is warned by telephone so seeks refuge in the War Ministry's basement. A pair of heavy Colt machine guns are mounted atop the presidential palace at 12:10 p.m. to act as an antiaircraft battery, while the armored Grenadier Regiment moves swiftly from Palermo to his relief.

A half hour later, the first rebel warplanes roar out of the west, having circled out over the River Plate. Some of their bombs strike the Casa Rosada, but strays wreak havoc among the unwary civilian crowds enjoying their lunchtime break in adjoining Colón Park and Plaza de Mayo. At 1:00 p.m., the first tanks of the Grenadier Regiment enter the plaza along Rivadavia Avenue, exchanging gunfire and checking the 150 marines who are preparing to storm the presidential palace. The latter are slowly pressed back into the Naval Ministry, more than a block away on Madero Avenue. A second aerial bombardment and strafing occur at 3:00 p.m. by four rebel Gloucester Meteor jets and three Catalina flying boats from Espora Naval Air Base and inflict numerous casualties among union militants, who have rallied to Perón's assistance. Civilian casu-

alties are eventually calculated at 364 dead and more than 800 wounded.

This abortive coup ends when the outgunned defenders within the Naval Ministry surrender at 5:50 p.m. to loyal general Juan José Valle. A triumphant Perón thereupon addresses a throng of his most ardent labor supporters, who set fire to the Cathedral and nine other churches overnight in retaliation, for which actions the Vatican excommunicates the Argentine president. A further 800 rebels are arrested over the next few days, and both the Marine Regiment and the Naval Air Force are dissolved, before martial law can eventually be lifted on June 29.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1955. *Perón's Fall.* With opposition to his rule multiplying on every side, despite repeated attempts at reconciliation and even his proffered resignation, Perón reintroduces martial law to the Federal District containing Argentina's capital. Two weeks later, early on the Friday morning of September 16, a military revolt is launched at Córdoba in the interior of the country, quickly spreading to the garrisons at Curuzú-Cuatíá, Corrientes, Río Santiago, and Puerto Belgrano. This rebellion prompts the president to resign unconditionally to his army minister, Gen. Franklin Lucero, three days later and flee into exile aboard a Paraguayan gunboat anchored at Puerto Nuevo off Buenos Aires. By September 23, the 59-year-old retired major general Eduardo Lonardi arrives to be installed into office as provisional president, with Rear Adm. Isaac Francisco Rojas as his vice president.

NOVEMBER 11, 1955. In the uncertain atmosphere following the hotly contested Brazilian electoral results and President Café Filho's mild heart attack of three days earlier, War Minister Henrique Duffles Teixeira Lott leads a dawn coup by 25,000 troops that drives Acting President Carlos Luz, the intransigent opposition colonel Jurandir Bizarria Mamede, congressman and journalist Carlos Lacerda, plus several other cabinet ministers aboard the 1,100-man, 10,000-ton light cruiser *Tamandaré* (former USS *St. Louis*) of Adm. Silvio Heck and Capt. Paulo Antônio Telles Bardy. This vessel sails out of Rio de Janeiro's harbor under fire from Forts Laje and Santa Cruz, yet emerges unscathed, its occupants hoping to gain Santos and organize a resistance with the help of that city's marine garrison under Brig. Gen. Eduardo Gomes.

However, swift action by General Lott detaches a contingent to seize control of Santos, obliging



*Brazilian troops of the 4th Quitaúna Regiment seizing control outside the city of Santos to impede support for President Luz.
(Author's Collection)*

Luz to return into Rio two days later and surrender. Lott then pressures the president of Brazil's Senate, Nereu Ramos, to declare a state of martial law until the president-elect, Juscelino Kubitshek, is installed into office on January 1, 1956.

NOVEMBER 13, 1955. Because of his tolerant attitude toward former Peronista supporters and his appointment of ultranationalistic Catholic ministers to his cabinet, Lonardi is ousted as Argentina's interim president, being replaced by the 50-year-old general Pedro Eugenio Aramburu Clivet. A purge commences of all vestiges of Perón's discredited rule, his wife, Evita's, remains even being removed from the Confederación General del Trabajo (General Confederation of Labor, CGT) union headquarters and hidden from public view at the Vatican for years.

JUNE 9, 1956. In Argentina, General Valle mounts a revolt against the government of President Aramburu, being quickly defeated without bloodshed the next day and executed on June 12 by firing squad at the National Penitentiary in Buenos Aires, along with 32 of his followers.

JULY 1956. Because of his growing unpopularity, President Julio Lozano Díaz of Honduras deports

his Liberal Party opponent, the populist Tegucigalpa physician Dr. Ramón Villeda Morales. The next month, the president must also crush an uprising by 400 troops in the capital.

SEPTEMBER 21, 1956. While attending the National Liberal Convention in León to celebrate his renomination as president of Nicaragua, the dictator Somoza is shot at an evening banquet in Casa del Obrero Hall by the fanatical, 27-year-old poet Rigoberto López Pérez, dying eight days later in Panama. He is immediately succeeded in office by his eldest son Luis Somoza, head of the National Guard, while his younger son Anastasio Somoza Debayle assumes command over this latter force and inaugurates a brutal reprisal campaign against all perceived political opponents.

OCTOBER 21, 1956. Despite claiming to have won reelection in a blatantly rigged electoral process, President Lozano Díaz of Honduras is ousted in a coup led by the air force commander, Gen. Héctor Caraccioli; the commandant of the Military Academy, Gen. Roque Rodríguez; and the son of a former president, Maj. Roberto Gálvez Barnes.

NOVEMBER 30, 1956. *Castro's Guerrilla Campaign.* As part of the anti-Batista agitation in Cuba,

some 300 uniformed rebels under Frank País—wearing the red-and-black armbands of the “26 of July Movement”—capture Santiago’s police headquarters, customs house, and other official buildings during a dawn raid, only to melt away and repeat this tactic the next day, bringing civic life for the 189,000 inhabitants to a virtual standstill. On December 2, Castro furthermore returns from exile, having sailed from Tuxpan (Mexico) aboard the yacht *Granma* with 82 adherents. He disembarks at Las Coloradas Beach near Belic and marches up into the Sierra Maestra to inaugurate a guerrilla campaign aimed at toppling the regime.

Batista responds by airlifting 280 soldiers under Col. Pedro Barrera into Santiago, and Castro is lucky to survive a chance encounter with an army patrol on December 5, 1956, escaping deeper into the highlands with less than 20 survivors. Despite this inauspicious start, he gradually gains 500 more adherents in the mountains and mounts effective hit-and-run raids that erode governmental control over the next several months.

MAY 1957. In Honduras, conservative Col. Armando Velásquez Cerrato attempts a coup against the reform-minded military junta, only to be defeated and driven to seek sanctuary in the Guatemalan Embassy.

EARLY 1958. Castro opens a second guerrilla front in the Escambray Mountains, in Cuba’s Las Villas Province.

JANUARY 23, 1958. In Venezuela, the corrupt and repressive dictator Pérez Jiménez is deposed amid public rioting by a coup organized by Rear Adm. Wolfgang Larrazábal and fellow military officers; Pérez Jiménez is allowed to flee into exile in Miami (Florida). Larrazábal runs for president in the subsequent elections but loses to Rómulo Betancourt, inaugurating a period of peaceful political transitions for this nation.

Five years later, Pérez Jiménez is extradited from the United States to stand trial in Caracas for having enriched himself to the tune of almost \$200 million while in power, being convicted in 1968, then exiled once more—this time to Spain.

MARCH 1958. Washington suspends its aid shipments to Batista’s Cuba because of his administration’s human-rights violations.

APRIL 1958. A general strike throughout Cuba fails to topple Batista.

MAY 1958. Batista launches a military offensive against Castro’s guerrillas, which fails to defeat them, then peters out two months later.

MAY 1, 1958. A Chilean warship installs a navigational light on Snipe Islet between uninhabited Navarino and Picton islands in the bleak expanse of waters south of Tierra del Fuego at the very bottom of South America, islands that are also claimed by Argentina. Nine days later, the Argentine fleet tug *Guarani*—on orders from Adm. Gastón A. Clement—destroys this lantern with gunfire and replaces it with an Argentine light. When a Chilean work party restores the Chilean lantern on May 14, they are observed by a distant trio of Argentine warships, who do not intervene.

However, Clement himself appears on August 9 with the 2,000-ton, British-built destroyer *San Juan*, destroying the Chilean lantern once more and, furthermore, setting 80 Argentine marines ashore to hold Snipe Islet. A brisk diplomatic exchange ensues between both capitals, while Chilean patrol vessels hover nearby, until both governments agree to refrain from installing any more lights, and the Argentine garrison is withdrawn by August 19.

AUGUST 1958. Batista’s army having become thoroughly demoralized, Castro launches a two-pronged offensive into central Cuba: one guerrilla column out of the west under his subordinate Camilo Cienfuegos, while out of the east comes the column of the ex-Argentine medical doctor Ernesto (“Ché”) Guevara de la Serna.

DECEMBER 28, 1958. Guevara’s guerrilla column captures Santa Clara, capital of Cuba’s Las Villas Province.

DECEMBER 31, 1958–JANUARY 1, 1959. Overnight, Batista flees Cuba into exile, and the next morning a temporary junta offers the government to Castro.

JANUARY 8, 1959. Castro’s victorious guerrillas enter Havana, and shortly thereafter, Manuel Urrutia Lleó is proclaimed interim president.

APRIL 1959. Panama’s National Guard defeats an inept disembarkation of 80 Cuban guerrillas led by

the wealthy playboy Roberto Arias (husband of British ballerina Margot Fonteyn), apparently intent upon spreading the revolutionary cause. After Arias seeks sanctuary within the Brazilian Embassy, Castro angrily denounces this unauthorized operation as an attempt to bring Cuba into conflict with the United States.

MAY 31, 1959. Sixty exiled Nicaraguan conservatives led by Pedro Joaquín Chamorro Cardenal and Dr. Enrique Lacayo Farfán land at an airstrip at Mollejones, being joined the next day by 40 more followers who disembark at nearby Olama, in the hope of fomenting a popular insurrection against the Somoza regime. Instead, a series of military blunders compels them to surrender to the National Guard two weeks later. As most spring from the privileged classes, they are amnestied within a year or so.

JULY 1959. Dominican exiles, backed by Cuban supporters, attempt to topple the dictator Trujillo, only to be easily defeated.

JULY 12, 1959. In Honduras, reactionary colonel Velásquez Cerrato launches his second coup attempt against the government, his National Police adherents inflicting many casualties in Tegucigalpa while fighting against civilian volunteers rushing to support President Villeda. Loyal troops finally intervene and allow Velásquez to escape.

Within one week, the president disbands the disloyal National Police and replaces it with a “Civil Guard,” which, unlike the army, will operate directly under his control.

JULY 16, 1959. Urrutia is deposed as Cuban president by Castro in favor of Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado, and a series of increasingly radical measures begin to be imposed: Batista loyalists are incarcerated or executed, both domestic- and foreign-owned properties are confiscated, collectives are formed, and so on. Real power still rests with Castro—now head of the armed forces—while thousands of fearful residents flee into exile.

NOVEMBER 3, 1959. During Panama’s Independence Day celebrations, 120 people are injured in anti-American riots, eventually being quelled by Panamanian National Guardsmen and U.S. troops.

MARCH 4, 1960. At 3:10 p.m., as 76 tons of Belgian munitions are being offloaded from the 4,300-

ton hired French merchantman *La Coubre* directly at Havana’s Tallapiedra dock, an explosion occurs. A half hour later, as hundreds of rescuers tend to survivors, another blast kills even more people. The final toll is at least 75 dead and 200 injured, with some estimates ranging much higher.

The Cuban government accuses the CIA of perpetrating an act of sabotage through their agent William Alexander Morgan; the Americans, in turn, attribute this calamity to Raúl Castro, minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, who has overridden the usual safety procedure of unloading munition ships far out in the harbor, then lightering their cargo ashore piecemeal.

MARCH 17, 1960. Concerned by the increasingly leftist bent of Castro’s policies—nationalization of all private and public Cuban businesses, sweeping agrarian seizures, drive toward one-party rule, and so on—the administration of U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower authorizes a CIA plan to topple this nascent communist regime. A rival “government-in-exile” is to be created in Florida; propaganda is to be directed into Cuba to foment unrest and opposition; and a small paramilitary force of exiles is to be recruited and covertly trained in Guatemala to conduct guerrilla warfare—all “in such a manner as to avoid the appearance of U.S. intervention.”

MAY 1960. An advance party of CIA operatives and 32 Cuban exiles arrives in Guatemala to begin creating a remote training camp code-named “Trax” on the wealthy Roberto Alejos’s “La Helvetia” coffee plantation, in the jungle foothills between Quetzaltenango and Retalhuleu.

AUGUST 25, 1960. Salvadoran students go on strike against their country’s entrenched and corrupt administration under President Lemus, prompting the government to declare a state of siege 11 days later.

SEPTEMBER 1960. Almost 1,500 Cuban exile recruits begin arriving in Guatemala from southern Florida to covertly train to spearhead a full-bore invasion of their homeland; they are trucked from San José to the remote “Trax” base. Two weeks later, an airfield code-named “Madd” or “Rayo” is also opened near Retalhuleu for exile pilots to train aboard a score of World War II-vintage, B-26B Martin-Douglas Marauder medium bombers (also



CIA transports line the airfield at Retalhuleu, 1960; the Cuban exiles' "Triax" training camp is in the distant foothills. (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency)

known as A-26B Invaders), temporarily inscribed with false Guatemalan Air Force insignia.

On September 7, while training high up in the mountains, a 22-year-old recruit named Carlos Rodríguez Santana falls to his death. As his serial number is 2506, the entire unit adopts the regimental name of *Brigada 2506* in honor of their first fatality.

OCTOBER 26, 1960. A group of junior Salvadoran officers, backed by broad popular support, overthrows the government of Lemus and temporarily replaces it with a junta of three officers and three civilians.

OCTOBER 31, 1960. In a session before the United Nations General Assembly, Cuba's Foreign Minister Raúl Roa García complains for a second time of the U.S. government's recruitment and training of an army of "mercenaries and counter revolutionaries," providing many details as to their activities and intentions (although also overestimating their numbers at 6,000).

NOVEMBER 13, 1960. Some 120 left-wing, nationalistic young Guatemalan Army officers lead a revolt against the despotic rule of President Miguel Fuentes. Although it is quickly repressed, leaders such as Luis Turcios Lima and Marco Antonio Yon Sosa go on to establish a guerrilla force called *Movimiento Revolucionario 13 de Noviembre* or MR-13, which launches a protracted struggle against the regime.

JANUARY 3, 1961. In one final gesture before leaving office, President Eisenhower severs diplomatic relations with Castro's Cuba. When the new administration of President John F. Kennedy is inaugurated 17 days later, it inherits the CIA's far-

advanced invasion scheme, still seeking to conceal American involvement (despite repeated security leaks). This operation is supposed to start with a fictitious uprising by the Cuban armed forces. Then, once the small invasion army disembarks and is embraced by local supporters, the government-in-exile is to follow immediately from Miami and request U.S. military assistance.

Notwithstanding the many doubts raised by military professionals and the moral objections from colleagues, Kennedy approves the plan. Late during the preinvasion buildup in February, though, the president—uneasy about maintaining his pledge of no direct involvement by American forces—makes a last-minute modification by changing the exiles' proposed daylight disembarkation near Trinidad or Casilda into a nocturnal landing farther west at Girón and Bahía de Cochinos, west of Cienfuegos. (Although commonly mistranslated as the "Bay of Pigs," in this particular instance, *Cochinos* refers simply to a type of fish abundantly available in this harbor.)

MARCH 13, 1961. In an apparent attempt to divert Cuban defenders away from the true disembarkation point, a small CIA-furnished boat penetrates the harbor at Santiago de Cuba in distant Oriente Province, peppering its refinery at dawn with small cannon and machine-gun fire in the hope of sparking an explosion.

APRIL 14, 1961. After three days at anchor, seven CIA-chartered ships and the former U.S. landing-ship *San Marcos* set sail from the isolated port of Puerto Cabezas (Nicaragua), bearing American operatives and 1,258 members of Brigade 2506, which has been subdivided into six battalions: the 1st con-

sisting of paratroopers (to be flown out later); the 2nd, 5th, and 6th of infantrymen; the 3rd of artillery; and the 4th armored. Helping see off this expedition is the Nicaraguan dictator Luis Somoza, who jocularly asks the departing soldiers to bring him back a couple of hairs from Castro's beard.

Once at sea, the flotilla is shepherded across the Caribbean by two destroyer escorts from the task force of the 27,100-ton U.S. support carrier *Essex*, with a two-engine observation plane circling above to ensure that this force is not discovered before materializing off the Cuban coast.

APRIL 15, 1961. In compliance with the CIA's aim of suggesting that Cuba's armed forces are revolting against Castro, a pair of B-26B bombers with false Cuban Air Force markings departs Puerto Cabezas (Nicaragua), to strike the Antonio Maceo Airfield outside Santiago de Cuba at dawn this Saturday, destroying two parked planes. Three other pairs of exile-piloted bombers also hit the Ciudad Libertad and San José de los Baños airbases outside

Havana, claiming three more victims; however, the defenders are alert, so that one B-26B is shot down by Ciudad Libertad's antiaircraft batteries, while two others are so severely damaged that they must make emergency landings at the Boca Chica Naval Air Station on Key West and on Grand Cayman Island. More importantly, five swift Cuban T-33A jets and four FB-11 Sea Fury fighters survive the attacks intact.

A ninth exile bomber with fake battle damage is flown into Miami by 8:20 a.m., pretending to be a defecting Cuban Air Force plane. However, this deception is quickly unmasked when it is proven that the real Cuban Air Force flies B-26C bombers painted olive drab and with transparent Plexiglas nose cones, not the solid-nosed, aluminum-colored B-26Bs provided to the exiles. The unwitting U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Adlai Stevenson, will soon express outrage at finding himself publicly duped. Embarrassed by this early intelligence failure, President Kennedy cancels a second exile aerial strike planned for April 16.

Fidel Castro

Fidel Alejandro Castro Ruz was born on his father's sugar plantation in Birán, near Mayarí in the eastern Cuban province of Oriente (modern Holguín). His birthdate is believed to be August 13, 1927, although he later changed it to 1926 to advance a grade in school. Fidel's father, Ángel Castro Argiz, had arrived from Galicia in Spain and had prospered. He already had five children with his wife. Fidel was the third of seven children born out of wedlock with the household servant Lina Ruz González. Only nine of all of Ángel's children apparently survived into adulthood.

Because of his illegitimacy, Fidel was not baptized until he was eight. A proud and troublesome child, he was sent to the Catholic boarding schools of La Salle and Dolores in the city of Santiago de Cuba. When Fidel was 15, his father finally moved to dissolve his first marriage. After his father married Fidel's mother two years later, the teenager changed his surname to Castro. He excelled at studies with ease and grew strong and tall at six feet, three inches. In 1944, he was even voted the best high school athlete in Cuba. He was sent to Havana for his final year, graduating from the Jesuit-run Colegio de Belén in June 1945. A gifted orator, he enrolled that same September to study law at the University of Havana.

Although at first intimidated by the violent politics that gripped that institution, Castro soon plunged into the turbulence. Details remain sketchy, but he is known to have become a passionate adherent of the Ortodoxo Party, formed in 1947 by Sen. Eduardo Chibás to battle corruption. That same July, Castro also volunteered for a revolutionary expedition intended to depose the Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo, which never left Cuba. In April 1948, he was present as a radical student delegate at a conference in Bogotá, which ended in riots after the murder of the popular Liberal Party leader Jorge Eliécer Gaitán. Threatened with arrest in its aftermath, Castro fled into the Cuban Embassy and was flown home to Havana.

Shortly after returning, he married a philosophy student named Mirta Díaz-Balart on October 12, 1948. She came from a wealthy family with close ties to the elite, and the next September 1 she bore him a son named Fidel Ángel. By now an avowed opponent of official corruption and American influence, Castro, after graduating from law school in 1950, began representing poor clients. Still immersed in politics, he was also present when his mentor Chibás shot himself during a radio broadcast on August 5, 1951. Castro ran as a candidate for the Cuban legislature the next year, but the election was cancelled by Gen. Fulgencio Batista's coup of March 10, 1952. Castro filed a protest with the Cuban Court of Constitutional Guarantees, which was ignored. Frustrated, he abandoned his legal practice and the Ortodoxo Party to begin planning an assault on the Moncada barracks the next year.

In Cuba, meanwhile, Castro—realizing that a major operation is now imminent—orders a general mobilization and the arrest of tens of thousands of potential opponents, in anticipation of repelling an invasion.

APRIL 17, 1961. *Bay of Pigs.* After exiled Cuban frogmen and their American instructors have slipped ashore from two rubber rafts to set up beacon lights, the chartered merchantman *Barbara J.* starts to pick its way deep inside the Bahía de Cochinos shortly past midnight, while the first contingent of Brigade 2506's 2nd Infantry Battalion prepares to disembark onto Playa Larga or "Long Beach." Shortly thereafter, the *Braggart* also arrives opposite Girón—20 miles away at the bay's eastern mouth—readying to disgorge the first elements of the 3rd, 4th, and 6th battalions. Unexpected coral reefs and other difficulties slow the operation, and the frogmen are discovered by Cuban militia sentinels around 3:00 a.m., resulting in gunfire that arouses the defense. Castro is advised by telephone that the invasion has commenced. Initial resistance proves light, though, so the landing ship *San Marcos* succeeds the *Braggart*,

disgoring five M-41 Walker Bulldog tanks at Girón. Dawn also brings a half-dozen exile C-46 and C-54 transport planes, who drop 177 paratroopers in two companies about 10 miles inland to hold the beachhead's outer perimeter near the villages of Central Australia and Covadonga. All told, it is believed that slightly more than 1,400 Cuban exiles and CIA operatives are ashore by daybreak.

Around 6:45 a.m., the first serious opposition occurs when a Cuban Air Force Sea Fury piloted by Maj. Enrique Carrera Rolas appears over Playa Larga and blasts the merchantman *Houston* of Capt. Luis Morse Delgado with a pair of rockets, setting it ablaze so that it must be beached. Combat inland also intensifies as Castro directs tens of thousands of Cuban troops and militia units to begin converging from Cienfuegos and other regional strongpoints, while at 9:15 a.m., several more Sea Furies appear and strike the ammunition-ship *Rio Escondido*, off Girón, with rockets. The *Rio Escondido* is abandoned and explodes soon afterward with a tremendous blast. When four exile B-26s arrive overhead around 10:00 a.m. to provide a bit of air cover, they are quickly overwhelmed by the much faster and more



Cuban anti-aircraft gun overlooking the Bay of Pigs. (U.S. Department of Defense)

agile Cuban T-33s and Sea Furies, while several A4D-2 Skyhawks from the distant U.S. carrier *Essex* observe impotently, unauthorized to intercede. As a result of these deteriorating conditions, the last exile supply ships *Atlántico* and *Caribe* refuse to off-load their cargoes, instead being ordered back out to sea by U.S. naval commanders, while exile pilots no longer wish to sortie from Nicaragua and engage in aerial combat against such clearly superior aircraft.

President Kennedy, disillusioned by the lack of popular support greeting the exiles—as well as the strength and effectiveness of Castro's countermeasures and the swelling international condemnation—decides to cut his losses by curtailing any further American involvement. The landing force is abandoned to its fate, as Castro—still under the mistaken belief that the invaders number around 6,000 men—masses some 20,000 troops and crushes Brigade 2506 through sheer weight of numbers. On April 18, the invaders' outer perimeter is pressed back into San Blas, while the 2nd Battalion is driven from Playa Larga—its battered survivors must regroup with the main body around Girón. The 5th Battalion is left isolated amid the marshes of the Zapata Peninsula. CIA instructors of the Alabama Air National Guard volunteer to fly one final sortie from Nicaragua with five B-26s on the morning of April 19 to help ease the pressure on their trapped charges, but two of their planes are shot down, and their few bombs cannot avert the outcome. San Blas falls at daybreak, and one last desperate transmission is received by 2:30 p.m. from Girón. The remnants of Brigade 2506 are broken, and almost 1,200 survivors are rounded up over the next few days, many having sought refuge in the nearby Zapata Swamp. Cuban losses total 156 dead and roughly 800 wounded; exile fatalities are listed at 114, while perhaps 150 have managed to escape aboard the departing CIA flotilla and its U.S. naval escorts.

Several months afterward, the president fires the longstanding CIA director Allen W. Dulles, as well as his deputies Charles P. Cabell and Richard M. Bissell, for this ill-conceived and poorly executed fiasco. Adm. Arleigh Burke, chief of U.S. Naval Operations, and other Pentagon officials are also forced into early retirement.

MAY 1, 1961. Castro openly announces his adherence to communist ideology and allies himself with the Soviet Union. Washington reacts bitterly to this alignment.

MAY 30, 1961. After more than 31 years of ruthless dictatorship, the corrupt Dominican ruler Trujillo is assassinated by a sniper round while traveling along the highway west of his capital to visit his mistress. However, his assassins fail to announce his death and immediately to seize power, allowing his slightly wounded chauffeur time to hitch a ride back into the capital with a warning. Consequently, the dictator's eldest son, Rafael "Ramfis" Trujillo Jr., returns from Paris and executes most of the two-dozen conspirators, thereby retaining the family stranglehold.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1961. This evening in the main square of the small Mexican city of San Luis Potosí, several followers of the upstart gubernatorial candidate, Dr. Salvador Nava Martínez, are shot dead, after which soldiers detain him and destroy the *Tribuna* newspaper office to maintain the Partido Revolucionario Institucional's (Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI) stranglehold on power.

JANUARY 1962. Cuba is expelled from the U.S.-created Organization of American States.

MARCH 28, 1962. After four difficult years in office, Argentina's military leaders depose the country's beleaguered civilian president, Dr. Arturo Frondizi. The army also becomes split between two factions: the *Colorados* or "Reds" who wish to see all democratic institutions swept away as ineffectual and replaced by an outright dictatorship, and the *Azules* or "Blues" who favor military monitoring of the presidency and civilian agencies. Occasional skirmishes erupt between rival groups.

JULY 18, 1962. At 3:20 a.m., Manuel Prado y Ugar-teche is toppled as Peruvian president—10 days before his six-year term in office is scheduled to expire—by a military coup led by the 57-year-old general Ricardo Pío Pérez Godoy, head of the armed forces.

AUGUST 1962. Pentagon analysts notice a doubling in Soviet ship traffic bound into Cuba, which virtually doubles again in September. Reports also begin arriving about thousands of Eastern bloc military personnel and technicians erecting defensive emplacements and extending runways throughout the island, as well as preparing what appear to be missile launch pads. Submarines are also sighted offshore, and the harassment of American U-2 reconnaissance flights becomes more belligerent with the intervention of newly acquired MiG-17 jet fighters.

OCTOBER 1, 1962. The U.S. secretary of defense, Robert McNamara, discusses with the Joint Chiefs of Staff the possibility of taking action against Cuba in case Soviet offensive weapons are being installed on that island, which is only 90 miles from the American mainland. As a result, aerial reconnaissance efforts are redoubled two days later, and scores of U.S. Navy warships begin stealthily assembling to interdict seaborne traffic and even invade Cuba, if necessary.

OCTOBER 14, 1962. U-2 reconnaissance photographs positively identify three Soviet medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM) sites at San Cristóbal, while intermediate-range sites are also spotted the next day under construction at Guanajay. President Kennedy is informed on Monday morning, October 16, and therefore orders more low-level photo-reconnaissance flights made to obtain irrefutable evidence, while preparing his government for a showdown with the Soviet Union.

OCTOBER 22, 1962. *Cuban Missile Crisis.* After a week of discreet yet intense mobilization—during which almost 200 U.S. warships, thousands of air-

craft, and hundreds of thousands of servicemen have been deployed—President Kennedy informs the public during a televised speech at 7:00 p.m. that Soviet nuclear missiles are being secretly installed in Cuba. A naval “quarantine” is therefore to be imposed within two days to prevent further shipments from reaching that island, while an official protest is being lodged before the United Nations (UN) calling for the immediate removal of these offensive weapons. (The term “quarantine” is deliberately chosen rather than “blockade,” which might be misconstrued as an act of war.) The world holds its breath as a confrontation looms between the two nuclear superpowers.

While evidence is being presented before the UN Security Council and tense negotiations are initiated with Soviet premier Nikita S. Khrushchev, a dozen U.S. destroyers take up station on October 24 in a line arching 500 miles out into the Atlantic from Cape Maysi, beyond range of Soviet aircraft stationed in Cuba. Scores of much more powerful American warships and submarines also patrol near the quarantine line, while reconnaissance planes crisscross overhead; consequently, two-dozen approaching Soviet freighters reverse course or slow



Cuban Missile Crisis.

down in the mid-Atlantic—except for the harmless tanker *Bucharest*, which is intercepted the next morning at 7:15 a.m. by the U.S. destroyer *Gearing* and cleared to proceed a couple of hours later, without being boarded. To establish a legal precedent, though, the Lebanese merchantman *Marucla* is boarded by naval parties from the destroyers *Pierce* and *J.P. Kennedy* on the morning of October 26 before being allowed to continue its passage.

The next day, Khrushchev offers to remove all Soviet missiles from Cuba if the United States will withdraw its Jupiter missiles from Turkey. Kennedy refuses, and the Soviets capitulate by Sunday, October 28, when the premier sends a letter to the American president agreeing to dismantle the bases in Cuba and remove all offensive nuclear weaponry. The quarantine is nevertheless maintained as bilateral talks then continue at the UN to determine exactly how this withdrawal is to be executed and verified. After U-2 flights confirm the actual demolition of the bases on November 1, merchantmen are allowed to proceed toward Cuba again, and one week later, American warships and aircraft visually observe 42 missiles being retired on the decks of eight different Soviet ships. Tensions ease considerably by November 14, and the confrontation is defused five days later when Castro furthermore agrees to the removal of the 42 Soviet-built IL-28 bombers that Cuba has purchased in exchange for an American pledge not to invade.

DECEMBER 23, 1962. After protracted negotiations with Castro, most of the Brigade 2506 captives from the Bay of Pigs disaster are repatriated to Homestead Air Force Base near Miami (Florida), in exchange for \$53 million in baby food and pharmaceutical products.

MARCH 3, 1963. Pérez Godoy is deposed as president of Peru by Gen. Nicolás Lindley López, head of the army.

MARCH 29, 1963. Guatemalan president Ydígoras is toppled in a coup led by his minister of defense, Col. Enrique Peralta Azurdia, who assumes office two days afterward.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1963. Amid the difficult transition in the Dominican Republic, after its decades of despotic misrule by Trujillo, the newly elected leftist president—Professor Juan D. Bosch—is beset by civil unrest and deposed by a military coup that

replaces him with a triumvirate of conservative officeholders.

OCTOBER 3, 1963. Ten days before the populist reformer Villeda Morales is about to be convincingly reelected as president of Honduras, he is deposed in a bloody dawn coup staged by air force colonel Oswaldo López Arellano, who is backed by reactionary elements from the country's landowning oligarchy. Troops mercilessly butcher political opponents for several days, while Congress is dissolved, the constitution suspended, elections cancelled, and Villeda flown into exile.

At first, Washington angrily severs diplomatic relations when López Arellano assumes office as a signal of its disapproval; however, after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy the next month, the new administration of Lyndon B. Johnson restores relations (and military assistance payments) by December 14 to continue resisting "real or imagined Communist threats" throughout Central America.

JANUARY 9, 1964. Anti-American fighting erupts in Panama over the refusal of authorities to honor an agreement to fly the Panamanian flag in conjunction with the Stars and Stripes over the Canal Zone. As a result, President Chiari severs diplomatic relations with Washington the next day. Four U.S. soldiers and 24 Panamanians are killed, while 85 Americans and 200 Panamanians are wounded, before order can be fully restored by January 13.

MARCH 13, 1964. In the midst of a debilitating economic crisis, Brazilian president João Goulart stages a rally by 150,000 people in Rio de Janeiro announcing the nationalization of foreign-owned oil refineries and other socialist measures, plus calling for a new national constitution. Fearful that these actions might presage the establishment of a left-wing dictatorship, 500,000 counterdemonstrators take part in a "March of the Family with God for Liberty" six days later in São Paulo, followed by another 150,000-person demonstration in Santos on March 24.

Tension comes to a head a few days later when pro-Goulart sailors and marines refuse to obey their superior officers at Rio de Janeiro, and the president sides with the mutineers. The navy minister thereupon resigns in protest, while the military prepares to intervene.

MARCH 31, 1964. *Brazilian Overthrow.* An anti-Goulart insurrection breaks out this morning in

Minas Gerais, rebel columns from Gen. Olímpio Mourão Filho's 1st Army being dispatched from there under Gen. Carlos de Meira Matos toward the capital Brasília, as well as to confront loyal forces around Rio de Janeiro. Most garrisons in the interior quickly join this uprising, and on April 1—after vainly attempting to persuade the president to break with his communist backers—intelligence chief and general Amaury Kruel leads the crucial 2nd Army into revolt at São Paulo.

Goulart flies to Brasília in a last-ditch effort to rally support, but when his garrison in Rio de Janeiro furthermore mutinies during his absence, the president instead flees into exile in Uruguay on April 2. He is succeeded by the 63-year-old general Humberto de Alencar Castello Branco, chief of the Army General Staff, who has used his *febianos* contacts (see “July 1945” entry) to secretly organize this coup.

APRIL 24, 1965. *Dominican Intervention.* Beset by continual economic problems, the Dominican Republic's triumvirate of conservative officeholders is deposed in a bloodless military coup. The next day, however, the plotters themselves are in turn surprised when a group of young army colonels takes over their rebellion by rousing thousands of civilian supporters into the streets of Santo Domingo with a call for the return of exiled president Bosch. Brig. Gen. Elías Wessín y Wessín—a member of the original cabal and commander of 1,500 troops and 30 tanks stationed at San Isidro Air Base, 20 miles outside the capital—counters by sending four of his P-51 fighters to strafe the presidential palace on the afternoon of April 25, then attempts the next day to fight his way into the city out of the east with his armored column. But his progress is unexpectedly checked at Duarte Bridge by rebel troops and armed civilians under the skillful leadership of Col. Francisco Caamaño Deñó, who, despite suffering hundreds of casualties and great material damage during fierce exchanges of gunfire, succeeds in repelling Wessín's assault. The popular uprising thus appears upon the verge of succeeding.

However, the U.S. administration of President Lyndon Baines Johnson—convinced that this insurrection enjoys stealthy communist support and might result in yet another socialist regime in the region—intervenes by ordering the 27,100-ton support carrier USS *Boxer* and its transport consort, bearing 1,500 marines, to materialize off the embattled city by dawn of April 27, 1965, protect-

ing the evacuation of about 1,000 American civilians and 1,400 other nationals from Haina the next day. As combat still persists around the capital, Washington commits to a full-scale occupation by disembarking 1,700 marines on April 30, plus airlifting 2,500 paratroopers into San Isidro Air Base to impose a cease-fire within a nine-square-mile “internationalized zone” that encompasses all foreign legations within the city.

The arrival of more American troops (their numbers eventually swell to almost 23,000 throughout the entire island), along with an additional 2,000 Brazilian, Paraguayan, Honduran, Nicaraguan, and Costa Rican troops who join by May 6, known collectively as the *Fuerza Interamericana de Pacificación* or “Inter-American Pacification Force” (FIP), stifles all overt fighting; however, Caamaño Deñó's rebels nonetheless remain in control of the capital, while the east bank of the Ozama River is held by the military junta—now nominally headed by Col. Antonio Imbert Barrera, one of Trujillo's assassins, supposedly a more palatable figurehead than Wessín.

A tense standoff ensues, negotiations brokered by the Organization of American States being punctuated by occasional exchanges of gunfire, such as the weeklong outburst that erupts after junta planes destroy the rebel radio station on May 13, 1965, or the bloody outbreak of June 15, when 21 people are slain within the beleaguered city and its Customs House is set ablaze. An agreement is finally hammered out on August 31, whereby both Caamaño and Wessín are to go abroad to diplomatic postings so that the impasse can end and the city of Santo Domingo can begin to recuperate from an ordeal that has claimed some 3,000 lives. The interventionist forces remain until June 1966, when Joaquín Balaguer is reelected as president, after which all foreign troops withdraw by September 27.

JUNE 27, 1966. This morning, the commander in chief of the Argentine Army—Lt. Gen. Pascual Pistarini—informs his subordinate generals Juan Carlos Onganía and Julio Alsogaray of the I Army Corps that they are to initiate their plan to depose the unpopular 65-year-old civilian president Arturo Umberto Illia. Strategic points such as the telecommunications centers in Buenos Aires are seized by this same evening, and the beleaguered president agrees to resign by 9:00 p.m. rather than risk clashes involving forces from the navy and air force, which remain loyal to him.

However, Illia refuses to physically vacate his office in the Casa Rosada, so he has to be expelled at 7:25 a.m. the next morning by a federal police unit, who bring tear gas and manhandle him out of the building. A military junta thereupon temporarily replaces him, soon coming to be dominated by the 52-year-old Onganía, who abolishes all political parties and trade unions, censures the press, and tries to impose a right-wing dictatorship.

MARCH 1967. Feeling that he can best contribute to the communist cause by fomenting further insurrections in Latin America, the 39-year-old guerrilla leader Ché Guevara leaves Cuba and enters Bolivia in disguise to set up a secret base in the mountains between Santa Cruz and Camiri. He begins with only 60 followers, led by the Bolivian brothers Guido and Roberto “Coco” Peredo, who initiate their attacks by ambushing a Bolivian army patrol, during which seven soldiers are slain.

MAY 18, 1967. In the impoverished Mexican town of Atoyac de Álvarez in the state of Guerrero, a teachers’ protest led by 30-year-old Lucio Cabañas Barrientos is dispersed with gunfire, five protesters being slain. Cabañas, a former teacher and union organizer born of peasant stock, flees into the mountains to begin creating a grassroots rebel organization called the *Partido de los Pobres* or “Party of the Poor,” which over the next seven years will combat the repressive state regime, indifferent federal authorities, and the Mexican Army.

EARLY JULY 1967. Sweeps by 2,500 Bolivian soldiers (dubbed Operation CYNTHIA) have failed to locate Guevara, although 33 troopers have been killed—as opposed to only 6 to 8 guerrillas. President René Barrientos therefore requests military assistance in this pursuit from neighboring Argentina, which refuses.

LATE JULY 1967. The 26-year-old Marxist ideologue and French journalist Jules Régis Debray is captured by Bolivian troops while walking out of one of Guevara’s guerrilla camps. He is eventually sentenced to 30 years’ incarceration for his part in this insurgency.

AUGUST 1967. In the region of Pancasán, a ruggedly mountainous part of the Department of Matagalpa in southwestern Nicaragua, the National Guard of newly elected president Anastasio “Tachito”

Somoza Debayle crushes the main forces of the reconstituted *Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional* or “Sandinista Front for National Liberation” (FSLN), named in honor of Augusto Sandino (see “May 4, 1927” entry in “Nicaraguan Civil War”), prompting the rebels to go underground again for the next several years.

OCTOBER 8, 1967. In Yuro Ravine, 75 miles north of Camiri, Guevara’s jungle camp is discovered by 180 Bolivian rangers, who divide into two columns, then attack around noon. After a firefight during which four soldiers and three guerrillas are slain, Guevara—wounded in his left thigh—is captured along with three companions and executed the next day, after being carried five miles into the town of Higuera on a stretcher. His remains are displayed in nearby Valle Grande (population 7,000) for a couple of days, then cremated.

OCTOBER 2, 1968. After several months of growing political turmoil in Mexico City, which is about



Image of Che Guevara, after the iconic photograph by Cuban photographer “Alexander Korda” (Alberto Díaz Gutiérrez), in which Che attends a funeral service for the victims of the La Coubre munition-ship explosion in Havana. (Juan Barreto/AFP/Getty Images)

Ché Guevara

Ernesto Guevara de la Serna was born on June 14, 1928, in the Argentine city of Rosario, the eldest of five children of a well-to-do family. Despite suffering from asthma, he spent an active and privileged childhood. At the age of 20, he enrolled in the University of Buenos Aires medical school. He interrupted his studies in 1951 to travel through South America on a motorcycle with his friend Alberto Granado. This firsthand contact with the continent's poorest classes changed his life. After completing his medical degree in June 1953, Guevara left in search of a cause, reaching Guatemala by the end of December.

Guatemala's populist president, Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, was attempting land and social reforms, which Guevara tried to assist in a minor medical capacity. He also mixed among other foreign socialists and, because of his distinct accent, soon became known as *El Che*—a common Latin American nickname for anyone from Argentina. The next year, Guevara bitterly witnessed the fall of the Arbenz government in a CIA-engineered coup, so he fled to Mexico by early September 1954. There he met the Cuban exile Fidel Castro, joining his small rebel band in July 1955. After training, they departed from Veracruz a year and a half later aboard the *Granma* to try to topple the Batista regime.

The only non-Cuban in the group, Guevara proved a brave and resourceful guerrilla leader, well liked by rural residents. By the time the final rebel offensive moved against Santa Clara in late December 1958, he was leading the spearhead—with verve, if not great tactical skill. After Batista's flight, the 30-year-old rebel *comandante* was rewarded with Cuban citizenship and command of the La Cabaña fortress on the outskirts of Havana. There, he executed many of the regime's most hated officials.

Not surprisingly, the mercurial revolutionary proved much better at toppling than building a government. Despite being named to such high posts as president of the National Bank of Cuba and minister of industries, Guevara showed scant interest or aptitude. He also grew disillusioned with Castro's Soviet patrons, instead favoring the more radical Maoist policies of their Communist Chinese rivals. After giving a speech in Algiers on February 24, 1965, in which he complained about the Soviet Union's "tacit complicity" with the West, Guevara was recalled to Cuba and disappeared from public view.

An embarrassment, Guevara was returned to his "true" calling of revolutionary by traveling secretly to the Congo with 13 companions in late April 1965. After a vain attempt to help its guerrilla movement, he recovered from this African fiasco in Dar-es-Salaam and Eastern Europe. Guevara then moved on to southeastern Bolivia by early November 1966, again hoping to raise an insurrection. Instead, he was hunted down by the Bolivian Army with help from CIA operatives and U.S. Special Forces and killed on October 9, 1967. Despite his many flaws and lonely end, the charismatic Guevara remained an icon in popular culture. Even enemies expressed a grudging admiration for his spirit of self-sacrifice, which led him to forsake a comfortable existence to campaign on behalf of those less fortunate.

to become the focus of global attention by hosting the Summer Olympic Games within 10 days' time, a citywide protest march by university students ends at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in the capital's Tlatelolco district. By evening, only 5,000 demonstrators remain, who unexpectedly find themselves surrounded by troops with armored cars and tanks emerging from the adjoining streets. Gunfire erupts, and many hapless civilians are mowed down: estimates of the dead range from 200 to 300 people, with thousands more wounded, beaten, or arrested. Government sources cite only 4 dead and 20 wounded, being widely disbelieved.

Apparently fearful of embarrassment before world-wide television audiences during the forthcoming Olympics, the government of President Gustavo Díaz Ordáz has ordered the Mexican Army to crush this student movement through an exemplary reprisal, which is remembered as the "Tlatelolco Massacre."

OCTOBER 3, 1968. Beset by political scandal and unrest, Peru's President Fernando Belaúnde Terry is deposed in a military coup led by the reform-minded 58-year-old general Juan Velasco Alvarado, head of Peru's armed forces.

OCTOBER 11, 1968. When the freshly reelected Panamanian president Arnulfo Arias attempts to strip Panama's National Guard of power and purge its officer corps, the 39-year-old lieutenant colonel Omar Torrijos Herrera and several others depose him within 11 days of assuming office. Arias must therefore go into exile in Miami (Florida). Col. José María Pinilla emerges as temporary leader of a provisional junta, which issues several popular dictates to placate the Panamanian public.

Washington refuses to recognize this new administration until November 13, after the coup leaders have arrested numerous leftist sympathizers. Minor

pro-Arnulfo outbursts in Chiriquí and Coclé are easily smothered. Torrijos begins to emerge as the real power behind this new government, though, after he arranges to have his coconspirator, Maj. Boris Martínez, arrested during a visit to Miami on February 25, 1969.

NOVEMBER 14, 1968. Mexican troops begin counter guerrilla sweeps through the rugged Atoyac Range in the state of Guerrero, vainly searching for the tiny bands led by Lucio Cabañas and Genaro Vázquez. Army morale is low because of poor pay, rusting equipment, aged upper echelons, and public disapproval of the Tlatelolco Massacre (see “October 2, 1968” entry).

MAY 15, 1969. In Argentina, growing discontent with the dictatorship of General Onganía prompts a student protest in the northern city of Corrientes, which is dispersed by the police, resulting in a single death. A more violent march in Rosario two days later cannot be put down until martial law is declared on May 22 and, furthermore, sparks sympathetic outbursts in La Plata, Tucumán, and Córdoba.

At midmorning on May 29, the latter city becomes the scene of a massive protest by both striking workers and students, remembered as “El Cordobazo.” Local police are overwhelmed, and troops of the 4th Airborne Infantry Brigade of the III Army Corps have to be deployed by 5:00 p.m., fighting their way past street barricades to restore order by the next dawn. El Cordobazo is also known as the *Noche de los Bastones Largos* or “Night of the Long Clubs,” and it marks the beginning of the end of Onganía’s unpopular rule.

MAY 30, 1969. Some 4,000 strikers on the island of Curaçao—angered by wage disparities between Royal Shell employees and local subcontractors—rampage through the business district of its capital Willemstad, causing extensive damage before being put down by Dutch marines and police.

JUNE 27, 1969. *Soccer War.* Immediately after Honduras loses the third of a trio of impassioned playoff matches to El Salvador—the final qualifying games for a single remaining slot in the 1970 World Cup championship in Mexico—the already-strained relations between both nations reach a boiling point when the dictatorial Honduran president López Arellano severs diplomatic relations with his

neighbor. Animosity is also running high in El Salvador, despite their win, because of retaliatory measures being meted out against the 300,000 impoverished Salvadorans living and working illegally in Honduras.

As a result, 12,000 Salvadoran troops cross the border in two columns on the afternoon of July 14, occupying the towns of El Amatillo and Nacaoné, as well as the regional capital of Nueva Ocotepeque—five miles from the frontier—by the next evening. World War II–vintage, propeller-driven airplanes are also used to drop bombs on Toncontin Air Base outside Tegucigalpa, while Honduran islands in the Gulf of Fonseca are assaulted. This offensive quickly bogs down, though, when Honduran F4U-5 Corsair fighters counterattack and severely damage El Salvador’s main oil-storage facilities at the port of Cutuco and Acajutla. The Salvadoran drive from Nueva Ocotepeque on toward Santa Rosa de Capán is then checked by Honduran warplanes, while air transports ferry 1,000 soldiers of the presidential “Guardia de Honor” Battalion from Tegucigalpa to reinforce that threatened town.

The Organization of American States arranges a cease-fire by the evening of July 18, which goes into effect two days later.

The Salvadorans subsequently demand reparations for the more than 60,000 Salvadoran citizens who have been chased out of Honduras, as well as guarantees for the safety of those left behind. The threat of economic sanctions, however, compels them to withdraw their troops by August 5. This conflict has inflicted between 2,000 and 3,000 fatalities on both sides, in addition to leaving thousands more homeless and disrupting both frail economies. A peace treaty will not be concluded until October 30, 1980.

SEPTEMBER 26, 1969. Amid the uncertain political climate in Bolivia following the death five months previously of President Barrientos in a helicopter crash, his weak vice president Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas is overthrown by Gen. Alfredo Ovando Candía. The latter surprises his conservative supporters by implementing a notably leftist policy, which fosters economic and social turmoil.

MID-DECEMBER 1969. While attending horse races in Mexico City, Panamanian strongman Torrijos is deposed by a military coup led by colonels Amado Sanjurjo Atencio, Ramiro Silvera Domínguez, and Nentzen Franco. Returning home on

December 16 aboard a private plane lent by Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, Torrijos lands at Chiriquí (thanks to the collaboration of its regional National Guard commander, Maj. Manuel Antonio Noriega) and quickly rallies the National Guard garrison at David and other towns as he advances upon the capital, overthrowing the conspirators and reclaiming power. All of Panama's remaining political parties are subsequently outlawed, and as many as 1,600 opponents are detained.

MAY 29, 1970. Shortly after 9:00 a.m. on this Thursday morning in Buenos Aires, the retired general and former president Aramburu is brazenly kidnapped from his apartment by disguised young Peronist members of a new urban guerrilla group, who call themselves the Montoneros. They drive him to their hideout at a semi-deserted farm near Timote and submit him to a “trial,” while the authorities vainly mount a nationwide search for the ex-president. Aramburu is shot in the farm's basement at 7:00 p.m. on June 1, creating shock waves through the country when the Montoneros announce his execution.

JUNE 8, 1970. Argentina's Joint Chiefs of Staff depose President Onganía, replacing him 10 days afterward with Brig. Gen. Roberto M. Levingstone, military attaché to Washington.

JUNE 30, 1970. Some 40 Argentine urban guerrillas of the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias* or “Armed Revolutionary Forces” (FAR) movement, half of them women, seize the police station and bank in the Garín suburb of Buenos Aires, killing two people before ransacking its vault and disappearing. A similar assault at 7:30 the next morning by a group of Montoneros against the La Calera suburb of Córdoba is repelled, 11 guerrillas being left behind wounded. Among them is Emilio Maza, one of Aramburu's kidnappers, who dies of his wounds a few days later.

JULY 25, 1970. Having failed to locate the guerrilla bands operated by Lucio Cabañas and Genaro Vázquez in the Atoyac Range of the state of Guerrero, the Mexican Army launches a new “hearts and minds” campaign, dubbed Operación AMISTAD or “Operation FRIENDSHIP,” designed to gain local collaborators. Within weeks, it is abandoned as an utter failure.

Montoneros

The urban Movimiento Peronista Montonero or “Mass Peronist Movement” started with the brazen murder of Argentina's former president Aramburu in May 1970. Its young guerrillas, an equal mix of male and female, were fired by a radical blend of ultranational socialism, populist Catholicism, and anti-Americanism. Through random acts of terror, they hoped to weaken the regime to help Juan Perón return from exile. He at first welcomed their acts through a series of letters published from Madrid.

Yet the Montoneros did not make another attack for 22 more months. Instead, the Trotskyite *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* or “People's Revolutionary Army” (ERP) unleashed scores of bombings, robberies, and extortions, most directed against large businesses. The Montoneros resumed action by murdering the Federal Police commander, Gen. Pedro Agarotti, at his home on March 18, 1972. The slackening of military rule, however, and the return of Perón by June 20, 1973, dashed Montonero dreams. Rather than enact the socialist revolution they had hoped for, he embraced the unions and conservative elements that once formed his base. Pardons for imprisoned leftist guerrillas were meanwhile ignored.

As a result, two days after Perón won reelection as president on September 23, 1973, a Montonero hit squad killed his secretary general for the *Confederación General del Trabajo* or “General Work Confederation.” The same radical members then joined the ERP the next month in their bombings and murders, thus hoping to divert Perón from his aims. The president responded by having his ultraconservative private secretary and “Minister of Social Well-Being,” a 57-year-old former corporal in the Federal Police named José López Rega, unleash shadowy right-wing death squads. They became known as the *Alianza Anticomunista Argentina* or “Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance” (Triple A). With help from the military and police, they killed leftists with impunity. Finally, during a huge May Day rally in Buenos Aires on May 1, 1974, an ailing Perón denounced the Montoneros as *estúpidos e imberbes* (“stupid and callow”). Their sympathizers angrily left the parade.

Upon the president's death two months later, Montonero cells stepped up the savage terrorist fight that paralyzed Argentine society. They financed their campaign through robberies and kidnappings. The wealthy brothers Juan and Jorge Bosch, for example, were taken near La Lucila Bridge on September 19, 1974. They were not released until months later, after payment of more than \$60 million in ransoms. Yet such criminality eventually alienated so many Argentines that, when a military junta seized power and launched its “dirty war” of torture and murder, most Montoneros were hunted down and killed.



Jorge Bosch, in a photo released with a ransom demand by his Montonero kidnappers. (Museo Histórico Nacional, Buenos Aires)

SEPTEMBER 4, 1970. In Chile, the Marxist candidate Dr. Salvador Allende Gossens is elected president with 36 percent of the vote after a heated three-way race. Opposition to his ruinous leftist policies will eventually spring up both domestically and internationally—especially out of Washington, where the CIA actively works toward his downfall.

OCTOBER 6, 1970. The right-wing Bolivian general Rogelio Miranda Valdivia launches a coup attempt to depose President Ovando, which is resisted by several left-leaning garrisons throughout the country. After several hours of bloodshed, Ovando seeks asylum in a foreign embassy in La Paz, believing that all is lost; however, the countercoup forces under his populist army commander and confederate, Gen. Juan José Torres González, eventually triumph, and the latter succeeds him in office the next

day. Torres will pursue even more radical policies than his predecessor, deepening Bolivia's economic chaos and antagonizing opponents both at home and abroad.

FEBRUARY 1, 1971. Operatives of Argentina's seven-month-old Marxist urban guerrilla group—the *Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo* or "People's Revolutionary Army" (ERP)—raid various armories, seizing military weaponry to inaugurate a nationwide campaign of terror. Most attacks are directed against large firms such as FIAT, Chrysler, and Coca-Cola subsidiaries, but there are also assassinations and kidnappings of individuals.

MARCH 23, 1971. Amid growing political violence and economic woes, the Argentine president Levingstone attempts to fire Gen. Alejandro Agustín

Lanusse, commander in chief of the army. Instead, Levingstone is removed from office and replaced by Lanusse, who begins easing political repression in anticipation of a return to civilian rule.

APRIL 21, 1971. Haiti's dictator, François "Papa Doc" Duvalier, dies in office.

MAY 1, 1971. Determined to crush the tiny guerrilla bands perpetrating kidnappings and robberies out of the Atoyac Range in the state of Guerrero, the government of newly inaugurated Mexican president Luis Echeverría Álvarez authorizes the defense secretary, Gen. Hermenegildo Cuenca Díaz, to implement Operación TELARAÑA or "Operation COBWEB." This operation entails the extralegal detention of scores of family members or associates of leaders, such as Lucio Cabañas and Genaro Vázquez, in an attempt to locate and kill the leaders. Some 24,000 troops—a third of the total Mexican Army—will be committed to Guerrero in support of these sweeps, yet they fail to produce any results beyond alienating the civilian populace.



Lucio Cabañas. (*Organization of American States*)

JUNE 10, 1971. To quell a wave of violent leftist street protests gripping Mexico City, President Echeverría unleashes a shadowy paramilitary group nicknamed the *Halcones* or "Hawks"—800 active-duty soldiers and hired thugs secretly raised and trained by Col. Manuel Díaz Escobar, a member of the capital's municipal administration. They are allowed to bypass ranks of riot police and fall upon a mob of protesters on Los Maestros Avenue, killing 23 and injuring some 200–300 in a clash that is photographed by newsmen. Embarrassed by this disclosure, Colonel Díaz's group is quickly disavowed and dissolved.

AUGUST 18, 1971. The archconservative Bolivian general Hugo Bánzer Suárez returns from exile in neighboring Argentina to initiate a revolt in his native Department of Santa Cruz de la Sierra against the faltering leftist regime of President Torres. Despite a few days of considerable resistance, Bánzer's contacts with army commanders in La Paz—as well as covert American and Brazilian support—drive Torres from office three days later, and Bánzer assumes power as of August 22.

Seeking to impose strict order upon the fractious nation, he immediately institutes a harshly repressive administration by banning all leftist parties and unions, closing all universities, and ordering the arrests of several thousand dissidents. His iron-fisted rule will eventually be bolstered by easy credit terms abroad, financing large public works, but will remain underscored by brutal severity.

OCTOBER 1971. Argentine armored units revolt at Azul and Olavarría, believing that President Lanusse's policies are paving the way for a return from exile by Perón. This rebellion is quickly squelched, and the armed forces are purged of suspect elements.

APRIL 6, 1972. Anti-government unrest erupts in the Argentine city of Mendoza, being subdued five days later.

APRIL 10, 1972. A joint assassination squad formed by Argentina's ERP and FAR urban guerrilla groups kills army lieutenant general Juan Carlos Sánchez in the city of Rosario.

JUNE 25, 1972. Lucio Cabañas and 20 guerrilla companions ambush a Mexican army convoy at Arroyo Las Piñas near San Andrés de la Cruz (Guerrero), killing 10 soldiers and wounding 18. This at-

tack, coupled with a second ambush on August 23 at nearby Arroyo Oscuro that results in 18 more soldiers dead, 9 wounded, and 11 captured, goads the army into a series of brutal reprisals throughout the region. Convinced that Cabañas's band must number at least 150 guerrillas, the authorities deploy five fresh infantry battalions as well as thousands of state policemen to pursue him.

AUGUST 15, 1972. A combined operation by ERP, FAR, and Montonero teams frees scores of imprisoned colleagues from Rawson Penitentiary at Chubut, most guards having been intimidated by threats against their families. The bulk of the escapees flee into Chile aboard a hijacked airliner, although 19 are left behind at Chubut Airport with several hostages. The latter surrender to Argentine marines after a brief resistance, to be reincarcerated at nearby Trelew Naval Air Base.

AUGUST 22, 1972. Under cover of a riot, the same Argentine urban guerrilla teams attempt to penetrate Trelew Naval Air Base and free its captive colleagues, but are repelled when its marine guard opens fire, killing 16 of the assaulters.

DECEMBER 4, 1972. Prior to the arrival of a peasant protest march in Tegucigalpa, members of the Honduran military bloodlessly topple the ineffectual president Ramón Ernesto Cruz and replace him with López Arellano, head of the armed forces.

FEBRUARY 1973. Colonel Caamaño returns to the Dominican Republic (*see* "April 24, 1965" entry), disembarking with a few followers in hopes of establishing an insurrectionist guerrilla movement. Instead, he is killed in battle within a few days.

MAY 25, 1973. More than a decade of military rule in Argentina ends with the inauguration of Dr. Héctor José Cámpora as its elected president. However, despite having won a clear majority among various contending parties, simmering tensions will lead to Cámpora's resignation by July 13, eventually making way for Perón.

JUNE 20, 1973. Hundreds of thousands of Argentines gather at Ezeiza Airfield outside Buenos Aires to greet Perón upon his return from 18 years of exile in Spain. Security is assigned by the Peronist Party to the retired lieutenant colonel Jorge Manuel

Osinde, a leader in its conservative wing, rather than to the leftist minister of the interior, Esteban Righi; clashes therefore erupt against bands of armed Montonero sympathizers prominent among the huge throng. Estimated fatalities range from 13 to 156, with hundreds more wounded during this "Ezeiza Massacre," although no precise figures are ever verified. Given such dangerous tumult, Perón's flight is diverted this afternoon to Morón Airfield, leaving the disappointed crowds to disperse at nightfall amid sporadic sounds of gunfire.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1973. *Allende's Fall.* At 11:52 a.m., after months of heightened tension and economic collapse, two Chilean Hawker-Hunter fighter jets fire salvoes of rockets into the *La Moneda* presidential palace, setting parts of it ablaze. From his command post in Peñalolén, a Santiago suburb in the Andean foothills, the coup leader—recently promoted general Augusto Pinochet Ugarte—orders tank and infantry columns under Gen. Javier Palacios to descend upon Allende's residence, fighting their way inside after an hour-and-a-half resistance from civilian bodyguards and nearby snipers.

Allende is found dead within one of its inner rooms, either from his own hand, from earlier exchanges of gunfire, or murdered by the triumphant soldiery. Expecting to encounter widespread leftist opposition throughout the remainder of the country, other units are surprised to easily overrun even its ideological strongholds, arresting thousands of activists with scant resistance. Pinochet quickly establishes a junta with air force general Gustavo Leigh, Adm. José Toribio Merino, and Gen. César Mendoza of the *carabineros* or paramilitary police, declaring martial law the next day. By December, at least 1,500 Chileans are dead, 45,000 detained, and 7,000 have fled into exile, as full-scale repression sets in.

NOVEMBER 11, 1973. Faced with increased hostility from Lucio Cabañas's growing guerrilla movement in the Atoyac Range of the state of Guerrero, the Mexican Army has begun pushing in columns to relieve its isolated garrisons when a 300-man convoy is ambushed and suffers four soldiers killed between the hamlets of Yerbasantita and Las Compuertas. The authorities consequently launch Operación LUCIÉRNAGA or "Operation FIREFLY," sending a trio of heavily armed, mobile columns in pursuit of the chieftain, who shifts from one jungle camp to another with his 100–150 followers. After a week of skirmishes, the army winds down this chase.



A helmeted President Allende with armed bodyguards inspecting bomb damage to La Moneda Presidential Palace shortly before his death. (Clendenen Papers, Hoover Institution)

MAY 30, 1974. ERP guerrillas seize the village of Acheral in Argentina's remote northwestern province of Tucumán, hoping to shift their operations out of urban settings and build up a broad rural movement in the jungles of the Andean foothills, modeled after Castro and Guevara's successful campaign in Cuba.

JUNE 2, 1974. After three days of secret, fruitless negotiations between Mexico's revolutionary leader Lucio Cabañas and the senator (soon to be elected governor) for the state of Guerrero, Rubén Figueroa Figueroa, the guerrilla leader seizes his guest and holds him for ransom. This act sparks massive military roundups and sweeps throughout the region, which fail to corner Cabañas or his 60 fighters; Gen. Salvador Rangel Medina is therefore relieved of command as of August 5 and replaced by Gen. Eliseo Jiménez Ruiz. A ransom of 50 million pesos is paid for the captive Figueroa, although 60 elite troops under Lt. Col. Juan López Ruiz intercept his guerrilla guards as they approach El Huicón to release him on September 8, killing three and scattering the rest.

JULY 1, 1974. Upon the death of Argentina's President Perón, his 43-year-old widow, María Estela "Isabelita" Martínez de Perón, succeeds him in office, but she is controlled by extreme rightists within her party. In particular, José López Rega—the "Minister of Social Well-Being"—continues to run a paramilitary war with a force dubbed the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance or "Triple A," countering terrorist activities by leftist agitators in this economically troubled nation.

OCTOBER 11, 1974. Closely chased by 5,000 Mexican troops since the freeing of Senator Figueroa, the guerrilla leader Lucio Cabañas and 14 companions are surprised shortly after noon near Los Toronjos in the Tecpan Range of the state of Guerrero. Escaping over Achotla Mountain after nightfall, the leader is nonetheless left with only four followers; his mother, wife, and three-week-old daughter are captured two weeks later by the army at Tixtla.

DECEMBER 2, 1974. Guided by a captive, Mexican troops of the 19th Battalion under Capt. Pedro

Bravo Torres overtake Cabañas's fugitive band at 9:00 a.m. near El Ototal, 12 miles northwest of Tecpan de Galeana, killing him along with his three remaining followers. Two soldiers are slain and five wounded during this exchange, which virtually ends all revolutionary movement in the mountains of Guerrero. At least 650 civilian captives have lost their lives at the hands of the authorities during this protracted campaign, which is dubbed Mexico's "dirty war."

DECEMBER 4, 1974. Ten Argentine ERP guerrillas in three vehicles intercept the car of Capt. Humberto A. Viola in the city of Tucumán, killing him along with his three-year-old daughter and wounding his five-year-old daughter, all in front of his pregnant wife. This cruel murder turns popular opinion against the guerrillas.

DECEMBER 27, 1974. Nine Sandinista guerrillas kill four people while seizing a private home in Managua (Nicaragua), interrupting a party in honor of U.S. ambassador Turner B. Shelton. Because the American diplomat has already departed, the Sandinistas hold 25 other hostages—including Nicaragua's foreign minister and its ambassador to the United States—demanding a ransom of \$5 million, the release of 14 captive comrades, and a plane to fly them to Cuba. After almost three days of negotiations, they receive \$1 million and are allowed to fly off with their 14 colleagues.

LATE DECEMBER 1974. *Argentina's "Dirty War."* Her administration wracked by economic woes and social unrest, President "Isabelita" de Perón and her right-wing cabinet decide to authorize the military to join the fight against the growing wave of subversion, in contravention of constitutional restrictions against the armed forces' participation in internal affairs. Brig. Gen. Ricardo Muñoz of the 5th Infantry Brigade of Tucumán is consequently instructed to prepare to fully engage the ERP guerrillas operating in that northwestern province, to bolster the efforts of Tucumán's overmatched rural police force. However, while on an aerial reconnaissance, Muñoz and 10 of his senior staff are killed when his plane accidentally crashes on January 6, 1975.

He is succeeded by Brig. Gen. Acdel Edgardo Vilas. It is not until February 5, 1975, that the president actually signs the decree ordering the army to intervene, and then only in that third of Tucumán Province claimed by the ERP as their "liberated zone." Vilas's operation—code-named INDEPENDENCIA—

begins four days later when more than 3,000 troops of the 5th Infantry Brigade (spearheaded by two companies of elite commandos) are deployed: the 19th Infantry Regiment, 5th Communications Company, and 5th Logistics Company from Tucumán; the 20th Mountain Infantry Regiment and 5th Artillery Group from Jujuy; the 28th Mountain Infantry Regiment from Tartagal; plus the 105th Armored Cavalry Scouts, 5th Engineering Company, and 5th Medical Company from Salta.

At first, their sweeps into the hills net only disappointing results, as the guerrillas easily elude their pursuers. A counterinsurgency center is therefore established in the Diego de Rojas School near 5th Brigade headquarters in Famaillá, where suspected collaborators are brought to be terrorized and interrogated. President de Perón visits the disputed province in May, her displeasure at the lack of any progress resulting in Lt. Gen. Leonardo Anaya's replacement as commander in chief of the Argentine Army by Gen. Alberto Numa Laplane.

However, an ERP attack is defeated at Manchalá on May 28, 1975, after which the few hundred surviving guerrillas are gradually hunted down, their support among 2,500 rural sympathizers evaporating because of general disillusionment and the harsh pressures exerted on family and friends by the army. When fugitive guerrillas begin to flee the jungle to hide among the civilian population of the small city of Tucumán, being mostly middle- and upper-class youths from Buenos Aires, they are easily detected and denounced to the authorities. The tactics employed against the ERP prove so effective that, on October 10—while President de Perón is temporarily incapacitated outside the country—the use of such military action is extended nationwide by her cabinet.

However, notwithstanding the ever-more Draconian measures applied by the armed forces in Buenos Aires and other major urban centers, the bombings and assassinations nonetheless continue. The president is finally deposed and placed under house arrest on March 24, 1976, by a junta comprised of Lt. Gen. Jorge Rafael Videla, Adm. Emilio Eduardo Massera, and air force brigadier general Orlando Ramón Agosti. They thereupon unleash a wave of exceptionally brutal arrests and executions, which over the next seven years will claim the lives of some 30,000 civilians—most of whose bodies will never be found. They are thus referred to as the *desaparecidos* or "disappeared." This "dirty war" of torture and murder will break the back of Montonero resistance, some 1,600 of their active members being liquidated, while thousands more flee abroad.

End of the Vietnam War

At dawn on April 30, 1975, the final evacuation of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon was effected by helicopter. This retreat marked the end of a decade of failed intervention, dampening American global policy for years to come. When Vietnam had been freed from Japanese occupation in the summer of 1945, a native movement led by Ho Chi Minh tried to set up a socialist regime. But France returned to reimpose its colonial rule, resulting in nine years of warfare. When this conflict ended in French defeat, Vietnam was split in 1954 into a communist north and a pro-Western south, to prepare for general elections and reunification.

Fearful that a communist win might draw adjacent countries such as Laos and Cambodia into the socialist sphere—the “Domino Theory”—the U.S. administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower persuaded the South Vietnamese to refuse to hold elections, instead creating a separate republic under President Ngo Dinh Diem. The communists of North Vietnam countered by covertly launching a guerrilla campaign into the south by 1960, aimed at toppling the Diem regime.

At first, South Vietnamese forces were able to contain this unrest, with help from 400 U.S. Green Beret Special Forces advisors sent by President John F. Kennedy. However, a major communist offensive with Chinese-supplied weaponry inflicted such heavy casualties in January 1963 that Washington increased its personnel to 16,000 and lost faith in Diem. Perceived as corrupt and biased in favor of the Catholic minority against the Buddhist majority, Diem was murdered in early November during a military coup that destabilized South Vietnam. In the ensuing uncertainty, communist guerrillas made great inroads in rural areas.

Determined to prevent an ideological defeat, President Lyndon B. Johnson hugely increased U.S. forces, which peaked at slightly less than 560,000 troops by 1968. Heavy bombing raids struck communist supply routes in the jungles of Laos and North Vietnam. The Soviet Union and China countered by providing anti-aircraft missiles and vast amounts of arms to their allies, and fighting mushroomed. Despite besting the communists on the battlefield, however, American forces were not able to snuff out resistance, and South Vietnamese morale evaporated. American and world opinion grew weary of the endless violence, which eventually claimed 58,200 U.S. lives and 153,300 wounded, plus millions of Vietnamese. Johnson himself became so disillusioned that he refused to run for reelection.

It was left to his successor, President Richard M. Nixon, to rebuild the South Vietnamese Army so that U.S. forces might disengage. Bombing raids and cross-border offensives nonetheless continued until late 1972, by which time American forces were reduced to 27,000 individuals. The peace accord signed in Paris on January 27, 1973, finalized the withdrawal of the United States, abandoning South Vietnam to its fate. Although Washington promised support, the United States did nothing as North Vietnamese forces regrouped and refitted. They then overran outlying provinces and launched a final crushing offensive in March 1975. Floods of refugees preceded their columns, speeding the fall of one city after another, until T-54 tanks rolled into the empty U.S. Embassy compound in Saigon.

Argentina will remain in the grip of this dictatorship until the military is finally disgraced by its failed invasion attempt against the Falklands in 1982 (see “Falklands Campaign”), after which democratic elections result in President Raúl Alfonsín being voted into office by December 1983.

MARCH 31, 1975. Suspected of accepting bribes from the United Fruit Company, López Arellano is stripped of his position as head of the Honduran armed forces in favor of Col. Juan Alberto Melgar Castro, who also supplants him in the presidency three weeks later.

APRIL 19, 1975. Some 70 ERP guerrillas in five vehicles assault the 121st Argentine Army arsenal in the city of Rosario, suffering four killed before making off with a considerable amount of weap-

onry. The base commander, Col. Arturo Carapani Costa, is also killed, while seven of his soldiers are wounded.

MAY 27, 1975. Some 140 ERP guerrillas under their leaders Asdrubal Santucho and Hugo Irurzún seize the Sorteís Ranch, 10 miles from the 5th Argentine Infantry Brigade base at Famaillá in the province of Tucumán, resting overnight and even making a propaganda film in anticipation of taking that military outpost by surprise the next evening in an attack timed to coincide with the annual “Army Day” festivities.

Instead, as 117 guerrillas are being driven aboard four commandeered vehicles toward their target on May 28, they stumble upon two subalterns and a dozen soldiers of the 5th Engineering Battalion, who are painting the village schoolhouse of



Vietnam War.

Manchalá as part of a civic “hearts-and-minds” campaign. A firefight immediately erupts, the soldiers becoming besieged inside the building until one officer escapes and runs overland to Famaillá for reinforcements. The approach of this column at nightfall causes the guerrillas to melt into the hills, abandoning their vehicles and materiel. The victorious troops find a list in one truck naming more than 400 clandestine ERP operatives in the province, whose arrests will cripple the rural movement.

JULY 25, 1975. Montonero guerrillas launch a series of coordinated attacks in the Buenos Aires suburbs of Vicente López, San Martín, General Sarmiento, and Tigre, destroying numerous police stations, two banks, 60 automobiles, and at least 400 boats when they set fire to various marinas.

AUGUST 27, 1975. Montonero divers attach a mine to the hull of the 4,100-ton Argentine destroyer *Santísima Trinidad* while still under construction at the Río Santiago naval yard. The resultant blast will delay its launch by several weeks.

AUGUST 29, 1975. In Peru, almost seven years of ruinous leftist policies implemented by its authoritarian Velasco Alvarado have resulted in inflation, unemployment, and food shortages, while the president himself is convalescing at Chacacayo near Lima after losing a leg to an embolism. Several prominent military commanders consequently rebel at the southern city of Tacna, being joined by virtually every regional commander, and Prime Minister Francisco Morales Bermúdez is appointed president by acclamation. Unable to resist, Velasco Alvarado addresses the nation, accepting this outcome before retiring into private life.

OCTOBER 5, 1975. A raiding party of 60 Montonero guerrillas attempts to seize the 29th Infantry Regiment headquarters in the town of Formosa, being repelled with 16 dead; a dozen Argentine soldiers and 2 policemen also lose their lives. The fleeing Montoneros hijack a Boeing 737 airliner at the local airport, compelling its pilot to land in a field near Santa Fe so that they might escape.

OCTOBER 8–9, 1975. In a series of nocturnal clashes that leaves six Argentine soldiers dead and two wounded, government forces kill four ERP leaders and wound six others near the hamlets of El Quincho and Tafi Viejo, in the remote province of

Tucumán. Sixteen more guerrillas are slain at San Gabriel Creek near Acheral, on October 10, by helicopter-borne troops, after which the main ERP jungle encampment is overrun eight days later, effectively ending their rural campaign.

LATE NOVEMBER 1975. Teams of Montonero saboteurs, in a coordinated evening attack, ignite dozens of arson fires along the length of Avenida del Libertador in northern Buenos Aires, reducing scores of banks and businesses to ashes between La Lucila Bridge and Tigre.

DECEMBER 18, 1975. Brig. Gen. Jesús Orlando Capellini leads the Argentine Air Force in a brief mutiny against the ineffectual leadership of President de Perón by detaining his superiors and bombarding the presidential palace with air-dropped pamphlets. The army and navy refuse to join, though, hence these mutineers are subdued four days later when their Morón Air Base is stormed.

DECEMBER 23, 1975. Preceded by a series of diversionary attacks throughout metropolitan Buenos Aires, this evening a couple hundred ERP guerrillas attempt to carry the 601st Army Battalion’s “Domingo Viejobuena” arsenal, on the southern fringe at Monte Chingolo. Its defenders—alerted by an agent infiltrated into ERP ranks—suffer 10 dead and a dozen wounded, yet swift counterattacks by helicopter-borne troops quickly surround and rout the guerrillas, who suffer more than 60 killed and dozens wounded during their flight. Their morale already shaken prior to this bloody repulse, the ERP movement virtually ceases to exist as a viable threat.

MARCH 15, 1976. President Videla of Argentina narrowly escapes a Montonero assassination attempt in Buenos Aires, his limousine entering naval headquarters through its Edificio Libertador side entrance an instant before a parked car bomb is detonated by remote control. Four colonels on his staff, eight subalterns, five soldiers, and six civilians are nonetheless wounded, and a passing driver is killed.

JUNE 18, 1976. Gen. Cesáreo Cardozo, head of Argentina’s Federal Police, is assassinated by a bomb placed under his bed by an 18-year-old Montonera woman operative, who is a friend of his daughter.

JULY 2, 1976. A disguised Montonero operative penetrates the dining hall at Argentina’s Federal

Security building, leaving behind a briefcase bomb that kills 16 and wounds 65.

OCTOBER 10, 1976. Having penetrated the Montoneros' organizational secrets, Argentine troops arrest scores of mid- and high-level operatives in a two-day sweep, followed by the seizure of various weapons caches as of October 16. Surviving cells will continue to commit assassinations and bombings over the next couple of years, but the Montonero threat is greatly diminished.

FEBRUARY 28, 1977. A remote-controlled Montonero bomb narrowly misses the plane of Argentine president Videla as it taxis to take off from the Buenos Aires airport.

MAY 2, 1977. After a six-year mediation, legal experts of Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain reaffirm the decision given by the International Court of Justice at The Hague, which has awarded the long-disputed Picton, Lennox, and Nueva islands at the eastern mouth of Beagle Channel (lying just south of Tierra del Fuego, at the very bottom of South America) to Chilean control. Argentina refuses to accept this verdict—which can potentially affect 30,000 square miles of sea with their commensurate fishing, mineral, and oil rights—so the government of President Videla instead seeks to press its claim directly, sending Adm. Julio Tosti to Santiago three days later to propose talks with President Pinochet of Chile. However, repeated meetings and diplomatic exchanges over the next eight months will fail to resolve this issue to Argentina's satisfaction.

JANUARY 10, 1978. Pedro Joaquín Chamorro, publisher and editor of Nicaragua's main opposition newspaper *La Prensa*, is assassinated by three unknown machine gunners believed to be members of Somoza's National Guard. This brutal act galvanizes public indignation, resulting in 50,000 people attending his funeral, as well as massive street demonstrations and a general strike.

JULY 21, 1978. Bolivia's dictator Hugo Bánzer, dissatisfied when a rigged presidential election has failed to return his designated surrogate, 47-year-old air force general Juan Pereda Asbún, has annulled the results on grounds of massive fraud. The disappointed Pereda instead deposes Bánzer in a bloodless coup and assumes office.

AUGUST 1978. Popular uprisings occur at Matagalpa, Jinotepa, Esteli, and Masaya against the rule of Nicaraguan dictator Somoza.

AUGUST 7, 1978. In Honduras, the unpopular administration of President Melgar Castro is deposed in a bloodless coup engineered by the 45-year-old general Policarpo Paz García, head of the armed forces, who assumes leadership over a three-member junta that includes the air force commander and chief of military security. Although elections are held two years later, repression also increases throughout this period, especially the activities of a secret right-wing paramilitary death squad known as "Batallón 3-16," trained by the CIA.

AUGUST 22, 1978. *Sandinista Revolt.* After several months of increasing turmoil, the two-year-old *Tercerista* or "Third Force" guerrilla faction of brothers Daniel and Umberto Ortega Saavedra score a major propaganda triumph when 25 of its members



Augusto Pinochet. (Organization of American States)

under Edén Pastora Gómez—his *nom de guerre* being Comandante Cero or “Commander Zero”—infiltrate Nicaragua’s National Palace and hold 2,000 people hostage before escaping into Panama. This daring coup, coupled with growing diplomatic displeasure out of Washington, emboldens opposition against Somoza’s rule.

EARLY SEPTEMBER 1978. *Beagle Channel Confrontation.* Concerned that Argentina’s determination to overturn the international decision awarding Picton, Lennox, and Nueva islands at the tip of South America to Chile might lead to open warfare, the Chilean Foreign Ministry at Santiago discreetly requests diplomatic intervention from the United States, Britain, Germany, Spain, or the Vatican. The Argentine junta meanwhile prepares for hostilities by spending \$180 million on the acquisition of new ordinance and weaponry from abroad, which Chile cannot match as it is restricted by an embargo imposed after Pinochet’s deposal of Allende (see “September 11, 1973” entry).

By October 1978, Argentina’s I Army Corps—consisting of two full regiments of the 1st Armored Cavalry Brigade, a light-reconnaissance unit, heavy field artillery, and the 10th Infantry Brigade from Palermo—begins departing Buenos Aires to redeploy into jump-off positions near the Chilean border. Gen. Leopoldo Fortunato Galtieri also leads the like-sized II Army Corps—comprised of the 2nd Armored Cavalry Brigade and 7th Infantry Brigade—into forward positions, along with the 9th Mountain Infantry Brigade and 601st Antiaircraft Artillery Group, while the 24th Infantry Regiment is sent far to the south and sustained in that stark wasteland by a steady stream of Boeing 707 and 747 transports. The Argentine Navy and Marines conduct vigorous training exercises as well, all as part of a buildup for an operation to be code-named SOBERANÍA or “SOVEREIGNTY.” According to its strategic planners, the Argentine junta will denounce Chile’s “encroachment” into Atlantic waters before the UN Security Council, then send amphibious forces to expel them from Freycinet, Herschel, Wallaston, Deceyt, and Hornos islets. If any Chilean counteraction should occur, Punta Arenas and Puerto Williams are to be bombed by Argentine naval aircraft. In the event of a still broader response, Argentine armies will strike across the Andes from Mendoza and Jujuy—and most especially from Neuquén through Pueyhué Pass—to cut Chile in half.

The Chilean authorities cannot match the size of Argentine deployments; nevertheless, they mass 5,000

troops on Tierra del Fuego’s Isla Grande. Three full infantry regiments and an artillery regiment, all under Lt. Col. Oscar Vargas, plus another 10,000 soldiers, are scattered throughout the surrounding archipelago, while heavier naval vessels under Vice Adm. Raúl López Silva shift southward to bolster the 135-ton Jaguar torpedo-boats *Guacolda*, *Fresia*, *Tegualda*, and *Quidora* that are conducting patrols out of Puerto Williams. Eventually, López Silva will command five missile-armed Chilean warships: his cruiser *Arturo Prat* (flag), the 3,750-ton, British-built destroyers *Almirante Riveros* and *Almirante Williams*, as well as the frigates *Almirante Lynch* and *Almirante Condell*, supported by the fleet tanker *Araucano* and auxiliary *Yelcho*. His subordinate, Rear Adm. Sergio Sánchez Luna, leads a second squadron comprised of the less sophisticated 9,300-ton cruiser *Almirante Latorre* (former Swedish *Göta Lejon*), the destroyers *Centeno* and *Portales*, plus the 3,000-ton, World War II–vintage, Fletcher-class destroyers *Almirante Blanco Encalada* (former USS *Wadleigh*) and *Almirante Cochrane* (former USS *Rooks*).

The Argentines enjoy a considerable advantage in the modernity of their forces, while the number of their troops and marines facing the Chileans across the Tierra del Fuego archipelago soon rises to 12,000, backed by the 130-man, 1,000-ton patrol ships *King* and *Murature* under Rear Adm. Luis de los Ríos Echeverría, plus the support ships *Orella*, *Serrano*, and *Uribe*. Diplomatic statements emanating out of Buenos Aires become ever more menacing, and by early December, Argentine carrier and amphibious forces stand out to sea in anticipation of actually mounting the assault. The disembarkation force sails aboard the 125-man, 8,000-ton landing ship tank or LST *Cabo San Antonio* and the 250-man, 9,400-ton Ashland-class landing ship dock or LSD *Cándido de Lasala* (former USS *Gunston Hall*), escorted by the 1st Destroyer Division—the 13,500-ton light cruiser *General Belgrano* (former USS *Phoenix*, a Pearl Harbor survivor), the 180-man, 3,200-ton, Sumner-class destroyer *Hipólito Bouchard* (former USS *Borie*), the 230-man, 3,000-ton *Almirante Domecq García* (former USS *Braine*), and the 180-man, 3,300-ton *Seguí* (former USS *Hank*).

However, the disputed islands are mere wind-swept rocks, accessible only via a few small beaches, which are now defended by an entrenched regiment of Chilean regulars from the Caupolicán, Maipó, and Arica battalions, plus marine detachments from the warships *Lynch*, *Aldea*, and *Cochrane*, as well as a company of commandos from the 5th

Division. Any Argentine offensive will therefore have to be preceded by an aerial bombardment by Rear Adm. Humberto J. Barbuzzi's carrier group, hovering farther east above the shallow Burdwood Bank, to minimize the danger from any Chilean submarines. The carrier group consists of the 1,200-man, 19,750-ton light fleet carrier *25 de Mayo* (former British *Venerable*), escorted by the 2nd Destroyer Division: the 300-man, 4,100-ton, Type-42 *Hércules*; the 180-man, 3,200-ton *Piedra Buena* (former USS *Collett*); the 200-man, 3,500-ton *Comodoro Py* (ex-USS *Perkins*); and the 230-man, 3,000-ton *Almirante Storni* (former USS *Cowell*). They are also accompanied by the modern 95-man, 1,250-ton, Type-A69 light missile frigates or corvettes *Guerrico* (former French *Commandant l'Herminier*) and *Drummond* (former French *Lieutenant de Vaisseau l'Henalf*), as well as the 140-man, 16,300-ton fleet tanker *Punta Médanos*.

Realizing that a diplomatic rupture is imminent, Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez telephones U.S. president Jimmy Carter on December 9, who in turn contacts the new pontiff John Paul II, who offers to mediate the dispute two days later. Chile accepts, yet when its delegate Manuel Hernán Cubillos reaches Buenos Aires on the evening of December 12, he finds President Videla still intractable. After three days of fruitless talks, Chile braces for war, and tensions once again escalate as more than 300,000 fighting men are now mobilized along both sides of the border. On December 19, it is anticipated that Ambassador Enrique Ros will lodge Argentina's complaint before the United Nations. Admiral Barbuzzi accelerates the advance of his invasion force east of Isla de los Estados, so the Chilean admiral López Silva is informed from naval headquarters at Santiago to prepare for an outbreak of hostilities by the next dawn. He therefore leads his squadron southwestward out to sea from its O'Brien Channel anchorage (100 miles from Cape Horn) to gain room to maneuver.

Fortuitously, though, a huge storm engulfs the entire Tierra del Fuego region, preventing the *25 de Mayo* from launching its aircraft on December 20; instead, it has to reverse course and run eastward by evening. The invasion force is also slowed, and the Argentine disembarkation is postponed until dawn of December 22, while none of its more than 100 warplanes can even take off from their land bases at Ushuaia, Río Gallegos, or Río Grande. This unexpected reprieve allows Videla time to reconsider, and Argentina's junta finally bows to U.S. pressure

and accepts the offer of papal mediation by nightfall on December 21. Although a few units from the 10th Argentine Infantry Brigade advance into Chilean territory from Neuquén, they are quickly recalled the next day, while the storm-tossed Argentine fleet retires into its main base of Puerto Belgrano. By New Year's Day 1979, both sides have stood down the bulk of their forces.

A little more than four years later, a "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" is signed at the Vatican, whereby the Chileans retain ownership over the disputed islands, while the Argentines are assured that territorial rights will not be extended into Atlantic waters.

NOVEMBER 24, 1978. In Bolivia, a group of democratically minded officers led by the head of its army, 47-year-old general David Padilla Arancibia, deposes the illegitimate president Pereda. Padilla will subsequently authorize new elections, but these will only result in the installation of a compromise candidate nine months later, failing to resolve the country's fractured politics.

MAY 4, 1979. Armed uprisings erupt in León, Matagalpa, Masaya, and even some sections of the capital Managua, against the Nicaraguan dictator Somoza. After initially recoiling into its bases, Somoza's National Guard is able to reclaim the capital one month later.

JULY 17, 1979. After being pinned inside Managua by 5,000 Sandinista guerrillas and 15,000 militia supporters, Somoza and many of his officers flee Nicaragua, allowing Ortega's victorious columns to enter the capital two days later. This guerrilla coalition quickly splinters, having only been held together by their hatred of the now-departed dictator. Ortega's embrace of Marxist ideology, as well as Cuban and Soviet aid, produces a split internally, and internationally with Washington.

OCTOBER 15, 1979. *Salvadoran Civil War.* Plagued by economic collapse and a surging leftist guerrilla movement in both urban and rural settings, a group of military officers and civilian leaders unite to depose 55-year-old general Carlos Humberto Romero from the presidency of El Salvador, replacing him with a "Revolutionary Government Junta." This new government—comprised of two colonels and three civilians—enjoys American support at first, though it will prove to be fractious and ineffectual. Some



Street celebrations in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua after Somoza's departure. (Organization of American States)

moderate elements support land reform and nationalization of vital industries, while right-wing members from the oligarchy organize secret death squads out of army ranks to target opponents. Suspected guerrillas and their Marxist sympathizers, as well as other “subversives,” are murdered in orchestrated campaigns, the paramilitary perpetrators never being brought to justice.

Three of the nation's largest guerrilla groups unite on December 17, 1979, through the mediation of Cuba's Fidel Castro, to more effectively oppose Salvador's new administration. On January 22, 1980, an antigovernment demonstration is put down in the capital with 200 casualties, then on March 24, the 62-year-old archbishop and Nobel Peace Prize-nominee Oscar Romero—an outspoken critic who has called upon Washington not to provide any fur-

ther military assistance—is assassinated while officiating at Mass. He is killed by a sniper team sent by Maj. Roberto D'Aubuisson, head of Salvador's Military Intelligence unit.

This murder galvanizes the country into a dozen years of bloody and destructive civil war, uniting the opposition because of the patent impossibility of expecting anything but violent repression from the extreme right wing of the military.

FEBRUARY 25, 1980. The government of Henck A. E. Arron, prime minister of Suriname—a former Dutch colony granted independence by the Netherlands little more than four years previously—is overthrown by a military coup of noncommissioned officers led by Sgt. Maj. Dési Delano Bouterse. He assumes the title of “Chairman of the National Mil-

itary Council,” serving as de facto ruler for the next dozen years, despite retaining a figurehead president for the country.

FEBRUARY 27, 1980. This evening, 17 M-19 guerrillas, disguised in jogging suits, storm the Dominican Embassy in a suburb of Bogotá, suffering a single individual killed before securing a party of 60 hostages, including diplomats from 15 different countries. Rosenberg Pabón, the guerrilla leader using the pseudonym “Comandante Uno,” demands the release of 311 jailed comrades from the Colombian government and a \$50 million ransom. Protracted negotiations finally conclude 61 days later when the 16 guerrillas accept \$2.5 million and vacate the embassy on April 27 with a dozen hostages, being cheered on their way to the airport to board a Cuban airliner and fly to asylum in Havana.

APRIL 1980. Violeta Barrios de Chamorro—widow of the slain *Prensa* editor (see “January 10, 1978” entry)—forms the anti-Sandinista *Alianza Revolucionaria Democrática* or ARDE coalition along with Alonso Robelo and the ex-guerrilla chieftain Edén Pastora.

APRIL 1, 1980. A trickle of boats begins reaching Florida out of the Cuban port of Mariel, bearing refugees from the Castro regime. Within the next couple of weeks, their numbers will swell into the hundreds, as eventually an estimated 125,000 people flee the island before Castro’s government closes this outlet by the end of September.

MAY 17, 1980. After a court in Miami acquits four white police officers accused of killing Arthur McDuffie, a black insurance executive, three days of race riots ensue.

JULY 17, 1980. In troubled Bolivia, the arch-conservative general Luis García Meza Tejada seizes power in La Paz, amid dozens of murders. He immediately outlaws all political parties, exiles his opponents, represses the unions, muzzles the press, and unleashes a brutal regime that will slay at least 1,000 civilians during the ensuing year. These acts are stage managed by his minister of the interior, Col. Luis Arce Gómez, who openly warns dissidents to “walk around with their written wills under their arms.”

Because of García Meza’s close ties to drug traffickers, his seizure of power is known as the “Co-

caine Coup.” Isolated internationally because of such brazen criminality, he is obliged to resign by August 3, 1981, fleeing into exile in Brazil. Later, both he and Arce will be extradited and sentenced to long prison terms.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1980. While living in exile in Asunción (Paraguay), the former Nicaraguan dictator “Tachito” Somoza is assassinated, allegedly by a commando team led by the Argentine-born leftist Enrique Gorriarán Merlo.

OCTOBER 10, 1980. All five of Salvador’s guerrilla movements, representing some 6,500–7,500 fighters, coalesce into the *Frente “Farabundo Martí” de Liberación Nacional* or “Farabundo Martí Front for National Liberation,” better known as the FMLN.

DECEMBER 1980. President Jimmy Carter suspends military aid to the Salvadoran government to protest its many human-rights abuses.

JANUARY 10, 1981. Salvador’s recently united guerrilla front launches its first major offensive, knowing that government forces are hamstrung by their lack of American material support. The rebels soon establish operational control over large sections of Morazán and Chalatenango departments, which they will retain until the conclusion of hostilities; however, they are unable to advance further.

JULY 1981. The new Republican administration of President Ronald Reagan resumes military aid to the Salvadoran government, fearing a socialist takeover by leftist guerrillas.

JULY 31, 1981. Panama’s strongman, General Torrijos, is killed in a mysterious plane crash.

SEPTEMBER 1981. The Central American colony of Belize gains its independence from Britain, along with a pledge of military support from London against any projected invasion by neighboring Guatemala.

NOVEMBER 23, 1981. U.S. president Reagan signs the top-secret National Security Decision Directive-17, authorizing the CIA to recruit and support “Contra” guerrillas in an attempt to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

JANUARY 27, 1982. Guerrillas attack Ilopango Air Force Base in central Salvador, destroying or

damaging a dozen aircraft and seven helicopters—approximately half the Salvadoran Air Force's strength. These losses are immediately made up by the U.S. government.

MARCH 7, 1982. In Guatemala, President Fernando Romeo Lucas García's handpicked successor—Gen. Ángel Aníbal Guevara—is defeated at the polls, yet nonetheless claims victory. This attempted fraud provokes a military coup on March 23, with generals Efraín Ríos Montt and Horacio Egberto Maldonado Schaad briefly sharing power, along with Col. Francisco Luis Gordillo Martínez. The latter two are jettisoned from this triumvirate by June 9, Ríos Montt remaining alone as president.

JUNE 1982. FMLN guerrillas seize control of Chalatenango and Morazán provinces in central and eastern Salvador, respectively.

DECEMBER 8, 1982. Amid civilian protests against the military regime governing Suriname under its corrupt strongman Bouterse, 15 prominent political opponents are shot dead in Fort Zeelandia. The Netherlands and the United States consequently sever their foreign-aid assistance, and Bouterse must seek aid from Cuba and other socialist satellites.

JANUARY 28, 1983. FMLN guerrillas assault the 1st Brigade's headquarters near the capital city of San Salvador.

AUGUST 1983. Guatemala's President Ríos Montt is overthrown by a military coup led by Gen. Oscar Mejía Víctores.

DECEMBER 14, 1983. In Chile, the outlawed Communist Party's *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez* or "Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front" (FPMR) guerrilla group causes a national blackout, thereby inaugurating a terrorist campaign intended to destabilize the Pinochet regime. Hundreds of bombings, acts of sabotage, kidnappings, and assassinations will ensue over the next 13 years.

MAY 30, 1984. At a press conference, anti-Sandinista guerrilla chief Edén Pastora narrowly escapes assassination by a bomb hidden in a journalist's camera.

MAY 13, 1985. In a tactic intended to end a stand-off with a radical African American group called

MOVE, the members of which are barricaded in its headquarters on a Philadelphia street, an explosive device is dropped that causes a conflagration, killing all 11 members and consuming 61 homes.

NOVEMBER 6, 1985. At 11:40 a.m., 28 guerrillas under Luis Otero of the M-19 movement shoot their way into the basement of the Palace of Justice in Colombia's capital of Bogotá, a brazen attack designed to underscore their displeasure with the recent abrogation of a cease-fire by the government of President Belisario Betancur Cuartas. Soldiers and policemen quickly take up firing positions in adjacent edifices; however, when an Urutú light tank attempts to break down a palace door shortly after noon, it must retire under accurate counterfire.

Minutes past 1:00 p.m., though, troops from the Presidential Guard fight their way into the Palace of Justice basement, and a Cascabel tank flattens the main door shortly before 2:00. Meanwhile, a pair of helicopters disgorges "Special Operations" commandoes onto the rooftop, who free a number of wounded and terrified hostages. Fierce floor-to-floor fighting ensues within the vast complex. Otero's guerrillas, expecting protracted negotiations, are shaken by the vigorous counterassaults and threaten to murder their scores of remaining hostages before they themselves die fighting. Exchanges of gunfire nonetheless continue until 5:45 p.m., when a fire breaks out on the fourth floor, obliging the guerrillas and their captives to recongregate on the third floor. Flames consume a great deal of the structure overnight, as firemen are unable to enter.

Frequent volleys gradually deplete the guerrillas' ammunition, until the soldiers gain the third floor by noon of November 7, pressing their foes back until their last position is overrun; all resistance ceases two and a half hours later. It is believed that at least 115 people have been slain during this protracted bloodbath, including 11 supreme court justices. The American government, aware of the Medellín cartel's close connections with the M-19 movement, is convinced that this seizure has been orchestrated to impede the extradition of drug lords to stand trial in the United States, as most court documents—including all pending extradition requests—lie consumed amid the ashes.

FEBRUARY 7, 1986. After several months of street disturbances and mounting international pressure,

the 34-year-old Haitian dictator Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier flees overnight into exile in France, with his wife and 20 relations aboard a U.S. Air Force transport. He is temporarily replaced in office by a five-man junta headed by his army chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy.

MAY 1986. At sea off the northern coast of Chile, FPMR guerrillas receive a secret shipment of 80 tons of Cuban weaponry and funds, smuggling them ashore at Carrizal Bajo inlet to be concealed. Most are discovered by security forces in early August, however, and confiscated.

JUNE 18, 1986. Several hundred captive *Sendero Luminoso* or “Shining Path” guerrillas, held in three separate Peruvian prisons, rise up in a concerted revolt, seconded by a string of bombings throughout the country by their outside supporters. The 37-year-old leftist president Alan García responds by sending troops into the prisons to restore order, who brutally quell these uprisings over the next few days by slaughtering at least 300 inmates.

LATE JUNE 1986. Sgt. Ronnie Brunswijk, a Ndjuka Maroon from the interior of Suriname, rises up in revolt against the corrupt Bouterse regime. An army assault destroys the hapless *Bosneger* town of Mongo Tapu, inaugurating four years of cruel warfare against Brunswijk’s elusive “Jungle Commandoes,” which will see thousands of Maroons flee into the safety of neighboring French Guiana.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1986. In Chile, a score of FPMR guerrillas ambush the convoy of President Pinochet as he is returning into its capital of Santiago from his country home at El Melocotón. Although five of his police escorts are killed and his armored Mercedes-Benz limousine is struck by a Low rocket, he survives when it fails to detonate.

OCTOBER 10, 1986. A massive earthquake strikes El Salvador, killing at least 1,500 people in its capital and leaving widespread devastation. Hostilities between the government and FMLN guerrillas go into abeyance as the country strives to recuperate.

DECEMBER 11, 1986. The Honduran Army repels a Sandinista cross-border incursion into El Paraíso in south-central Honduras, aimed at punishing Contra activities.

JANUARY 16, 1987. President León Febres Cordero of Ecuador is kidnapped by members of the air force to win release of the imprisoned coup leader, Gen. Frank Vargas.

APRIL 15, 1987. Facing indictment in civilian court for his role in Argentina’s “Dirty War” against leftist dissenters during the 1970s (*see* “Late December 1974” entry), Maj. Ernesto Barreiro—former interrogator at the notorious La Perla prison—takes sanctuary at an army base outside Córdoba, 400 miles northwest of Buenos Aires. He is supported by 130 officers and soldiers yet flees a few days later, after 61-year-old president Raúl Alfonsín flies back from his Easter vacation at Chascomas to implement vigorous countermeasures.

A second, more serious insurrection, however, quickly erupts at Campo de Mayo 20 miles outside the capital, where Lt. Col. Aldo Rico spearheads a revolt demanding amnesty for all remaining officers accused of human-rights violations, plus dismissal of 23 generals deemed weak in upholding the army’s honor (including the 56-year-old chief of staff Héctor Ríos Ereñu). Alfonsín has Campo de Mayo surrounded by more than 1,000 troops, then flies in by helicopter on April 19 to negotiate with Rico, returning to inform huge throngs before his presidential palace that the rebellion is ended.

Subsequent developments, though, suggest that Alfonsín has conceded much to the mutineers, for although Rico is stripped of his rank and arrested, Ríos Ereñu also resigns in favor of intelligence chief José Segundo Dante Caridi, along with another 15 generals. After further unrest at infantry garrisons in the northern provinces of Salta and Tucumán on April 21, it becomes obvious that civilian trials of military atrocities are to be indefinitely suspended.

JANUARY 1988. Another contingent of Argentine troops mutinies under Rico, this time at Monte Caseros in the Province of Corrientes, some 300 surrendering to face arrest a few days later.

FEBRUARY 1988. The U.S. Congress finally prevents all aid from reaching the CIA-backed Contras, who have failed in their eight-year campaign to topple Ortega’s Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

MARCH 1988. A large-scale Sandinista incursion into neighboring Honduras prompts the dispatch of U.S. reinforcements, and war along the border is averted at the last minute.

MAY 11, 1988. Amid growing internal unrest, two Guatemalan army garrisons revolt and march upon its capital to depose the civilian president Vinicio Cerezo. He manages to remain in office but with diminished authority.

JUNE 19, 1988. Haitian lieutenant general Henri Namphy overthrows civilian president Leslie Manigat, who has attempted to dismiss him from his position as army chief of staff.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1988. Namphy is deposed as Haiti's president by Brig. Gen. Prosper Avril, backed by army noncommissioned officers and the "Dessalines" Battalion.

OCTOBER 5, 1988. The administration of Chile's dictator Augusto Pinochet is defeated in a national plebiscite when he seeks to renew his mandate.

DECEMBER 1988. Argentine troops of the "Albatross" Special Operations Unit under extreme right-wing colonel Mohamed Ali Seineldin—Argentine-born, but of Arab extraction—mutiny at their barracks in Villa Martelli outside Buenos Aires, soon being joined by another 1,000 members of the armed forces. They surrender a few days later, but only Seineldin and Maj. Hugo Abete are actually arrested to stand trial.

JANUARY 23, 1989. At 6:15 a.m., a band of leftist urban guerrillas from the *Movimiento "Todos por la Patria"* or MTP drives eight civilian vehicles into La Tablada Army Base, 12 miles southwest of Buenos Aires, surprising its 3rd Argentine Infantry Regiment. However, reinforced by 500 policemen, tanks, and artillery, the troops eventually succeed in crushing this incursion 30 hours later, killing 28 rebels and capturing another 20, while suffering 9 dead and 53 wounded among their own ranks.

FEBRUARY 3, 1989. *End of Stroessner's Regime.* Before sunrise in the Paraguayan capital of Asunción, two-dozen tanks and troops of the I Army Corps attack the residence of the mistress of 76-year-old dictator Alfredo Stroessner, who is known to be inside ailing from prostate cancer. After an eight-hour exchange with loyal troops that claims more than 300 lives, the despot is captured, ending his 34-year rule.

The coup has been engineered by Stroessner's second-in-command, 64-year-old general Andrés Rodríguez—whose daughter is married to Stroessner's son Freddy—but who now succeeds as the dominant Colorado Party candidate for president, while the deposed leader is allowed to fly into Brazilian exile two days later.

FEBRUARY 16, 1989. With Venezuela suffering through a prolonged economic crisis, President Carlos Andrés Pérez has decided to inaugurate his second term by implementing "free-market reforms" proposed by the International Monetary Fund, which entail harsh austerity measures. Protest riots erupt as of February 27 in the town of Guarenas in the state of Miranda, 20 miles east of Caracas, spreading into some of the capital's poorest neighborhoods—such as Caricuao, Nuevo Circo, and La Guaira—by that same afternoon. Social order disintegrates as more than a dozen cities are engulfed in looting, until martial law is declared the next day and troops are deployed to restore order. Official tallies list 276 deaths, more than 1,000 injuries, plus 2,000 arrests, yet unofficial estimates range much higher, placing the number of dead at perhaps 3,000.

AUGUST 18, 1989. With a comfortable lead in the polls, the Colombian presidential candidate Luis Carlos Galán is brazenly assassinated at a political rally near Bogotá by drug-cartel hit men. Most of the assassins are later murdered themselves to ensure their silence.

NOVEMBER 1989. Salvadoran guerrillas of the FMLN movement catch government forces off guard by launching another major offensive, which seizes control over large sections of the country and fights its way into the very capital of San Salvador, but without toppling the government. Guerrilla positions in poor neighborhoods are then subjected to aerial bombardment during a government counter-attack, while the Sheraton Hotel is reclaimed floor by floor in bloody fighting, and this FMLN offensive fails.

Nevertheless, the very strength of its showing persuades Washington that the guerrilla movement cannot be defeated militarily; the U.S. government therefore shifts its policy to seeking a negotiated peace, which will be achieved a couple of years later.

FALKLANDS CAMPAIGN (1982)

On December 20, 1981, an Argentine scrap-metal dealer named Constantino Davidoff visits the uninhabited port of Leith on South Georgia Island, a distant corner of the Falkland Archipelago, having secured a contract from the British government to strip that harbor's abandoned whaling installations. After his initial survey, Davidoff returns to Buenos Aires and is informed that he should have also reported his visit to the British Antarctic Survey Team at their lonely South Georgia outpost of Grytviken.

Davidoff apologizes and requests instructions for his next visit, yet none are provided before he sets sail again aboard the 100-man, 5,300-ton, Canadian-built, Argentine Navy icebreaker *Bahía Buen Suceso* and disembarks 41 laborers in Stromness Bay on March 19, 1982. They include disguised Argentine naval personnel, who raise a flag and sing their national anthem before preparing to start work. Four British scientists observe this ceremony from a distance and inform the salvage workers that their presence on South Georgia is illegal, radioing Gov. Rex Hunt at the Falklands's capital of Stanley (commonly referred to as Port Stanley), 800 miles farther to the west. The latter in turn requests that London authorize him to dispatch a small Royal Marine detachment aboard the elderly, lightly armed, 3,600-ton ice-patrol vessel HMS *Endurance* of Capt. Nicholas Barker to remove these Argentine visitors.

Most of the civilian salvors withdraw voluntarily when the *Bahía Buen Suceso* sails away from Stromness Bay on March 21, yet the new military junta that has governed Argentina since mid-December 1981 under the leadership of general and titular president Leopoldo F. Galtieri, Adm. Jorge Isaac Anaya, and Air Force brigadier general Arturo "Lami" Dozo has been secretly planning for a full-blown invasion in May 1982 to wrest what they refer to as the Malvinas Islands from Great Britain (a bone of contention between both nations ever since 1833; see sidebar titled "The Falklands" in "Minor Disputes"). Admiral Anaya has especially favored this so-called Project *Azul* or "Blue," believing that Argentina's recent rebuff in the Beagle Channel dispute (see "Early September 1978" entry in "Latin American Troubles") means that the seizure of the Falklands represents their best chance of controlling sea traffic around Cape Horn. The junta's efforts at easing their nation's soaring inflation and political malaise have instead sparked bloody riots in Buenos Aires on the night of March 30, resulting in 1,500 arrests, hence the military leadership decides to press the Falklands issue and move up its invasion scheme in the hope that an overseas confrontation will rally Argentina behind its rule.

An intense diplomatic exchange therefore commences with the government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in London, while the Argentine authorities stealthily counter the impending visit to Leith by the *Endurance* by dispatching the 125-man, 9,200-ton naval transport *Bahía Paraíso* from the Orcadas on March 23 to bolster their 12 operatives remaining from the scrap-metal workers with more than 100 members of the "Alfa" group of *Buzo Táctico* or "Tactical Diver" commandos under Lt. Cmdr. Alfredo Astiz (known as *Lagartos* or "Alligators," similar to U.S. Navy SEALs).

MARCH 24, 1982. Amid escalating tensions, 22 Royal Marines from Stanley under Lt. Keith Mills land at Grytviken from HMS *Endurance*, and shortly before midnight, they observe the Argentine *Buzo Táctico* commandos being disembarked at Leith from the *Bahía Paraíso*. Mills informs his superiors in Lon-

don, who order him to refrain from any immediate counteraction.

MARCH 26, 1982. This Friday, Galtieri's government takes the final step to invade, changing the operation's codename to "Rosario" and ordering

the 95-man, 1,250-ton, French-built, Type-A69 light missile frigates or corvettes *Drummond* and *Granville* out to sea from Puerto Belgrano, the main naval base on the Argentine mainland. They are to proceed south-southeast toward South Georgia as an advance unit. Two days afterward, Task Force 20 follows them under Vice Adm. Juan Lombardo, ostensibly to participate in exercises with the Uruguayan Navy, but actually to take up station 450 miles north of the Falklands and furnish air support for the impending assault. This squadron consists of the light fleet carrier *25 de Mayo*; the destroyers *Comodoro Py*, *Hipólito Bouchard*, *Piedra Buena*, and *Seguí* (the latter trio being of World War II vintage, Sumner-class former U.S. Navy destroyers); the fleet tanker *Punta Médanos*; and a tug.

Task Force 40 also sets sail under Rear Adm. Jorge Gualter Allara, carrying the initial amphibious

units aboard the more modern, Argentine-built, 300-man, 4,100-ton, Type-42 destroyers *Santísima Trinidad* and *Hércules*, plus the 80-man, 1,900-ton submarine *Santa Fe* (originally *Catfish* of the 1945 U.S. Navy Guppy-class); they are to be joined at sea by the frigates *Drummond* and *Granville*. Some 800 troops under Marine rear admiral Carlos Alberto Busser, who are to disembark behind the amphibious spearhead and actually occupy the islands, are traveling aboard the LST *Cabo San Antonio*; the 135-man, 15,000-ton, Finnish-built icebreaker *Almirante Irizar*; plus the recently purchased, Spanish-built, 4,000-ton transport *Isla de los Estados*, all together being designated as Task Force 40.1.

Argentina's high command has instructed its assault force to carry its objective by surprise, with minimal civilian or military casualties, so as to mute any international condemnation or British reaction. Galtieri furthermore hopes that his good standing with the Reagan administration in Washington will lead the United States to remain neutral.



Argentine marines and sailors paraded aboard the transport *Cabo San Antonio* en route to the Falklands. (Armada de la República de Argentina)

MARCH 27, 1982. The *Bahía Paraíso* departs South Georgia, leaving the Argentine commandos and salvage workers still ensconced upon that island.

MARCH 29, 1982. Task Forces 40 and 40.1 encounter heavy weather, obliging them to postpone their intended disembarkation from the night of March 31–April 1 to April 1–2. The Argentine vessels also change their heading so as to steer directly toward the Falkland Islands and appear out of their north rather than from the southwest as originally planned.

MARCH 31, 1982. British intelligence realizes that an Argentine invasion of the Falklands is now imminent, so advises Governor Hunt. With only 67 Royal Marines left under Maj. Michael J. Norman to defend the main island, this scant force—designated as Naval Party 8901—is deployed to defend the lone, 4,100-foot airfield on Cape Pembroke, then to fall back westward through a series of roadside positions to mount a last-ditch stand around Government House in the main town of Stanley (population 1,500). The 144-ton coaster *Forrest* is stationed out in Port William Bay to maintain a rudimentary radar watch.

Hunt's radio broadcast that same evening, warning islanders of an impending attack, is picked up by Argentine listeners. Realizing that the element of surprise is now lost, the invasion force commanders

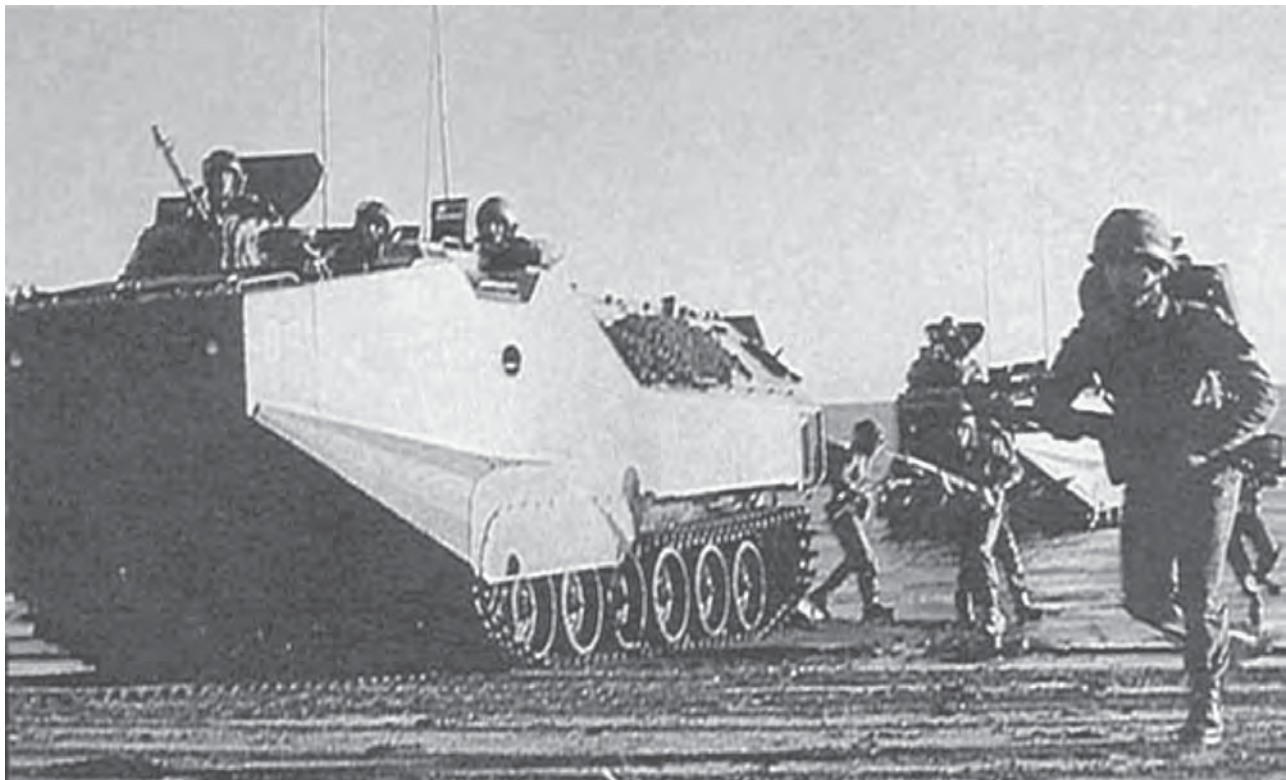
decide to secure Stanley and the Royal Marine barracks first, prior to attempting the airfield.

APRIL 1, 1982. Argentine Occupation. Task Force 40 closes upon the main East Falkland Island shortly before midnight, when the destroyer *Santísima Trinidad* slips into Port Harriet Bay, south of Stanley, and launches 20 inflatable rubber rafts to convey more than 80 *Buzo Táctico* divers inshore to secure a foothold at Mullet Creek. Another 10 divers from the submarine *Santa Fe* steal ashore at York Bay, northeast of Stanley, to reconnoiter the Argentines' main intended disembarkation point shortly after midnight. The British realize that enemy warships are in the offing when the *Forrest* records its first contact at 2:30 a.m. on April 2, yet the few dozen defenders cannot prevent Sea King helicopters from the large icebreaker *Almirante Irizar* from ferrying 40 more divers and equipment two hours later to the assault column gathering at Mullet Creek.

About 60 of these commandos hasten four miles northwestward under Capt. Pedro Edgardo Giachino to attack the Royal Marine barracks at Moody Brook, while another 30 split off en route, circling around

Sapper Hill in the hope of surprising Hunt at Government House. When both assaults commence shortly after 6:00 a.m. on April 2, Giachino discovers that the Royal Marine barracks are empty, so he hurries to assist his smaller force, which is engaged against 43 British defenders holding Government House. Half an hour later, the first of 19 LVTP-7 Amtrak amphibious vehicles begin reaching the shores of York Bay from the LST *Cabo San Antonio* and slowly crest its steep beaches, each bearing a score of Argentine marines. Meanwhile, helicopters from the *Almirante Irizar* begin disgorging even more troops from C Company of the 25th Infantry Regiment and 2nd Marine Infantry Battalion to clear the vehicles strewn as obstacles around the Cape Pembroke airfield.

Government House remains besieged and peppered by Argentine light-arms fire, including stun grenades, in hopes of persuading its outnumbered defenders to surrender. Hunt resists until the airfield is cleared at 8:30 a.m., allowing the first of five Lockheed C-130 Hercules and two Fokker F-27 transports to begin landing 15 minutes later with the bulk of the Argentine 25th Infantry under Col. Mohamed Ali Seineldin, as well as the 9th Company of



Argentine Amtraks come ashore. (Armada de la República de Argentina)

Combat Engineers, and 9th Infantry Brigade. When the first armored Amtraks drive up to within point-blank range of Government House at 9:00 a.m., Admiral Busser warns Hunt that their 30-mm cannon will inflict heavy casualties. All resistance thus ceases half an hour later.

Without inflicting a single casualty among British military personnel or the civilian population, Argentina has seized the Falklands. The attackers are believed to have suffered 5 dead and 17 wounded, although only the deaths of Captain Giachino and another man are ever acknowledged. Maj. Gen. Osvaldo Jorge García temporarily assumes office as military governor over the Falklands's 1,800 inhabitants—known as “Kelpers” because of the abundant kelp floating offshore—with Busser as his second-in-command. Prisoners are flown out to the mainland that same evening to be repatriated to England two days later via Montevideo aboard a Royal Air Force VC-10.

This same April 2, Royal Navy warships exercising around Gibraltar under Rear Adm. John F. “Sandy” Woodward are ordered to proceed toward Ascension Island as an advance British counterattacking force. In addition to their five destroyers, three frigates, and two fleet tankers, they will be preceded by the nuclear submarines *Spartan*, *Splendid*, and *Conqueror*, the latter two departing from the Faslane naval base in Scotland.

APRIL 3, 1982. Lieutenant Commander Astiz officially renames South Georgia as “Isla San Pedro,” then leads the bulk of his *Buzo Táctico* contingent to subdue and remove the British presence from Gryt-viken. However, Lieutenant Mills and his outnumbered Royal Marines will put up a spirited resistance after the Type-A69 frigate *Guerrico* and *Bahía Paraíso* round King Edward Point at 10:30 a.m. When an Argentine Puma helicopter touches down to disgorge armed men onto the jetty, the defenders open fire, destroying the helicopter and striking the *Guerrico* with a couple of bazooka and hundreds of machine-gun rounds, so it retires out of range. Despite wounding five of Astiz's men, Mills is soon surrounded and compelled to capitulate. (For his gallantry against such heavy odds, he will later be awarded the Distinguished Service Cross.) Three British Antarctic Survey scientists and two visiting female television reporters nonetheless remain at large, furnishing intelligence to HMS *Endurance* farther out at sea, before being stealthily evacuated by helicopter a couple of weeks later.

This same day in New York City, the UN Security Council passes Resolution 502, calling upon Argentina to withdraw its troops from the Falklands.

APRIL 4, 1982. Having installed a modern Westinghouse AN/TPS-43F surveillance radar at Stanley, the first Argentine jet fighters begin to arrive, having been flown out from the mainland to bolster defenses.

APRIL 5, 1982. The first large contingents of Royal Navy warships and auxiliaries begin departing Great Britain for Ascension Island, including the older, 2,100-man, 28,700-ton aircraft carrier *Hermes* and the newer, 2,800-man, 20,300-ton *Invincible*. They will constitute the core of a task force intended to reconquer the Falklands in an operation code-named “Corporate.” The 3rd Commando Brigade comprises the bulk of this initial amphibious assault force.

Over the next few weeks, the British presence on tiny, rocky Ascension Island will blossom into a major undertaking, more than 1,000 personnel toiling away to service the scores of flights arriving and departing through its U.S.-operated Wideawake airfield, while dozens of vessels anchor off the British-owned island's two small harbors. The American government discreetly furnishes a great deal of logistical support for the forthcoming expedition.

APRIL 7, 1982. Four days after being appointed military governor of the Malvinas, Maj. Gen. Mario Benjamín Menéndez arrives to officially assume office. The British government announces a 200-mile exclusion zone around the archipelago, and the Argentine junta calls up its reservists. In Europe, meanwhile, France strongly backs its ally Britain by clamping an embargo on the shipment of nine more AM39 Exocet “Flying Fish” missiles to Argentina.

APRIL 9, 1982. The luxury liner SS *Canberra* and other British transports depart England with the first of the main expeditionary force, soon to be followed by more support vessels, including the requisitioned liner *Queen Elizabeth II* from Southampton on May 12, bearing the bulk of the 5th Infantry Brigade.

APRIL 10, 1982. Galtieri addresses a cheering throng of supporters from the balcony of the presidential palace in Buenos Aires.

APRIL 12, 1982. Prime Minister Thatcher announces that any Argentine warships found within

200 miles of the Falklands will be sunk without warning. Fearful of the Royal Navy's undetectable nuclear submarines, most Argentine surface ships consequently retire into their territorial waters.

This same day, the 6,200-ton British County-class destroyer *Antrim*, the 2,800-ton Type-12 Rothesay-class frigate *Plymouth*, and the 27,500-ton transport *Tidespring* depart Ascension with M Company of the 42nd Royal Marine Commando aboard to reclaim South Georgia Island in an operation codenamed "Paraquet." They are joined two days later at sea by the *Endurance*, bearing the 22nd Special Air Service Regiment's "D" Squadron of commandos, bringing the total landing force to some 250 men.

APRIL 17, 1982. Adm. Sir John Fieldhouse chairs a council of war aboard HMS *Hermes* at Ascension Island, where it is decided to first isolate the Argentine defenders on the Falklands with a naval blockade imposed by the Royal Navy's nuclear submarines, then to retake South Georgia and establish air- and sea-control around the Falklands with the carrier task forces, before finally carrying out major amphibious disembarkations to recapture the main islands. Streams of warships, support vessels, and other auxiliaries continue to arrive at Ascension, building up the expedition's strength.

APRIL 19, 1982. Argentina's foreign chancellor, Nicanor "Canoro" Costa Méndez, formally requests a meeting of the Organization of American States to invoke the Inter-American Treaty of Mutual Assistance. However, a resolution will not actually be passed until May 28.

APRIL 21, 1982. *Reclamation of South Georgia.* Eleven days after departing Ascension, the Royal Navy squadron led by Capt. Brian G. Young's destroyer *Antrim* and frigate *Plymouth* arrives within 30 miles of lonely South Georgia Island, reassured by the submarine *Conqueror*'s patrols and aerial reconnaissance by a Royal Air Force Handley-Page Victor that no Argentine warships are in the vicinity. Three Wessex HAS-3 and HAS-5 helicopters therefore deposit 15 men of the Mountain Troop D Squadron 22 SAS under Capt. John Hamilton of the Green Howards as an observation team atop Fortuna Glacier at mid-day to study the Argentine defenses farther east at Leith. However, a blizzard imperils this SAS team overnight, and an attempt to fly them out the next morning ends in disaster when two of the three

Wessex choppers crash in a blinding snowstorm. The Type-22, Broadsword-class, 4,900-ton frigate HMS *Brilliant* of Capt. John Coward is consequently ordered to join Young's force so that its two Lynx helicopters might make up for this loss.

A Royal Marine 2nd Section Special Boat Service or SBS unit steals ashore from the *Endurance* into Hound Bay early on the morning of April 22 to reconnoiter Grytviken, but it fares little better, its members being barred by impassable ice when they try to trudge overland. A second 15-man SAS reconnaissance team that lands just after midnight in Sirling Bay on Grass Island in Stromness Bay loses almost half its strength when two of its five Gemini inflatable assault boats break down and fail to reach the beach.

The next morning, before the main landing force can follow these scouts ashore, an Argentine submarine is detected approaching, so Young's squadron retreats back out to sea. Instead of seeking out the British vessels, though, the *Santa Fe* instead enters Grytviken that same evening with supplies and 40 men as reinforcements. On April 24, therefore, the *Antrim*, the *Plymouth*, and the *Brilliant* are instructed to leave the *Tidespring* 200 miles out at sea and return to deal with the Argentine submarine. Detected on the surface off Cumberland Bay while standing back out the next morning, the *Santa Fe* is bombed and strafed by various Royal Navy helicopters and forced back, to be abandoned by its crew alongside the King Edward Point jetty.

The British commanders now opt to make an immediate disembarkation with only a scratch force of 75 commandos under Royal Marine major J. M. Guy Sheridan rather than wait for the main force aboard the *Tidespring* to rejoin. Therefore, under covering fire from the *Antrim* and the *Plymouth*, they are helicoptered ashore to Hestenesletten shortly after 2:00 p.m. that same afternoon of April 25, pushing through Grytviken to accept the demoralized Argentines' surrender at King Edward Point by 5:00 p.m. Astiz's 16-man contingent at Leith refuses to capitulate until the next morning, when the *Plymouth* and the *Endurance* menace their positions from offshore. The *Plymouth* and the *Brilliant* thereupon depart on April 28 to rejoin the main British task force, and shortly thereafter the *Antrim* and the *Tidespring* carry 156 Argentine military prisoners and 38 civilians away to Montevideo for repatriation. The *Endurance* remains at South Georgia as a guard ship, and the recuperated island is garrisoned by M Company of the 42nd Royal Marine Commando.

Exocet Missile

The Falklands conflict introduced a new refinement to military weaponry in the Western Hemisphere: the modern guided missile. British planners and intelligence agencies were especially concerned about the French-built Exocets in the Argentine arsenal, fearful that a few might well pierce the Royal Navy's poor antimissile defenses. If one should strike a vital target, such as an aircraft carrier, it could seriously imperil the entire seaborne enterprise. A major intelligence operation therefore was undertaken to impede the delivery of any more missiles to Argentina.

The Exocet—a word derived from the Greek and signifying “flying fish” in French—was first developed during the late 1960s. The sea-launched MM38 entered service by 1974, and the air-launched AM39 version was introduced five years later, both being manufactured by the Aérospatiale Division of the European consortium MBDA. Designed to skim low across the waves and hit large warships with a 500-pound warhead, the AM39 could be launched from a range of up to 45 miles. Scarcely 15 feet in length and with a wingspan of only 3.5 feet, the tiny missile could streak beneath radar detection until—upon nearing its target—an onboard radar would activate and steer the Exocet into the actual strike.

The missile that hit HMS *Sheffield* on the morning of May 4, 1982, failed to explode, yet the sheer force of the 1,500-pound Exocet smashing into the destroyer's hull at 700 miles per hour knocked out all electrical systems. The unspent rocket fuel then sparked a raging conflagration that could scarcely be contained. The Argentine captain Julio Pérez later mounted MM38 sea-launched versions from the corvette *Guerrico* onto a truck and fired two against HMS *Avenger* on the night of May 27–28. Although they missed, the one that would be loosed against HMS *Glamorgan* on June 12 gave its bridge officers less than a minute's warning. Steering directly toward the on-rushing missile, their heeling warship fortunately deflected it upwards so that it, too, failed to detonate. Thirteen men nonetheless were killed, and a crippling fire ensued.

The Exocet's reputation was so enhanced by its performance during the Falklands War that hundreds were purchased by Iraq during their subsequent struggle against Iran. Two even were mistakenly fired against the U.S. frigate *Stark* on May 17, 1987, almost sinking that warship.

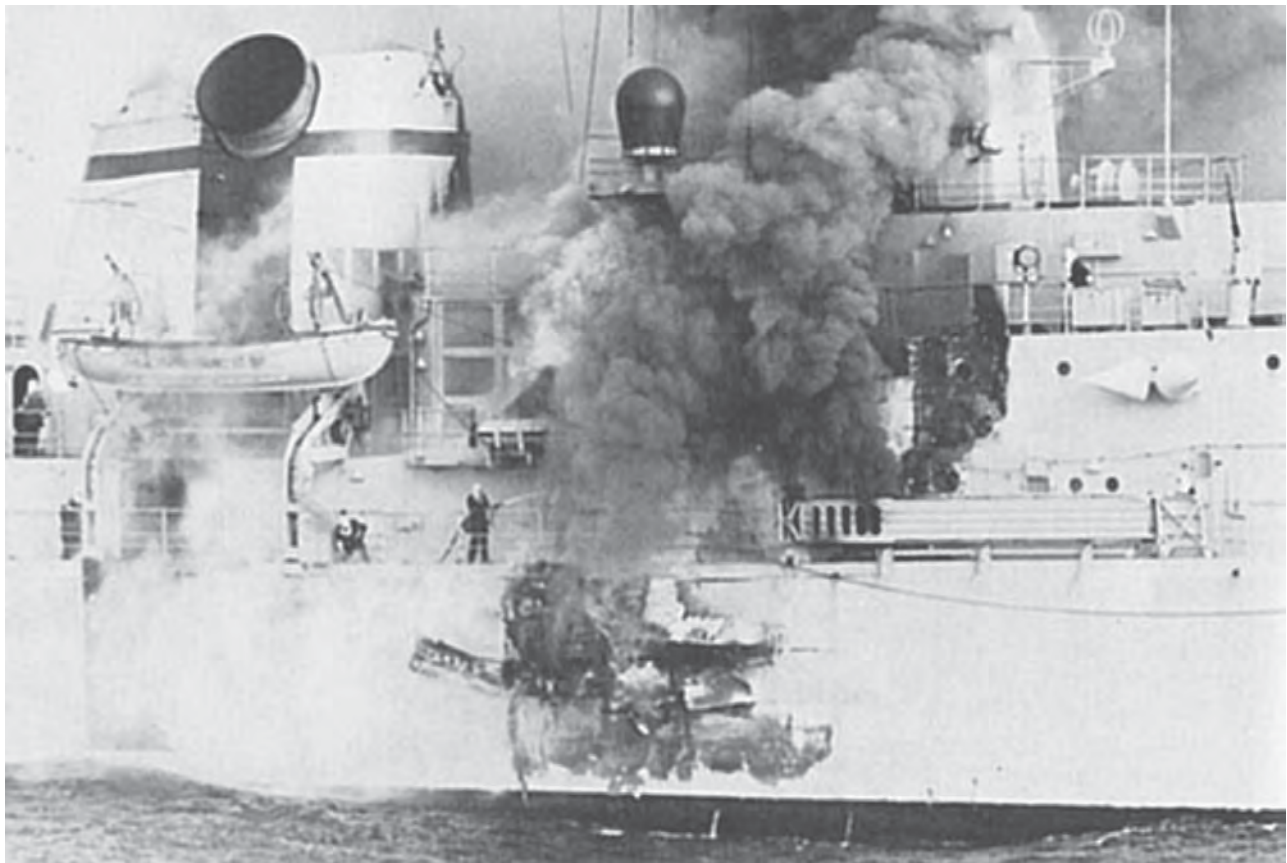
APRIL 22, 1982. President Galtieri visits the Argentine troops garrisoning the Falklands, announcing that Port Stanley is henceforth to be known as “Puerto Argentino,” East Falkland Island is to be renamed “Soledad,” Port Harriet will become “Enriqueta,” and so on. It is estimated that this garrison will eventually total roughly 850 officers, 2,000 noncoms and regulars, 7,400 conscript soldiers, plus 3,000–4,000 air force, naval, and technical personnel.

APRIL 26, 1982. The 44-year-old Argentine light cruiser *General Belgrano* puts out to sea from the mainland port of Ushuaia, escorted by the Exocet-armed destroyers *Hipólito Bouchard* and *Piedra Buena*. Three days later, this trio is ordered to patrol south of the shallow Burdwood Bank, while the carrier *25 de Mayo*, plus the destroyers *Hércules* and *Santísima Trinidad*, operate much farther to the north of the Falklands.

APRIL 30, 1982. U.S. secretary of state Alexander Haig officially ends all mediation attempts, and the American government throws its support behind Great Britain, which in turn accelerates its plans to reconquer the Falklands by force.

MAY 1, 1982. At dawn, a single Royal Air Force Avro Vulcan B-2 strategic bomber—having been refueled by a dozen Victor K-2 tankers during its eight-hour, 3,900-mile flight from Ascension—drops 21 1,000-pound bombs on the Stanley airfield from a height of 10,000 feet, hoping to deny it to Argentine jets (although only one bomb actually strikes the runway). Shortly after 8:00 a.m., nine Sea Harrier jets also arrive out of the east from the *Hermes* to shoot up the airport installations, while three more wreck an Argentine Air Force IA-58 Pucará twin-prop, ground-support fighter-bomber and damage two others parked at Goose Green.

The 5,400-ton, County-class destroyer HMS *Glamorgan* and the Type-21, 3,250-ton, Amazon-class frigates *Alacrity* and *Arrow* appear southeast of Stanley and shell Argentine positions ashore throughout much of this day. Believing that a British invasion must be imminent, the Argentine high command launches 40 warplanes from their mainland airbases; two Mirage IIIEA fighters are downed over East Falkland Island in mid-afternoon by Sea Harriers. Three Argentine Air Force IAI Dagger M-5's of “Grupo 6” then surprise and strafe the trio of British warships, inflicting minor damage and oblig-



Impact mark left by the Exocet missile that obliquely penetrated the hull of HMS Sheffield without detonating. (U.K. Ministry of Defence)

ing them to break off their shore bombardment by 5:00 p.m. A sortie directly toward the distant British carriers by Argentine Air Force B-62 Canberra bombers is abruptly checked when one is shot down. In Buenos Aires, even more reservists are called up, as Argentina realizes that a war is now fully joined.

After nightfall, the three British warships return to resume their bombardment of the shore. Sea King HC-4 helicopters from the *Hermes* furthermore deposit small SBS and SAS scouting parties on both West and East Falkland islands to covertly observe and report on Argentine dispositions during the forthcoming weeks. Farther out at sea, the Argentine carrier *25 de Mayo* and the British carrier group detect each other at extreme long range. The heavy Argentine Skyhawk bombers cannot be launched in the faint winds the next dawn, however, so the Argentine formation turns away.

MAY 2, 1982. After tracking the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano*'s movements all day, the 4,900-ton British nuclear submarine *Conqueror* of Cmdr. Chris-

topher Wreford-Brown strikes it at 4:01 p.m. with two Mark 8 torpedoes, which blow off the *Belgrano*'s bow and destroy its steering system aft of the engine room. (The British captain chooses these older weapons rather than the more modern, wire-guided Mark 24 Tigerfish torpedoes because of the Mark 8's larger warheads.) Within 10 minutes, such a severe list develops that the Argentine captain gives the order to abandon ship, and 70 inflatable life rafts are launched. The cruiser rolls over and settles beneath the waves less than an hour after being struck, with the loss of 323 of its 1,042 crew members.

A third torpedo apparently hits the destroyer *Hipólito Bouchard* as well, but does not explode. The *Piedra Buena* belatedly counterattacks against the *Conqueror*, then returns later with other vessels to rescue survivors in the cold, howling winds as darkness falls. This appalling loss of life prompts all major Argentine naval units to retreat into their territorial waters or home ports within the next couple of days, assuring the British task forces of uncontested naval supremacy around the Falklands for the duration of this war.



Falklands War.

MAY 3, 1982. Shortly past midnight, the 46-man, 835-ton Argentine patrol vessel *Alferez Sobral* (former USS *Salish*) is sighted while searching north of the Falklands for the downed Canberra's aircrew. A pair of British Lynx helicopters takes off early in the morning from HMSS *Coventry* and *Glasgow*, locates this vessel, then fires four Sea Skua missiles from eight miles away that badly damage the *Alferez Sobral* and kill eight of its crew members, including Capt. Sergio Gómez Roca. The patrol vessel must thus limp back into Puerto Deseado two days later.

Late on May 3, an Argentine Aermacchi MB-339A of the 1st Attack Squadron also crashes in bad weather while trying to land back at Stanley airfield after a patrol, and a twin-engine Skyvan transport is badly damaged in another overnight bombardment by HMSS *Glamorgan*, *Alacrity*, and *Arrow*.

MAY 4, 1982. Early on this Tuesday morning, a lone Royal Air Force Vulcan returns and unleashes another full payload of bombs from 16,000 feet above Stanley airfield, all of which miss their target.

The British carrier group is meanwhile detected again at 8:15 a.m., steaming 70–75 miles southeast of East Falkland, by radar aboard an Argentine SP-2H Neptune surveillance plane. A pair of Super Etendard aircraft of the Argentine Navy's 2nd Fighter-Attack Squadron is consequently launched 90 minutes later from Rio Grande airbase on Tierra del Fuego, each armed with an AM39 Exocet missile. After being refueled in mid-flight by a Hercules tanker, these attackers swoop in low and are guided by the Neptune, so they can approach the outer perimeter of the carrier group's defensive ring undetected. Less than 25–30 miles out, the Super Etendards pop up for a quick radar check at a height of 120 feet, then launch their missiles.

With scarcely any warning, the 3,500-ton, Type-42 destroyer HMS *Sheffield* of Capt. James "Sam" Salt is struck shortly after 11:00 a.m. by an Exocet, while the second missile narrowly falls short of the 2,800-ton, Type-12 "Rothesay Class" frigate HMS *Yarmouth*. Although the first Exocet warhead fails to detonate, the *Sheffield* nonetheless suffers 20 killed and



Argentine anti-aircraft crew bundled against the chill winds of the bleak scrubland above Port Stanley. (Armada de la República de Argentina)

24 wounded, while unspent rocket fuel causes it to burn fiercely over the next four hours. Guttled by these flames, its hulk is abandoned that same afternoon and drifts until May 8, when the *Yarmouth* is ordered to take it under tow. When the weather turns foul two days later, though, the *Sheffield's* remains are scuttled.

About an hour after the destroyer is hit, three Sea Harriers from the *Hermes* attack the Goose Green airfield, one being shot down by Argentine anti-aircraft fire. Leery of enduring any more Exocet attacks, Admiral Woodward orders the British carrier group to withdraw farther out to sea and, moreover, decides not to employ his few valuable Harriers on any more bombing runs; hence, there is less combat activity over the next few days. Additional ships nonetheless continue to join the British fleet, building up their strength for the forthcoming disembarkation.

MAY 5, 1982. Argentina's ambassador Eduardo Roca complains before the United Nations of American support for Great Britain.

MAY 6, 1982. Two Sea Harriers on patrol disappear from radar, having presumably collided in poor visibility.

MAY 8, 1982. Resuming offensive operations this evening, HMS *Alacrity* shells Argentine positions around Stanley with 90 rounds, while the *Brilliant* enters the north end of Falkland Sound to search for supply ships as targets.

MAY 9, 1982. At dawn, the *Coventry* and the *Broadsword* vainly attempt to lure Argentine aerial sorties out of Stanley, hoping to deplete the garrison's air strength. Later this morning, two supporting Sea Harriers—returning toward the *Hermes* after failing to attack cloud-shrouded Stanley—sight the trawler *Narwhal* 60 miles southeast of East Falkland. Having been commandeered by the Argentines for reconnaissance purposes, the *Narwhal* is strafed and bombed to a standstill by the Harriers and other aircraft, after which it is seized by a helicopter-borne SBS boarding party. While under tow the next day, though, the damaged trawler sinks.

Two of four Argentine "Grupo 4" Skyhawks are also lost late this same morning of May 9, either through collision or a long-range Sea Dart missile launched from the *Coventry*; the remains of one plane is subsequently found on South Jason Island. Then, an Argentine Army Puma heading out over

Choiseul Sound this afternoon in search of the *Narwhal* is brought down by another Sea Dart fired at extreme long range by the *Coventry*.

MAY 10, 1982. While HMSS *Glasgow* and *Brilliant* maintain the usual pattern of nocturnal bombardments of Argentine positions around Stanley, the *Alacrity* under Lt. Cmdr. Christopher Craig slips into the south end of Falkland Sound just prior to midnight to steam up its entire length for the first time, shrouded in darkness and rainy mist, hunting for Argentine supply vessels. The transport *Isla de los Estados* of Capt. Tulio Néstor Panigadi is detected heading for Port Howard. It is illuminated by star shells, then struck with several salvos until its cargo of munitions and fuel explodes, only two of two-dozen crewmen surviving. The *Alacrity* continues up the sound and joins its sister ship, the *Arrow*, at dawn of May 11, before both stand away back out to sea.

MAY 11, 1982. This night, an eight-man SAS boat party slips undetected by helicopter onto Keppel Island, south of the western end of strategic Pebble Island (at the northern extremity of West Falkland Island), to survey Pebble's Argentine defenses in anticipation of a major raid against its airfield.

MAY 12, 1982. This afternoon, two Argentine flights of four A-4B Skyhawks apiece from "Grupo 5" attack the bombardment ships *Glasgow* and *Brilliant*, northeast of East Falkland Island. The *Brilliant's* Sea Wolf missiles automatically fire, bringing down two attackers of the first flight, while a third crashes, and the fourth drops its bomb prematurely before sheering off.

The second flight of four planes, however, approaches uncontested a few minutes later and strikes the *Glasgow* with a bomb, which pierces both sides of its hull, yet exits without detonating. The destroyer must nevertheless retreat out to sea for repairs. While the four Argentine planes are returning to their island airbase, they fly too close to the anti-aircraft batteries guarding Goose Green, which mistakenly shoot one down.

MAY 14, 1982. After nightfall and in bad weather, the *Hermes*, the *Broadsword*, and the *Glamorgan* stealthily approach Pebble Island. Some 48 attackers from D Squadron 22nd SAS Regiment are carried by Sea King helicopters 40 miles to be deposited ashore and led by waiting British scouts against its incom-

plete, 150-man Argentine airbase at midnight. Early on the morning of May 15, the surprised defenders are pinned down in their cantonments by covering fire from the *Glamorgan*, while SAS demolition teams destroy all 11 parked aircraft—6 Pucarás of “Grupo 6,” 4 T-34C Turbo Mentors of Naval Squadron 4, and 1 Skyvan—along with the fuel depot, ammunition dump, and radar installation. The raiders thereupon retire to their waiting helicopters at 7:45 a.m., only two SAS troopers being slightly wounded when an Argentine mine is remotely detonated. They have successfully removed an obstacle for the main force’s forthcoming penetration into San Carlos Water.

MAY 15, 1982. Overnight this Saturday, a Lynx from HMS *Brilliant* unsuccessfully attacks the Argentine transport *Bahía Buen Suceso* in Fox Bay East, but this blockade runner is rendered inoperable the next midday upon being raked by cannon fire from a pair of Sea Harriers. Also this same Sunday at noon, two Harriers bomb and strafe the 8,500-ton *Río Carcarañá* anchored off Port King, which catches fire, so is beached and abandoned.

MAY 16, 1982. While the *Glamorgan* shells and prowls the coastline between Stanley and Choiseul Sound in a noisy diversionary tactic, the *Alacrity* steals into Falkland Sound once more under cover of darkness and uses Gemini assault boats to deposit an SBS contingent near the Sussex Mountains to prepare for a major disembarkation near San Carlos Water.

MAY 17, 1982. Under cover of night, the carrier HMS *Invincible* and its escort the *Brilliant* speed toward the southernmost coast of Argentina and use Sea King helicopters to deposit Special Forces in an unsuccessful attempt to probe or assault the Río Grande airbase. One helicopter is destroyed, and its three-man crew surrenders to neutral Chilean authorities at Punta Arenas. The diesel submarine HMS *Onyx* covertly retrieves some other Special Forces stragglers.

MAY 18, 1982. Some 200 miles northeast of the Falklands, the main Amphibious Task Group begins to join the advance British carrier group in anticipation of making a major landing in San Carlos Water. Replacement Sea Harriers and helicopters are also flown over to both the *Hermes* and the *Invincible* from the transport *Atlantic Conveyor*.

MAY 19, 1982. In surprisingly calm weather, more than a dozen helicopters are redeployed aboard four British assault ships, as well as troops from the 40th, 42nd, and 45th Royal Marine Commando, plus the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the Parachute Regiment. Late in the day, 21 of 30 SAS commandos who are being transferred from the *Hermes* to the *Intrepid* die when their Sea King crashes into the sea.

MAY 20, 1982. Escorted by the warships *Antrim*, *Ardent*, *Argonaut*, *Brilliant*, *Broadsword*, *Plymouth*, and *Yarmouth*, the initial British troop convoy approaches the north side of the Falklands in daylight—fortuitously masked by poor weather—in anticipation of entering the sound that same night to disgorge its troops in San Carlos Water, on the west coast of East Falkland Island by the next dawn. Troops are crammed aboard the twin 11,600-ton assault ships *Fearless* and *Intrepid*, as well as the 5,500-ton landing ships *Sir Galahad*, *Sir Geraint*, *Sir Lancelot*, *Sir Percivale*, and *Sir Tristram*; the hired merchantmen *Canberra*, *Europic Ferry*, and *Norland*; plus the 14,000-ton Royal Fleet Auxiliaries *Stromness* and 17,200-ton *Fort Austin*.

MAY 21, 1982. *British Counterinvasion.* At 1:30 a.m., a pair of Wessex helicopters deposits 25 SBS commandos atop the 800-foot headland known as Fanning Head overlooking San Carlos Water’s entrance to clear it of a 20-man Argentine observation post armed with two artillery pieces and two mortars, before the main British landing force can be ferried in below. When called upon to surrender, these Argentines refuse, so they are subdued with support fire from the *Antrim*, most being either killed or captured. A second small SAS D Squadron detachment flies farther south aboard Sea King helicopters to land just north of the village of Darwin, pinning down its disoriented garrison with mortar rounds lobbed out of the darkness as well as salvoes fired from the 2,750-ton, Type-21 frigate HMS *Ardent* out in Grantham Sound.

Shortly before 5:00 a.m., the 2nd Parachute Battalion is able to disembark at the village of San Carlos and head five miles inland to take up positions in the strategic Sussex Mountains, while the 40th Royal Marine Commando digs in with four armored vehicles below the west ridge of the Verde Mountains. British planners hope to quickly secure all the high ground around San Carlos Water to create a defensible pocket against air attacks from which to build up their logistical land base. At daybreak, two Sea Harriers destroy three Argentine helicopters parked

between Mount Kent and Mount Estancia, while the 16 British landing craft return into San Carlos Water with a second British assault wave: the 45th Royal Marine Commando coming ashore on the western peninsula near the disused meat-packing plant at Ajax Bay, while the 3rd Parachute Battalion lands a mile west of the hamlet of Port San Carlos, on the northeastern side of the Water.

Having thus secured three major beachheads without opposition, the 12 big British transports enter San Carlos Water in single file behind HMS *Plymouth*, the liner *Canberra*, and other larger ships anchoring in the deeper water to its north, while the smaller landing ship logistics or LSLs heave to near the village of San Carlos. Sea Kings immediately begin airlifting Rapier anti-aircraft batteries and 105-mm artillery pieces ashore to establish a defensive perimeter, while more troops and heavier equipment are being littered ashore. By 8:30 a.m., the bulk of Brig. Gen. Julian H. A. Thompson's 3rd Commando Brigade has secured a toehold on the west coast of East Falkland Island, the only major British losses being incurred a half-hour later when two Gazelle helicopters are shot down by the 41 Argentine defenders of J Company, 25th Infantry Regiment under Lt. Carlos Daniel Esteban, still holding out in the eastern portion of the Port San Carlos settlement. Shortly thereafter, these heavily outnumbered Argentine troops withdraw north-eastward into the hills.

The escorting Royal Navy warships have meanwhile redeployed into a defensive gun line out in Falkland Sound. Although a single Argentine Navy MB-339A out of Stanley makes a strafing run against the 3,200-ton, Leander-class frigate *Argonaut* around 10:00 a.m., wounding three crew members, concerted Argentine counterattacks do not commence until a half-hour later when the first low-flying sorties arrive from the mainland. Eight Daggers of "Grupo 6" strafe the *Broadsword* and the *Antrim*, striking the latter with a 1,000-pound Mark-17 bomb—at such short range, though, that it fails to arm in time to detonate. It does, however, oblige the destroyer to retreat into San Carlos Water to have it defused and removed. Shortly after noon, three Sea Harriers shoot down a "Grupo 3" Pucará from Goose Green, while a single A-4Q Skyhawk fighter-bomber from the Argentine Navy's 3 Attack Squadron narrowly misses the *Ardent* with two bombs at 1:00 p.m. A second incoming wave of four Skyhawks from "Grupo 4" is broken up over Chartres on West Falkland Island by Sea Harriers, who down

two of these Argentine Air Force planes with Sidewinder missiles near Christmas Harbour.

At 2:30 p.m., however, six Skyhawks of "Grupo 5" nearly finish off the slightly damaged *Argonaut*, strafing and hitting it with two 1,000-pound bombs, which fail to explode yet remain lodged in its boiler room and a missile magazine, leaving the frigate temporarily adrift and perilously crippled for another week. Four Daggers of "Grupo 6" from Río Grande are intercepted over West Falkland Island by Sea Harriers, and one is brought down near Teal River Inlet, yet the remaining trio roars into Grantham Sound out of the southwest to pummel the *Ardent*, which must limp away in search of protection. Three more Daggers from San Julián thereupon strafe the *Brilliant*, inflicting minor damage and a few casualties, but a follow-up trio is intercepted over West Falkland Island and all are shot down north of Port Howard by Sea Harriers. Thirty minutes later, three Skyhawks of the Argentine Navy's 3rd Squadron hammer the *Ardent* once more off North West Island. The ship is now ablaze from seven bomb hits, listing, and with a total of 22 dead and 30 injured aboard, so Commander West must give the order to abandon ship, leaving the hulk to burn out and sink by the next evening. The escaping Skyhawks are all brought down near Swan Island.

By the end of this day, although the initial 3,000-man British landing force is safely ensconced ashore with 1,000 tons of supplies, the decimation suffered by its naval escorts compels the partially offloaded merchantmen *Canberra*, *Europic Ferry*, and *Norland* to retreat northeast overnight toward the carrier group, accompanied by the battered *Antrim*, leaving behind only the strained Royal Navy defenders and assault ships. Any Argentine elation is tempered by their heavy aerial losses, for 14 aircraft fail to return, an attrition rate they cannot long sustain.

MAY 22, 1982. As bad weather over the Argentine mainland temporarily grounds all flights, Thompson's landing force is able to expand two of its beachheads uncontested, the 3rd Parachute Battalion pushing west and north out of Port San Carlos to seize all its surrounding high ground, while the 42nd Royal Marine Commando follows Lieutenant Esteban's retreating two-score Argentines as far as Cerro Montevideo before digging in there. Royal Marine scouts of the Mountain and Arctic Warfare Cadre are also brought in by helicopter to observe enemy movements from atop Bull and Evelyn hills, while the 180-man, 2,750-ton, Type-21 frigate



After an unexploded bomb detonated aboard the Antelope off Ajax Bay claiming the life of Staff Sgt. James Prescott of the Royal Engineers, the abandoned frigate's missile magazines burn and flare throughout the night. (U.K. Ministry of Defence)

HMS *Antelope* of Cmdr. Nicholas Tobin joins the Royal Navy gun line offshore.

This same morning, the Type Z-28 Argentine patrol boat *Río Iguazú* is sighted in Choiseul Bay by two Sea Harriers while it is attempting to carry aircraft spares and 105-mm howitzers from Stanley into Goose Green. The Harriers strafe and drive the *Río Iguazú* aground in Button Bay, yet the Argentines nonetheless manage to recuperate two of its artillery pieces.

MAY 23, 1982. Early on this Sunday morning, a Lynx helicopter from the *Brilliant* spots the commandeered coaster *Monsumen* stealing from Darwin around the eastern coastline, hoping to regain the protection of the Argentine defenses near Stanley. When a heliborne SBS party cannot board, the coaster is driven aground in Lively Sound by the *Brilliant* and the *Yarmouth*. A flight of three Argentine Army Puma helicopters carrying ammunition and stores from Stanley for the 5th Infantry Regi-

ment at Port Howard, escorted by an A-109 Augusta helicopter gunship, is also intercepted near Shag Cove House and scattered by four Harriers, only one Puma surviving.

Shortly after noon, though, four Argentine Air Force A-4B Skyhawks of "Grupo 5" attack the *Antelope* in San Carlos Water, hitting its starboard side with two 1,100-pound bombs that kill one crewman, yet fail to explode. Two subsequent aerial attacks fail to hit any more ships, but when demolition experts attempt to defuse the *Antelope's* unexploded bombs off Ajax Bay that evening, one detonates, causing the frigate to catch fire and sink the next day.

MAY 24, 1982. Before dawn, an SBS reconnaissance team slips ashore in Port Salvador to check nearby Teal Inlet in anticipation of the forthcoming British advance, while a D Squadron SAS contingent is helicoptered atop 1,500-foot-high Mount Kent, although the weather closes in before this advance position can be reinforced in strength.

Argentine air attacks continue this morning against the British naval concentration in and around San Carlos Water, four “Grupo 6” Daggers coming in low over Pebble Island, although three are shot down by Sidewinder missiles fired by a pair of Sea Harriers. However, a simultaneous descent by more Daggers and Skyhawks from “Grupo 4” and “Grupo 5” against the landing ships anchored inside succeed in striking the *Sir Galahad* and the *Sir Lancelot*—although both bombs fail to explode. Upon retiring, one damaged Skyhawk crashes in King George Bay off West Falkland Island.

MAY 25, 1982. Today being an Argentine national holiday, repeated aerial assaults are launched from the mainland. This morning, a flight of “Grupo 5” Skyhawks is repelled when a Sea Dart from the 3,500-ton, Type-42 destroyer HMS *Coventry* downs one at long range north of Pebble Island, causing the rest to disperse. A midday raid into San Carlos Water by four “Grupo 4” aircraft sees one blasted out of the sky, and a second destroyed northeast of Pebble Island by another Sea Dart fired from the *Coventry*.

Yet in mid-afternoon, two pairs of “Grupo 5” Skyhawks roar in upon the *Broadsword* and the *Coventry*, the former’s Sea Wolf defenses failing so that it is struck by a bomb, which skips through its stern without exploding. The two Argentine planes aiming for the *Coventry*, though, strike it with three 880-pound French SAMP bombs at 3:20 p.m., causing it to capsize within a half-hour with the loss of 19 hands and 25 others wounded.

Shortly thereafter, 90 miles farther northeast out at sea, a pair of Super Etendards of the Argentine Navy’s 2nd Fighter-Attack Squadron out of Río Gallegos, after being refueled in mid-flight by a Hercules tanker, approaches the main British task force. Just past 4:30 p.m., they launch a pair of Exocets from a range of 30 miles, one of which hits the 160-man, 15,000-ton hired Cunard container ship *Atlantic Conveyor*, killing a dozen crewmen (among them Capt. Ian H. North) and sparking an uncontrollable blaze. Important British supplies and eight helicopters—including five vitally needed heavy-lift Chinooks—are lost when this vessel burns out and sinks three days later.

MAY 26, 1982. As part of a continual British buildup, the destroyers *Bristol* and *Cardiff*, as well as the frigates *Active*, *Andromeda*, *Avenger*, *Minerva*, and *Penelope* join the carrier task force out at sea, help-

ing to escort transports and auxiliaries as they make their runs into the San Carlos Water beachheads, as well as to bombard Argentine positions at night. SAS scouts in the Mount Kent region also report this same morning that, in the first countermove by the island’s defenders, the 12th Argentine Infantry Regiment is being redeployed to reinforce the small air force garrison holding Goose Green, the Falklands’s second largest settlement.

Unable to airlift the anticipated numbers of troops and matériel for an immediate attack against Stanley because of the sinking of the *Atlantic Conveyor*’s Chinook helicopters, Brigadier General Thompson decides to instead overrun Goose Green first, thereby clearing his flank before his main force marches inland. The 500-man 2nd Parachute Battalion is consequently ordered to push south out of its Sussex Mountain positions overnight, trudging eight miles across difficult terrain with 120-pound packs into a new jump-off position at Camilla Creek House. Meanwhile, other British units will shift eastward to occupy the vacated Mount Kent region, a key valley system leading directly toward Stanley.

MAY 27, 1982. *Goose Green.* Before daybreak, the 2nd Parachute Battalion of Lt. Col. Herbert Jones reaches Camilla Creek House, an empty building for rural work parties that stands 11 miles short of Goose Green. While the weary troopers recuperate, two patrols probe down both sides of the nearby peninsula, observing the Argentine defenses outside the nearby settlement of Darwin. Early in the afternoon, these scouts call in an air strike by two Sea Harriers, who lose one plane during a subsequent series of strafing runs against the alerted antiaircraft batteries. The British reconnaissance parties are then spotted and chased back by Argentine machine-gun fire. While retiring, however, the scouts capture some soldiers in a civilian Land Rover who reveal details about the garrison’s strength.

The original Argentine air force unit that has seized the Goose Green airfield under air commodore Wilson D. Pedroza, backed by elements of the 601st Anti-Aircraft Battalion and a single company from the regular 25th Infantry Regiment, has since been reinforced by the bulk of the 12th Infantry and three 105-mm howitzers under that regiment’s second-in-command, Lt. Col. Italo Piaggi. (Brig. Gen. Omar Parada, the 12th Infantry’s regimental commander, will still be in Stanley when fighting erupts.) The British consequently helicopter in a trio of their own 105-mm guns that same evening from the 8th

Battery, 29th Commando Royal Artillery Regiment, to bolster the 2nd Parachute Battalion's pair of mortars and light surface-to-air missiles. At 11:00 p.m., the whole battalion moves two miles forward into a starting line, while the frigate *Arrow* steals into adjacent Brenton Loch to provide artillery support.

When Burntside House is shelled and stormed by one paratroop company at 3:30 a.m. on May 28, the British find it undefended. Two other companies, however, encounter a series of Argentine trenches three-quarters of an hour later, and confused fighting spreads in the darkness. Slowly, the attackers work their way around Darwin Hill by midmorning. Dogged resistance from the 12th Regiment's well-entrenched conscript troops is met, however, and Colonel Jones is slain while assaulting an Argentine strongpoint at 10:00 a.m. His second-in-command, Maj. Christopher Kebble, nonetheless succeeds in outflanking the western strongpoint at Boca House shortly thereafter, so the British break through, and resistance atop Darwin Hill is finally snuffed out by noon. Two more parachute companies must then brave heavy counterfire from Argentine antiaircraft batteries while rushing the airfield and Goose Green itself from atop Darwin Ridge this same afternoon, as well as enduring strafing runs from a pair of Argentine Navy MB-339s and two Pucará's of "Grupo 3," one each being shot down around 5:00 p.m. Twenty-five minutes later, three Harriers devastate the Argentine defenses around the airfield, leading to a retreat.

By dusk, the 1,000 or so surviving defenders are pressed back inside Goose Green's buildings, encircled by exhausted paratroopers. Major Kebble sends in two prisoners with a surrender demand for Air Commodore Pedroza, who accepts after all-night negotiations, and the Argentines capitulate by 9:30 the next morning. Their fatalities total 45 men, while British casualties are 17 dead and 37 wounded. The seizure of Goose Green will furthermore isolate the two Argentine regiments and their support units garrisoning Port Howard and Fox Bay on West Falkland Island, for boats can no longer steal around the coastline from the main concentration at Stanley to sustain those 2,000 men.

MAY 28, 1982. Having traversed 20 miles in freezing weather overnight from Port San Carlos and New House, the 600-man 45th Royal Marine Commando reaches a deserted shepherd's house near Douglas Paddock around 2:00 a.m. and digs in. The 460-man 3rd Parachute Battalion of Lt. Col. Hew

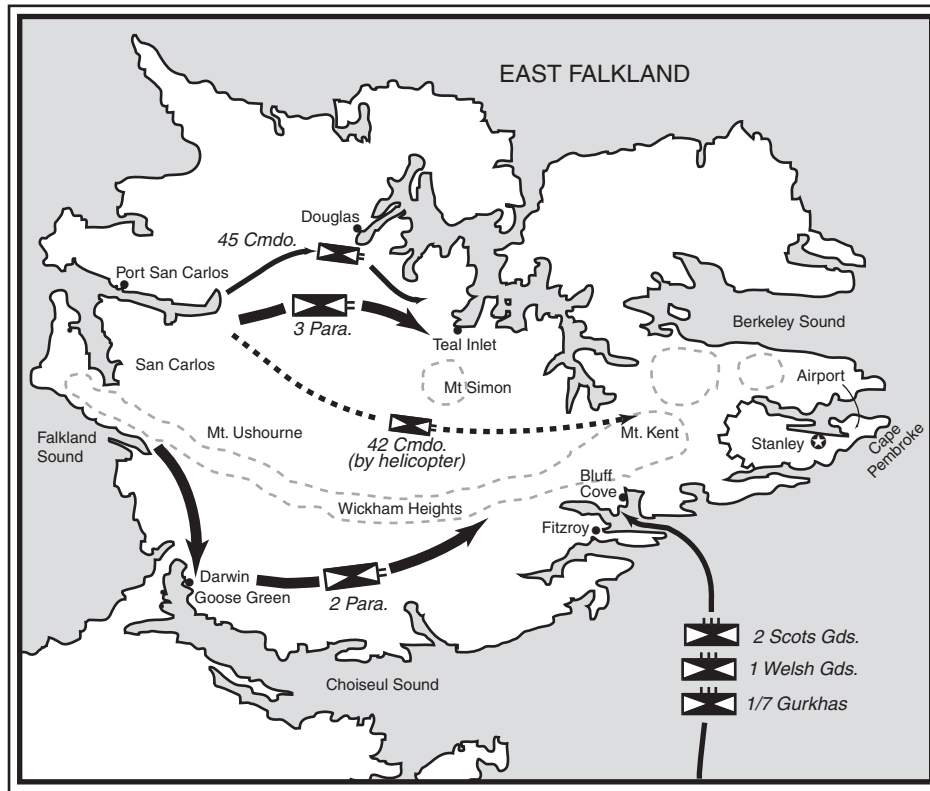
W. R. Pike passes them via another route suggested by a local guide, reaching Teal Inlet this same day after nightfall.

MAY 29, 1982. Amid a noticeable slackening in Argentine aerial sorties, Canberra bombers of "Grupo 2" make a harassing raid early this morning above San Carlos Water, followed by a midday raid by "Grupo 6" Daggers, during which one is brought down by a Rapier. Also, a lone Argentine Air Force C-130 Hercules from "Grupo 1" drops eight bombs north of South Georgia Island on the tanker *British Wye*, only one of which strikes and bounces harmlessly into the ocean without detonating.

MAY 30, 1982. The 3rd Parachute Battalion and some light tanks of the Blues and Royals press east toward Mount Estancia, while 45th Royal Marine Commando will later move into their vacated positions in Teal Inlet. This same afternoon, much farther east out at sea, two Super Etendards launch an Exocet against HMS *Avenger*, which misses. Four "Grupo 4" Skyhawks that attempt to follow up this Argentine attack suffer two losses to Sea Dart missiles.

And very late on this same Sunday evening, three Sea Kings begin the blizzard-delayed airlift of 42nd Royal Marine Commando to join SAS scouts operating two miles from the foot of Mount Kent, landing successfully despite an ongoing firefight against an Argentine patrol. This force quickly secures Mount Challenger, Mount Wall, and Bluff Cove Peak in addition to Mount Kent, while a Royal Air Force Chinook helicopter reinforces this forward position by bringing in three 105-mm howitzers from the 7th Battery, 29th Commando Royal Artillery.

MAY 31, 1982. Early on this Monday morning, a lone Vulcan bomber launches an AGM-45 Shrike missile attack against the Argentine radar installations guarding Stanley airfield, but only succeeds in slightly damaging the main TPS-43 surveillance unit. Then two hours after dawn, a 20-man Mountain and Arctic Warfare Cadre unit under Royal Marine captain Roderick Boswell helicopters in to attack a 17-man Argentine patrol from the 602nd Special Forces Commando under Lt. Luis Alberto Brown, which was deposited earlier by a pair of helicopters at a deserted shepherd's residence known as Top Malo House. In a spirited clash, 5 Argentines are killed and 7 wounded (including Brown) before the remainder surrender, while three British marines are wounded.



British advance across East Falkland Island.

The 3rd Parachute Battalion meanwhile secures Mount Estancia and is joined the next day by the six guns of the 79th Royal Artillery Battery. Also overnight on May 31–June 1, the assault ship *Intrepid* appears off Teal Inlet, ferrying the first supplies ashore to transform it into an advance depot.

JUNE 1, 1982. The first elements of Maj. Gen. Jeremy J. Moore's 3,000-man 5th Infantry Brigade begin arriving in San Carlos Water, and the 1st Battalion of the 7th "Duke of Edinburgh's Own" Gurkha Rifles begins disembarking from the transports *Norland*, *Baltic Ferry*, and *Atlantic Causeway*. Late this same morning, the frigate HMS *Minerva* detects an Argentine Air Force "Grupo 1" Hercules on a reconnaissance flight nearby, which is downed 50 miles north of Pebble Island by a Sea Harrier.

The next day, the *Canberra* will bring in the remaining 5th Brigade units: the 1st Welsh and 2nd Scots Guards battalions. By the time these three battalions and their artillery, engineering, and helicopter support groups complete their disembarkations, the British will have roughly 10,000 fighting men massed on East Falkland Island under Moore's command.

JUNE 2, 1982. The Royal Engineers complete a small airfield at Port San Carlos suitable for Harriers and helicopters. A dozen men of the 2nd Parachute Battalion under Maj. John Crosland also fly out to Swan Inlet House aboard five Army "Scout" helicopters and discover that Fitzroy and Bluff Cove have been evacuated, as all Argentine forces are redeploying into more defensible positions around Stanley. Consequently, other 2nd Parachute units are airlifted the 35 miles from Goose Green to seize these two settlements uncontested.

JUNE 3, 1982. An early morning raid by a Vulcan bomber destroys one of the Argentine anti-aircraft battery "Skyguard" radar installations atop Sapper Hill outside Stanley with a Shrike missile, although the Vulcan is subsequently obliged to land and be temporarily interned at Rio de Janeiro because of refueling problems during its return flight toward Ascension Island.

JUNE 5, 1982. To reinforce the advance 2nd Parachute footholds holding Bluff Cove and Fitzroy, General Moore takes the risk of having the 2nd Scots Guards Battalion board the assault ship *Intrepid*

and sail out of the protected San Carlos Water anchorage, rounding Lafonia under cover of darkness to transfer onto four landing craft off Lively Island and then to steal into Bluff Cove early the next morning.

JUNE 6, 1982. The assault ship *Fearless* follows out of San Carlos Water with the 1st Welsh Guards Battalion but, upon reaching Lively Island, finds only two landing craft available. A single company is thus sent on to Bluff Cove by sunrise, while the *Fearless* brings the remaining 350 guardsmen back into its anchorage.

JUNE 7, 1982. This morning, an Argentine Air Force reconnaissance Learjet 35-A is shot down over Pebble Island by a Sea Dart from the *Exeter*. The *Norland* also steams out of San Carlos Water with 1,000 Argentine prisoners, bound for repatriation at Montevideo, while D Company of the Gurkhas is conveyed around to Fitzroy as an advance unit aboard the recuperated coaster *Monsunen*. Late this same afternoon, the landing ship *Sir Tristram* furthermore reaches Fitzroy to begin offloading 1,500 tons of ammunition and other supplies.

JUNE 8, 1982. Just past 8:00 a.m., the *Sir Tristram* is joined off Fitzroy by the *Sir Galahad* under Capt. Philip Roberts, which has brought the remaining 1st Welsh Guardsmen around from San Carlos Water. Because the disembarkation proceeds slowly and with various complications over several hours in broad daylight, Argentine observers atop Mount Harriet radio their headquarters, and two flights of Daggers and Skyhawks suddenly appear over Falkland Sound from the mainland around 2:00 p.m. The five Daggers of "Grupo 6" immediately strafe and bomb the frigate *Plymouth*, which is steaming toward West Falkland Island to shell Argentine positions atop Mount Rosalie. This Royal Navy warship is only slightly damaged by four bomb hits, all of which fail to detonate, nonetheless killing one crewman and injuring four.

Two patrolling Sea Harriers immediately set off in pursuit of the retiring Daggers, but during their absence, five Skyhawks of "Grupo 5" make an undetected descent out of the east upon the *Sir Tristram* and the *Sir Galahad*, still anchored and crowded with men off Fitzroy. Two of these planes put a pair of bombs into the former landing ship, one of which passes straight through and fails to explode, though the other causes extensive damage and kills 2 crew

members. The other three Skyhawks hit the *Sir Galahad* with at least two, if not three, bombs, which deflagrate and burst into flames, sparking an inferno that inflicts heavy casualties amid its cramped confines: 32 Welsh guardsmen are killed and 46 wounded, plus another 11 Army personnel and 5 crewmen dead, with another 100 burned or injured. Both vessels are rendered inoperable for the duration of this conflict; the gutted *Sir Galahad* is abandoned 40 minutes afterward and eventually scuttled.

Later that same afternoon, another four "Grupo 4" Skyhawks appear above Fitzroy and attack British positions ashore, while four Skyhawks from "Grupo 5" catch the LCU *Foxtrot Four* from HMS *Fearless* in Choiseul Sound, ferrying vehicles from Goose Green toward Fitzroy. It sinks from a bomb hit, and 6 of its 7 crewmen die. A pair of Sea Harriers brings down three of these Argentine Skyhawks with Sidewinder missiles as they depart.



Defeated Argentine troops surrender their weapons. (Armada de la República de Argentina)

JUNE 11, 1982. *Closing in on Stanley.* After another dawn raid by a single Royal Air Force Vulcan, which drops conventional bombs on Stanley's airfield, a Wessex helicopter approaches Stanley's Town Hall covertly out of the north, flying via a circuitous route through the hills. The British know that Menéndez and his high command hold a meeting inside every morning, so two AS-12 wire-guided missiles are fired—yet miss—before the helicopter escapes through a heavy antiaircraft barrage.

Moore's main army is now prepared for a concerted nocturnal push against the outer ring of Argentine trenches in the rocky highlands west of the capital. Having moved seven of his eight infantry battalions and all five heavy artillery batteries into jump-off positions, the British commander gives the order. Around 8:15 p.m., two companies of Colonel Pike's 3rd Parachute Battalion move silently from their start line toward Mount Longdon, until one trooper accidentally steps on a mine and alerts the defenders of B Company of the 7th Argentine "Coronel Pedro Conde" Infantry Regiment under 34-year-old major Carlos Carrizo Salvadores. Ten hours of confused and bloody combat ensue, during which 17 paratroopers lose their lives and 35 more are wounded, compared to 50 dead and a like number captured among the Argentines, who finally retreat at dawn.

The 42nd Royal Marine Commando of Lt. Col. Nicholas F. Vaux meanwhile moves stealthily toward jagged Mount Harriet at 10:00 p.m., its initial approach being masked by British shelling and other diversionary gunfire. At the cost of only 2 killed and 26 wounded, they will follow "creeping" artillery barrages to clear all the bunkers and machine-gun emplacements held by contingents from the Argentine 4th "Monte Caseros" Infantry Regiment under Lt. Col. Diego Alejandro Soria, slaying 50 defenders and capturing 300. The 45th Royal Marine Commando of Lt. Col. Andrew F. Whitehead also makes a silent jump-off one hour later, gliding across open terrain toward the eminence known as Two Sisters, only to be checked less than a mile short of its peak by heavy machine-gun emplacements manned by yet other Argentine units of the 4th Infantry under Maj. Ricardo Córdón, the regiment's second-in-command. Several hours of heavy gunfire and artillery exchanges ensue until Córdón is captured in his bunker at 3:00 a.m. and the summit itself is taken at dawn by a British charge, at a cost of 3 marines and a royal engineer from the 59th Independent Commando Squadron who is shot dead, compared

to 10 Argentine fatalities and 44 prisoners. (Córdón will later be court-martialed and dismissed from the service.)

All the British attack columns thereupon dig in and are subjected to heavy and accurate Argentine artillery counterfire by 105-mm Oto Melara pack howitzers.

JUNE 12, 1982. While retiring back out to sea just past 3:30 a.m. after having provided gunnery support overnight for the British land assault against Two Sisters, the destroyer *Glamorgan* of Capt. Michael Barrow is hit in the stern 17 miles southwest of Stanley by an Argentine MM38 Exocet missile, jury-rigged atop a truck on land—a feat thought impossible but that the defenders successfully attempted two weeks previously. Thirteen of the *Glamorgan's* crew members are killed and 17 wounded before a raging fire can be brought under control.

This same morning, Stanley airfield is bombed by a lone Vulcan bomber, the last such strike of the war. Argentine artillery nevertheless maintains a steady shelling of the new British positions atop Mount Longdon, Mount Harriet, and Two Sisters, inflicting a number of casualties.

JUNE 13, 1982. *Capitulation.* This morning, the 2nd Scots Guards Battalion of Lt. Col. Michael I. E. Scott is moved by helicopter from Bluff Cove to dig in under artillery fire at the southwestern end of Goat Ridge in anticipation of joining a coordinated assault against the last major Argentine defensive positions overnight, their specific objective being Tumbledown Mountain outside Stanley. The 2nd Parachute Battalion, now under Lt. Col. David Chaundler, also shifts out of its trenches north of Mount Longdon to prepare to attack the northern flank of Wireless Ridge, a line of hills and ridges running between the Murrell River and the north shore of Stanley harbor. The Gurkha Battalion is moreover helicoptered into a forward position just south of Two Sisters to storm Mount William.

A bit later, a flight of Argentine Air Force Skyhawks from "Grupo 5" attacks British field headquarters and other positions atop Mount Kent and Mount Longdon, damaging three helicopters but without inflicting any casualties. Two "Grupo 2" Canberras furthermore bomb Mount Kent this same Sunday evening, one being brought down by a Sea Dart missile. Neither bombardment seriously disrupts British preparations for their nocturnal assaults, which are bolstered when a pair of Royal Air Force

Harriers drop four 1,000-pound, laser-guided bombs onto the outermost Argentine emplacements.

Then at 8:30 p.m., a diversionary attack is initiated farther to the south by 30 men of a reconnaissance platoon under Maj. Richard Bethell, accompanied by four light Scorpion and Scimitar armored fighting vehicles. The lead tank hits a mine, and a Scots guardsman and Royal engineer are killed during the subsequent firefight, but the attack permits the main bulk of the Scots Guards Battalion to move silently a half-hour later through the bitterly cold night directly toward Tumbledown Mountain. The mountain's western end is clambered and secured by 10:30 p.m., but the Argentine defenders of the 5th Marine Infantry Battalion under 49-year-old lieutenant commander Carlos Hugo Robacio offer increasingly stiff resistance, so the entire craggy summit cannot be carried until after seven hours of fierce fighting, and the mountain's eastern slope does not fall until 8:15 a.m. on June 14, when the Gurkhas move around it. Scott's losses total 9 dead and 43 wounded.

The first company from the 2nd Parachute Battalion leaves its start line at 21:45 p.m. on June 13, supported by artillery fire from the British warships *Ambuscade* and *Yarmouth* offshore, plus two field batteries of the 29th Commando Royal Artillery Regiment, 16 mortars, and four light tanks from The Blues and the Royals. Although small Rough Diamond Hill west-northwest of Wireless Ridge is abandoned without a fight by the teenage conscripts of C Company of the 7th Argentine Infantry Regiment under Lt. Hugo García, defensive counterfire from the massed guns of the 4th Airborne Artillery Group farther back soon grows heavier. Subsequent British columns thus face stiffer opposition from the bulk of the 7th Regiment under Lt.

Col. Omar Giménez. D Company of the 2nd Parachute Battalion nonetheless gains the western end of Wireless Ridge and, with coordinated salvos from support units below and offshore, slowly fights its way along its entire length by dawn, until the Argentines retreat into Moody Brook and Stanley.

The 500 Gurkhas of Lt. Col. David Morgan have meanwhile marched along Goat Ridge's north face in the darkness, suffering a few casualties from Argentine shelling while waiting for the Scots Guards to secure their Tumbledown objective above so that they might then swing around that mountain and, in turn, storm Mount William. The order is eventually given at dawn of June 14, at which the Gurkhas trot single file through a minefield and Argentine shelling, detaching B Company to secure Tumbledown's eastern face before their main body charges howling toward Mount William. Its Argentine conscript defenders, already demoralized by the loss of Tumbledown and fearful of the Gurkhas' reputation as warriors, flee their posts rather than resist.

JUNE 14, 1982. Tumbledown, Mount William, and Wireless Ridge are taken in British night attacks. Argentine troops flee their final defensible positions outside Stanley, and white flags begin to be seen. The Argentine commander in chief, Brigadier General Menéndez, agrees to parley with British general Moore, and surrenders his 11,000 men at 9:00 p.m. During this brief war, 255 British lives have been lost, as opposed to more than 1,000 Argentines.

JUNE 15, 1982. Galtieri addresses a throng in Plaza de Mayo, which angrily denounces his conduct of war and has to be dispersed by force.

GRENADA INVASION (1983)

After a couple of centuries of British colonial rule, this Caribbean island gains its independence in 1974, and its first prime minister is the eccentric Sir Eric Gairy, a former trade union organizer. In March 1979, he is overthrown in a bloodless coup engineered by his longtime political rival Maurice Bishop, who heads the New JEWEL Movement Party—an acronym for “Joint Endeavor for Welfare, Education, and Liberation.” This organization actively seeks closer ties with Cuba and other communist states, culminating in an ambitious project to build a 9,000-foot runway at Point Salines on the southwestern tip of Grenada. Although ostensibly intended to bolster the island's sagging tourist trade by receiving large jets, it will also serve as a staging point for Cuban airlifts bound toward Africa, as well as for Soviet flights into Nicaragua.

By the summer of 1983, Bishop and one faction of the JEWEL Movement have grown distinctly uneasy over this heavy-handed communist connection and wishes to reestablish better relations with the West. Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and another more radical faction, however, are determined to lead Grenada's conversion into a full-blown Marxist state. On October 13, 1983, Coard—after first obtaining the backing of Gen. Hudson Austin—places Bishop under house arrest, to stand trial for “failing to carry out orders from the Central Committee.” Several days of pro-Bishop demonstrations ensue throughout the island, plus diplomatic protests are heard from abroad.

On Wednesday, October 19, Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman harangues a crowd in the capital of St. George's, which then marches upon the official residence at Mount Royal and frees their leader against token opposition. Fired by this success, the mob subsequently liberates detained cabinet members from old Fort Ruppert, before three armored personnel carriers and a truckload of People's Revolutionary Army or PRA soldiers arrive under officer cadet Conrad Meyers, who gives the order to open fire. More than 100 Grenadians are consequently killed, and Bishop and several prominent supporters are rearrested and brutally put to death inside the fort.

News of this atrocity prompts neighboring Dominica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, Montserrat, Saint Kitts-Nevis, and Antigua to request military intervention from Barbados, Jamaica, and the United States. The conservative American administration of President Ronald Reagan—which has viewed developments on Grenada over the past few months with growing distaste—reacts swiftly, being especially concerned for the fate of 1,000 U.S. citizens on the island (mostly students and faculty at St. George's University Medical School).

OCTOBER 20, 1983. The Cuban government denounces the killings of Bishop and his supporters as “atrocious acts” and calls for “exemplary punishment” of their murderers.

queen's representative on Grenada, a virtual prisoner at Government House—smuggles out a request for international intervention, which the American administration chooses to honor.

OCTOBER 21, 1983. U.S. Naval Task Force 124 is diverted from a training exercise in the Caribbean to steam directly for Grenada and conduct an evacuation of American noncombatants. It is comprised of the helicopter carrier *Guam* and four landing ships, under the command of Capt. Carl E. Erie. Aboard are 1,700 marines of the 22nd Marine Amphibious Unit or MAU under Col. James P. Faulkner. The carrier battle group *Independence* of Rear Adm. Richard C. Berry is also diverted from the Atlantic to reinforce this operation—designated URGENT FURY—along with its escort screen of cruisers and destroyers.

OCTOBER 23, 1983. Vice Adm. Joseph Metcalf III arrives aboard the *Guam* to assume overall command of the newly activated Joint Task Force 120, with Maj. Gen. Norman H. Schwarzkopf as his deputy.

OCTOBER 24, 1983. Cuban colonel Pedro Tortolo Comas flies into Pearls Airport to assume command over the Cuban construction battalion.

OCTOBER 22, 1983. Cuba's ambassador on Grenada informs Coard and Austin that no military aid will be sent from Havana, although the 700-man construction battalion working on the Point Salines runway will be ordered to fight alongside the PRA, albeit under separate command. This same day, the governor general, Sir Paul Scoon—the

OCTOBER 25, 1983. Before dawn in a steady rain, U.S. Navy SEAL teams reconnoiter Pearls Airport and its surrounding beaches, discovering them to be heavily defended. An Air Force reconnaissance AC-130 Specter gunship also surveys the Point Salines runway, which is found to be blocked with vehicles and other obstructions. Therefore, Admiral Metcalf sends his first Marine contingent in to the attack at 5:00 a.m. aboard CH-46 helicopters rather than risk a disembarkation. Although some antiaircraft fire is drawn upon crossing the coast 20 minutes later, this

is suppressed by the accompanying AH-1T Sea Cobra helicopter gunships, and the Marine companies occupy both Pearls and nearby Grenville by 6:30 a.m., with minimal casualties on both sides.

Also around 5:30 a.m., 3 AC-130 gunships and 10 MC-130 transports approach Point Salines, only to encounter heavy antiaircraft fire. Air Force colonel Hugh Hunter consequently decides to suppress it with strafing runs before allowing the 280 Army Ranger paratroopers to jump. The latter are dropped 45 minutes later and clear the runway within 15 minutes, for most Cuban defenders are down on the beach anticipating a seaborne assault. The rangers quickly overrun their camp, Colonel Tortolo being one of the few to escape into the Russian Embassy in St. George's. Heavier fighting is encountered when the Cuban companies are broken on the beaches shortly thereafter, one counterattack being spearheaded by three BTR-60 armored personnel carriers, all of which are destroyed.

SEAL raids on the Radio Free Grenada transmitter, on Richmond Hill Prison (where many promi-

nent captives are held), and on Government House experience various degrees of difficulty, during which at least four American aircraft are downed. By 2:05 p.m., however, another wave of transports begins landing at Point Salines from Pope Air Force Base in North Carolina to disgorge the 82nd Airborne. The Cuban prisoners are corralled, and the medical school is secured by evening.

OCTOBER 26, 1983. Two hours before sunrise, marines under Lt. Col. Ray Smith disembark from the LST *Manitowoc* at Grand Mal Bay with five M-60A1 tanks to rescue the SEAL team pinned down within Government House by 7:00 a.m. A helicopter landing zone is then established at Queen's Park Race Course, and Fort Frederick is secured by 5:00 p.m., with little opposition.

Half an hour earlier, a heliborne Ranger-Marine force from the *Guam* assaults Grand Anse to rescue its 200-plus American students. A CH-46 helicopter is shot down, but the rest of this force rushes the defenses and airlifts out the students (a dozen rangers

Beirut Barracks Bombings

Amid the buildup for the Grenada invasion, U.S. forces suffered a heavy loss overseas. More than a year earlier, Israel had made a huge incursion into war-racked Lebanon to drive exiled Palestinian fighters from their bases around Beirut. After a month of Israeli shelling, a force of American, French, and Italian troops landed in mid-August 1982 to help effect a disengagement. Shortly after these peacekeepers left, President-elect Bashir Gemayel—a Maronite Catholic and leader of the "Lebanese Forces" militia—was murdered by a bomb on September 14. With Israeli backing, his vengeful followers swarmed into the Shatila and Sabra refugee camps in West Beirut, butchering 700–800 Palestinian civilians over the next four days.

Shocked by this slaughter, which the American government pledged to avert, President Reagan sent back in the multinational force. The first of 1,800 U.S. marines landed at Beirut International Airport on September 29, 1982.

Along with French and Italian units, they had orders to protect civilians from Lebanon's dozens of factions. Yet, however well meant, this mission was soon viewed as a prop for Lebanon's pro-Western Christian elite against its Muslim majority, as well as against Palestinian, Syrian, and Iranian interests. Feelings turned against the multinational presence, and a car bomb exploded at the U.S. Embassy on April 18, 1983, killing 17 American and more than 40 Lebanese employees.

As resentment hardened, the Marine base at the airport came under fire from the Shia suburbs of South Beirut, as well as from Druze fighters supplied by Syria and prowling along nearby slopes. American helicopters, planes, and warships returned fire. Clashes also worsened between Christian, Muslim, Palestinian, and Druze militias, especially in those areas of South Lebanon being evacuated by the Israeli Army. Fearful that the fractured government was about to collapse, Washington instructed the marines and their support ships to shell any moves around the capital that might threaten the Lebanese Army. Yet diplomatic efforts failed to include many key players, hence proved fruitless.

Finally, on the eve of the Grenada operation, a yellow Mercedes delivery truck drove onto the grounds of Beirut's airport around 6:20 a.m. on Sunday morning, October 23, 1983. It turned onto the access road leading to the U.S. Marine compound, and its suicide driver sped through a barbed-wire fence, past two sentry posts, then smashed through a gate into the lobby. The blast leveled the entire four-story, cinder-block building. Some 220 marines, 18 U.S. Navy personnel, and 3 soldiers died. A synchronized attack against the French headquarters a few miles away by a truck racing down a ramp into its underground garage killed 58 French paratroopers. Less than three months later, the multinational force was withdrawn from Beirut.



*An American soldier guarding prisoners on Grenada.
(U.S. Department of Defense)*

remain behind to make room for the rescued and subsequently head out to sea aboard a stolen fishing boat, being picked up by the destroyer *Caron*). Far-

ther south, the 82nd advances out of its base, overwhelming Cuban and Grenadian resistance.

OCTOBER 27, 1983. American units move inland, to an enthusiastic greeting from Grenada's civilian population. At Frequente, a Navy A-7 air strike is mistakenly directed against a group of 82 paratroopers, killing 1 and wounding 15. At 4:45 p.m., the Calivigny Barracks are bombarded and stormed, and its 30 defenders are subdued after a brave resistance. Three Americans are killed and a dozen injured during a multiple helicopter accident. By 10:00 that night, the capital of St. George's is entered without opposition, and the empty Richmond Hill Prison is seized (its guards have fled and the inmates have released themselves).

OCTOBER 28, 1983. The evacuation of American medical students toward Barbados continues, and mopping-up operations proceed.

The next day, the first Caribbean peacekeeping forces arrive, and General Austin and his bodyguards are arrested. Nearby Carriacou Island is overrun by October 31, but no resistance is encountered (although a large arms cache is captured). The Cuban worker battalion and other Eastern Bloc representatives are quickly deported from Grenada, and prominent JEWEL leaders are held for trial, before the U.S. invaders depart by mid-December. Nineteen American servicemen have given their lives and 116 been wounded during this operation, as opposed to 70 defenders killed (25 of them Cuban) and 409 wounded (59 Cuban). Castro's prestige suffers a serious setback throughout the region, and several Caribbean countries sever ties with Havana.

PANAMA CAMPAIGN (1989–1990)

On February 15, 1988, 51-year-old brigadier general Manuel Antonio Noriega—commander in chief of the Panamanian Defense Forces or PDF and de facto ruler of this country—is indicted on drug trafficking charges by American grand juries in Florida. Although subsequently fired by President Eric Arturo Delvalle in a live television broadcast, the general simply dismisses this civilian official and his vice president, replacing them with the more compliant Manuel Palma. Cuba and Nicaragua are the only foreign countries to recognize this irregular change of government.

Relations between Washington and Panama—already strained since July 1987 because of Noriega's corruption and flirtation with anti-American factions—now takes a decidedly downward slide. When the dictator brutally annuls the presidential elections of May 7, 1989 (which the opposition leader Guillermo Endara is poised to win), then further begins harassing American depen-

dents in the Canal Zone, the Bush administration finally decides to act. A mixed brigade from the Army's 7th Light Infantry Division, 5th Mechanized Infantry Division, and 2nd Marine Light Armored Infantry Division are sent to protect U.S. interests, and Gen. Maxwell Thurman is appointed to command.

OCTOBER 3, 1989. Panamanian major Moisés Giroldi Vega launches an abortive coup against Noriega, his followers being crushed by the PDF's 7th Company and "2000" Battalion (so named because the Canal is to revert to Panamanian control that year).

DECEMBER 15, 1989. After weeks of escalating tension with Washington, Noriega is proclaimed "maximum leader" by Panama's rubber-stamp legislature, and a state of war is declared.

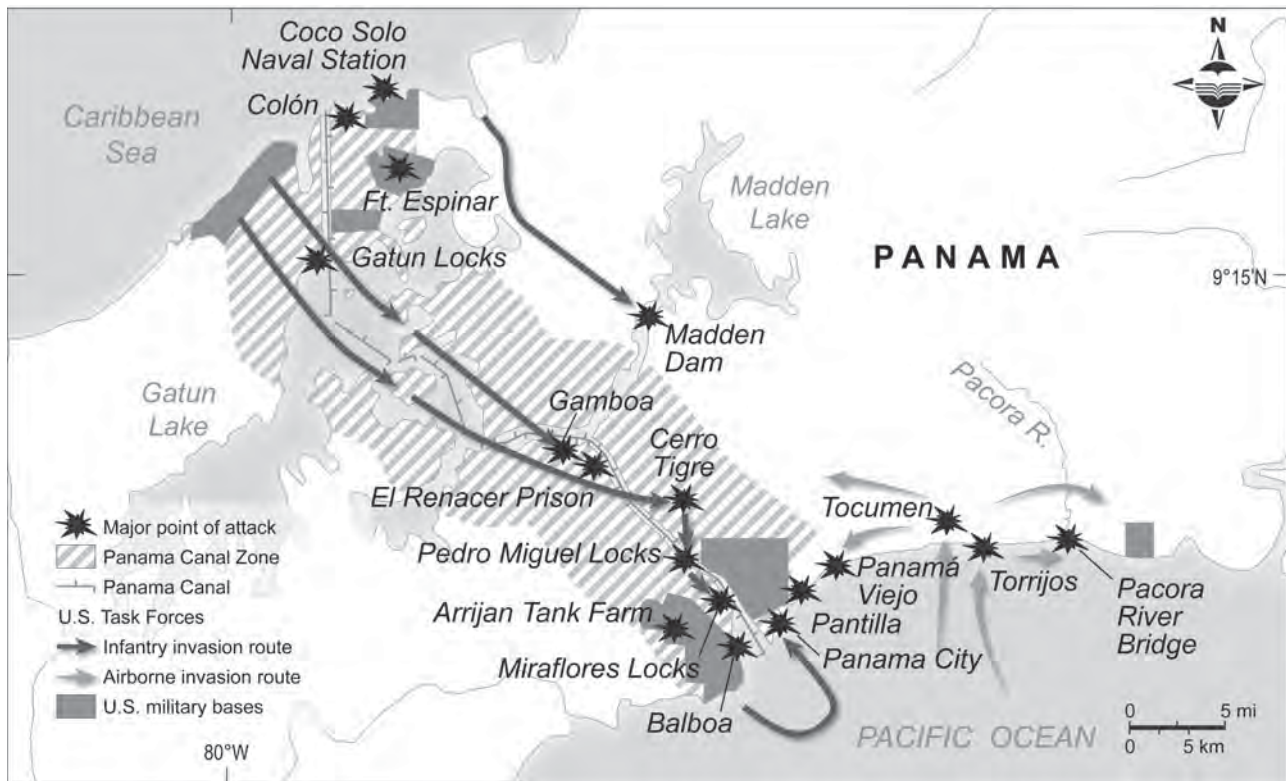
DECEMBER 16, 1989. Four unarmed marine officers are attacked at a PDF checkpoint near Noriega's headquarters or *Comandancia*, and Lt. Robert Paz is killed.

DECEMBER 17, 1989. This Sunday, Bush authorizes the dispatch of 11,000 troops from the XVIII Airborne Corps out of the continental United States to join the 13,000 already guarding the Canal and depose Noriega's regime in an operation code-named JUST CAUSE.

DECEMBER 20, 1989. After building up their numbers in the Canal Zone, the Americans launch their attacks at 1:00 a.m., in four task forces: Bayonet, Red, Semper Fidelis, and Atlantic. The first task force—composed of two infantry battalions, four light Sheridan tanks, and a SEAL team—advances upon the PDF base at Fort Amador, plus their headquarters in downtown Panama City. A SEAL team meanwhile disables Noriega's private



Burning buildings and devastation in Panama City during Operation Just Cause. (U.S. Department of Defense)



U.S. invasion of Panama.

Lear jet at Paitilla Airport, suffering 4 dead and 11 wounded in fierce hand-to-hand combat before retiring. Task Force Pacific—a battalion of 75 rangers, plus two battalions of the 82nd's First Airborne Brigade—drops into the Torrijos-Tocumén airport, covered by AC-130 Specter gunships. (Noriega flees from this place's officer club where he had been asleep.)

The Panamanian “2000” Battalion attempts to mount a counterattack by fighting westward out of its Fort Cimarrón headquarters and across the Pacora River, only to be driven back by the awesome firepower of the American gunships. At 5:00 a.m., nearly four hours late, four C-141 Star-Lifter and three C-130 Hercules jet transports arrive over Panama City from Pope Air Force Base in North Carolina, dropping more paratroopers. Task Force Bayonet has meanwhile overrun PDF headquarters downtown, this firefight engulfing much of the Chorrillo slums in flames. Resistance will not finally cease until Thursday morning, December 21.

In the meantime, Air Force F-117A Stealth fighter-bombers out of Tonopah (Nevada) destroy the armored capabilities of the 600-man PDF

concentration—6th and 7th companies—at Río Hato, 55 miles west of Panama City, followed up by a paratroop drop of a battalion of 75th Rangers under Col. Buck Kernan from 15 transports. This effectively precludes any potential Panamanian counterattack from this base, 34 PDF troops being killed and another 260 captured at a cost of 4 rangers dead, 27 wounded, and 35 jump injuries.

DECEMBER 23, 1989. Having easily routed the PDF, 2,000 additional American troops of the 7th Infantry Division are flown in to restore order in Panama City—scene of widespread looting and rioting—as well as to end sporadic sniper fire.

DECEMBER 24, 1989. After four days spent in hiding, Noriega is granted political asylum at the Papal Embassy in Panama City, along with 10 of his bodyguards. The building is immediately cordoned off by U.S. forces.

DECEMBER 29, 1989. While waiting for Noriega to surrender, American troops smash into the Nicaraguan Embassy in Panama City, uncovering a large cache of weapons and provoking a diplomatic incident.

JANUARY 3, 1990. At 8:50 p.m., Noriega exits the Papal Embassy and is seized by American troops. Flown to Howard Air Force Base aboard a Night Hawk helicopter, he is arrested there by U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration agents, then extradited to Miami aboard a MC-130 transport to stand trial for drug trafficking. He is eventually sentenced on July

10, 1992, to 40 years of incarceration. Casualties from Operation JUST CAUSE are estimated at 23 Americans dead and 330 wounded; 297 PDF members killed and 123 wounded (several hundred more being captured); plus 500 Panamanian civilians killed, hundreds others injured, and 18,000 left homeless. Material damages are calculated at between \$1 and \$2 billion.

POST-COLD WAR ERA (1990–PRESENT)

Abroad, the Cold War ends when an exhausted Soviet Union simply implodes from stagnation, its once all-powerful Central Committee agreeing to relinquish political power by February 7, 1990, after which East and West Germany move toward reunification and other satellite communist states peacefully regain their independence. Already the greatest military power in the Western Hemisphere, the United States is left as the lone superpower in the world after the Soviet Union itself dissolves on Christmas Day 1991. Despite its unassailable military position, though, Washington cannot prevent isolated terrorist strikes or minor eruptions from occurring throughout the Americas.

FEBRUARY 15, 1990. Argentina and the United Kingdom agree to restore diplomatic relations, almost eight years after the conclusion of the Falklands War.

MARCH 10, 1990. Eighteen months after seizing power, Prosper Avril is ousted from office as president of Haiti, his tenure undermined by a wave of growing popular unrest.

MARCH 11, 1990. Patricio Alwyn is sworn in as Chile's first democratically elected president in 20 years.

JULY 27, 1990. Angered by unresolved land claims, 42 members of an extremist Black Muslim sect called the "Jamaat al Muslimeen"—led by Yasin Abu Bakr, a former policeman born under the name of Lennox Philip—storm the "Red House" or parliament building in Trinidad and Tobago's capital of Port of Spain. Prime Minister A. N. R. Robinson and most of his cabinet are taken hostage during this coup d'état attempt, while another 72 Muslimeen seize the island's only television station. Abu Bakr broadcasts a live message at 6:00 p.m., announcing the fall of the National Alliance for Reconstruction or NAR administration and calling for calm while he negotiates his sect's terms with the army.

Port of Spain is nonetheless gripped by widespread looting and arson, as the Trinidad and Tobago

Defense Force and policemen redeploy to seal off the area around the Red House. Acting President Emmanuel Carter and a few cabinet members declare a state of emergency, and troops retake the television station overnight. After six days of negotiations, during which the Muslimeen insist upon receiving amnesty, they surrender on August 1. After two years of incarceration, they are all released.

It is believed that between 26 and 40 people were killed during this confrontation, and dozens of others wounded, including Prime Minister Robinson. Property damage ran into the millions, and the NAR government was effectively doomed. Some Jamaat al Muslimeen members subsequently become involved in even more illegal activities, such as drug smuggling and extortion.

DECEMBER 3, 1990. Argentine Army troops, followers of Colonel Seineldin, mutiny and are only put down after several deaths and 300 arrests.

DECEMBER 5, 1990. In Panama, former Noriega loyalist, Col. Eduardo Herrera Hassan, leads a revolt by 100 members of the newly created *Fuerza Pública de Panamá* or "Panama Public Force" (FPP) and are put down by the 193rd U.S. Infantry Brigade.

DECEMBER 24, 1990. Although forced out of office three years previously, Suriname's still-active strongman Dési Bouterse informs the Assembly

President Ramsewak Shankar over the telephone that his government must resign, an act that is known as the “Telephone Coup.”

JANUARY 7, 1991. In Port-au-Prince, the former cabinet minister Roger Lafontant seizes the presidential palace and compels Acting President Ertha Pascal-Trouillot to read a letter of resignation. Supporters of the former Roman Catholic priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide, winner of the December 16, 1990, elections—although not yet installed into office—stage such massive street protests that the Haitian Army intervenes and jails Lafondant.

SEPTEMBER 29–30, 1991. Overnight, Aristide is deposed as president of Haiti in a military coup engineered by Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras, his army chief of staff. Aristide is expelled to Venezuela, while thousands of his supporters are subsequently killed, injured, tortured, or detained in a wave of repression. Joseph Nerette is appointed as puppet president, but most foreign governments refuse to recognize this change of administration, along with all Haitian embassies overseas.

JANUARY 16, 1992. Representatives of the government of El Salvador and rebel leaders sign a pact in Mexico City marking an end to a 12-year civil war that has claimed at least 75,000 lives.

FEBRUARY 4, 1992. At dawn, five Venezuelan Army units under the 37-year-old lieutenant colonel Hugo Rafael Chávez Frías race into Caracas to seize the Miraflores Presidential Palace, the Defense Ministry, the Francisco de Miranda Airbase at La Carlota, and La Planicie Military Historical Museum. It is Chávez’s aim to detain the unpopular President Pérez as he returns from an overseas trip, while other cities are simultaneously to be occupied by fellow conspirators.

Although Valencia, Maracaibo, and Maracay all fall into rebel hands, Chávez’s coup misfires in the capital. He soon finds himself surrounded in the museum by loyal units and compelled to surrender after exchanges of gunfire in which 14 soldiers are slain, plus another 50 troops and 80 civilians injured. When he is made to appear on national television and order the other rebel detachments to lay down their arms, he is catapulted into national prominence, quipping on air that he has only failed *por ahora* or “for now.”

MARCH 17, 1992. A pickup truck driven by a suicide bomber smashes into the Israeli Embassy in Buenos Aires, the resultant detonation killing 29 people and injuring 242, as well as leveling several nearby structures. The radical Middle Eastern group known as “Islamic Jihad” claims responsibility, allegedly in revenge for the assassination on February 16 in southern Lebanon of the Hezbollah leader Sheikh Abbas al-Musawi and his family when his motorcade was destroyed by helicopter gunships.

OCTOBER 2, 1992. After prisoners have revolted in the overcrowded, diseased, and poorly managed Carandiru Penitentiary in São Paulo (Brazil), this complex is stormed by military policemen under Col. Ubiratan Guimarães, who shoot dead 102 detainees while freeing 68 captive guards. Guimarães is subsequently convicted of excessive use of force, although his sentence is later overturned.

OCTOBER 5, 1992. After enduring a generation of elections rigged in favor of the People’s National Congress or PNC, which mostly upholds the interests of Guyana’s Afro minority, 100 foreign monitors—including former U.S. president Jimmy Carter—ensure the victory of the People’s Progressive Party or PPC, predominantly sprung from the Indo-Guyanese majority, despite numerous acts of violence and riots.

NOVEMBER 27, 1992. After several delays, a second coup attempt occurs in Caracas aimed at removing Venezuelan President Pérez from office and freeing Col. Hugo Chávez from Yare Prison in the Tuy Valleys. This group of rebels is led by rear admirals Hernán Grüber Odremán and Luis Enrique Cabrera Aguirre, as well as Air Force brigadier general Francisco Visconti Osorio, with backing from certain army and civilian factions. Government television stations and transmitters are seized at 4:30 a.m., which then broadcast appeals by the mutinous soldiery for a popular uprising as well as recordings of Chávez harangues. A half-hour later, a dozen fighter bombers take off from Visconti’s Libertador Airbase to bomb the presidential palace and other installations, four being shot down by antiaircraft fire.

Although a few sympathetic outbursts do erupt in the capital, its population is generally alarmed by the threatening demeanor of the rebel troops as seen uncensored on television, hence no widespread insurrection ensues. The president counters by appearing on a private television station at 6:30 a.m.,

appealing for calm as loyal units attack the rebels. Sporadic clashes occur throughout the city, until armored columns compel admirals Grüber and Cabrera to surrender at the Military Historical Museum by 3:30 p.m. Libertador Airbase is also overrun around that same time, Visconti escaping with 100 followers aboard a C-130 Hercules transport to seek asylum at Iquitos (Peru).

The coup is finished by sundown, an official investigation listing 29 servicemen and 142 civilians as being killed, with hundreds more injured or arrested, as well as the destruction of 17 air force planes and untold other material damage.

FEBRUARY 26, 1993. A Ryder rental van packed by Islamist extremists with 1,300 pounds of home-made explosives detonates in the parking garage below the North Tower of New York City's World Trade Center, killing 6 people and injuring at least 1,040, yet failing in its intended goal of toppling this 110-story structure.

FEBRUARY 28, 1993. After a month of surveillance and preparations, U.S. federal agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF) mount a Sunday morning raid against the Mount Carmel compound, nine miles east-northeast of Waco (Texas), to investigate complaints of child abuse and stockpiling of weapons by a decades-old apocalyptic sect—formerly part of the broader Branch Davidian movement, now headed by the schismatic David Koresh.

A violent shootout results in the death of 4 agents and 6 sect members, so the raiding party retreats, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, along with the ATF and local law enforcement agencies, isolates the compound. Unable to starve the sect into surrendering, they storm the compound again with armored vehicles on April 19. Several fires erupt, and the entire complex burns to the ground, claiming the lives of 76 sect members—including 27 children, whom the agents are purportedly striving to save. Such heavy-handed tactics horrify the nation and spawn a wave of distrust among other fringe groups.

OCTOBER 30, 1993. After only limited pressure has been exerted upon the corrupt, usurper government of Haiti by an Organization of American States-imposed embargo—including the use of U.S. naval blockaders and the freezing of suspect assets in Miami—General Cédras, de facto ruler of this island,

unleashes another wave of violent repression, which prevents the return into office of the democratically elected president Aristide. As a result, U.S. president William Jefferson “Bill” Clinton authorizes the implementation of measures leading toward a full-scale American military intervention, which will be dubbed Operation UPHOLD DEMOCRACY.

DECEMBER 2, 1993. Fugitive Colombian drug lord Pablo Escobar is gunned down in Medellín when police close in to rearrest him.

JANUARY 1, 1994. Timed to embarrass the Mexican government by coinciding with that nation's entry into the North American Free Trade Agreement, guerrilla bands of the heretofore unknown *Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional* or “Zapatista Army for National Liberation” (EZLN) seize government offices in San Cristóbal de las Casas, Las Margaritas, and Ocosingo, all in the impoverished southern border state of Chiapas. Thousands of troops are rushed into the region by President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, yet they cannot crush the elusive 2,000 guerrillas, who disappear into jungle hideaways, despite various clashes in which several hundred people perish, while tens of thousands of peasant refugees seek to escape the fighting. Salinas de Gortari therefore calls a halt to military operations on January 12 and sends his foreign minister, Manuel Camacho Solís, to negotiate a truce with the mysterious rebel leader, Subcomandante Marcos. These talks continue until the scheduled change of federal administration at the end of that year.

The newly installed president, Ernesto Zedillo Ponce de León, on February 9, 1995, orders the army to resume its offensive against the rebel stronghold of Guadalupe Tepeyac, deep within the Lacandona jungles, and moreover identifies the rebel leader as a university graduate named Rafael Sebastián Guillén, born into a middle-class family 37 years previously at Tampico (Tamaulipas). Five days later, military operations are once again halted, and a year of more negotiations ensues, producing an accord by February 16, 1996. Upon assuming office on December 1, 2000, the new president Vicente Fox orders the army withdrawn altogether from Chiapas, even allowing Marcos to tour the country giving leftist speeches.

MAY 1994. In a move intended to deflect gathering foreign support for the restoration of the exiled Haitian president Aristide, Cédras installs the frail,

80-year-old Emile Jonassaint as puppet president and prime minister. The United States and most other countries refuse to recognize this as a legitimate change of government.

JULY 18, 1994. As part of a global spate of attacks, a suicide bomber—believed to be 21-year-old Ibrahim Hussein Berro sent by the radical Shia militant group Hezbollah of Lebanon—drives a van laden with ammonium-nitrate explosives through the front gates of the Argentine-Israeli Mutual Association in the Once District near downtown Buenos Aires, igniting a blast that kills 85 people and wounds more than 300. The subsequent investigation fails to uncover any of the bomber's coconspirators, although it is believed by both the Israeli intelligence agency Mossad and Argentina's SIDE that they have operated from Ciudad del Este, a smuggling center on the Paraguayan border populated by many traders of Middle Eastern origin.

JULY 31, 1994. The United Nations passes an American-sponsored resolution authorizing the use

of force to restore Haiti's president Aristide into office.

SEPTEMBER 23, 1994. *Haitian Operation.* After dispatching a 23-vessel American fleet with a large landing force on the previous evening, President Clinton allows a trio of emissaries—former president Jimmy Carter, former chief of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff general Colin Powell, and Sen. Sam Nunn of Georgia, chairman of the Armed Services Committee—to fly into Haiti's capital of Port-au-Prince on Friday to conduct last-minute negotiations. To avoid bloodshed, they offer inducements to Cédras, his second-in-command brigadier general Philippe Biamby, and police chief Lt. Col. Joseph Michel François to go into exile.

When the American task force of Adm. Paul D. Miller appears offshore on September 26, it consists of overwhelming force: the nuclear aircraft carriers *America* and *Eisenhower*, bearing more than 100 helicopters and 4,000 troops between them; the helicopter carrier *Wasp*, conveying an additional 2,000 marines; the amphibious assault vessels *Nashville* and



U.S. marines patrol the streets of Cap-Haïtien, guarding the parade route of Jean-Bertrand Aristide during his visit on September 30, 1994, shortly before being restored to the presidency. (U.S. Department of Defense)

Mount Whitney; the guided missile destroyer *Comte de Grasse*; the guided missile frigates *Aubrey Fitch*, *Oliver Hazard Perry*, and *Clifton Sprague*; plus 14 other transports and support vessels.

Together, they quickly throw 19,000 troops ashore, encountering no opposition from Haiti's 7,000-man army, which is ordered not to fight because of Cédras's last-minute acceptance of Washington's terms. After a three-week occupation, during which American peacekeeping forces and their UN allies fully secure the island, Aristide returns into Port-au-Prince on October 15, while Cédras flies off into exile in Panama.

JANUARY 26, 1995. *Ecuadorian-Peruvian Border Skirmish.* Fighting erupts between 40-man Peruvian and Ecuadorian detachments in the Cenepa River Basin of the Upper Amazon, specifically about the latter's hold on four border outposts along 48 miles of the still ill-charted frontier in the Cóndor Range between both nations. (Such outbursts usually coincide with anniversaries of the January 1942 Treaty of Rio de Janeiro, whereby Ecuador lost much of this territory; see "July 5, 1941" entry in "Latin American Troubles.")

Over the next month, some 3,000 Ecuadorian and 2,000 Peruvian troops are moved into this region, the former accurately raining mortar rounds and rockets down out of the heights upon the Peruvians below, targeted with global positioning systems. Jet fighter-bombers also make numerous flights. The most serious fighting centers around the Cueva de los Tallos, Base Sur, and Tiwintza outposts in the north, all of which are successfully defended by Ecuadorian jungle infantrymen. An estimated 31 fatalities are inflicted on both sides before a cease-fire and agreement to separate the forces is signed at Montevideo on February 28. Actual withdrawals commence by March 30, concluding on May 3, this confrontation being regarded as an Ecuadorian victory.

APRIL 19, 1995. At 9:02 a.m. on this Wednesday morning, an enormous blast destroys the Alfred P. Murrah Building, a U.S. federal government complex in downtown Oklahoma City, killing 168 people and injuring more than 800. The explosion emanates from a rented Ryder truck parked beside the building's north face, packed with 5,000 pounds of ammonium-nitrate fertilizer and nitromethane, a highly volatile fuel for race cars.

Initial suspicions focus on Middle Eastern terrorists, but 90 minutes later a car without license

plates departing Oklahoma City northward on I-35 is pulled over and its driver Timothy McVeigh is arrested. A recently discharged Gulf War veteran who harbors a bitter hatred of the American government, McVeigh confesses to the bombing, which he declares is to avenge the Waco "Branch Davidian" assault of two years previously (see "February 28, 1993" entry). He is eventually executed by lethal injection, while his coconspirator Terry Nichols receives multiple life sentences for helping to construct the bomb, and Michael Fortier is given 12 years for failing to warn the authorities.

FEBRUARY 1996. As America's antinarcotics campaign becomes increasingly militarized, President Clinton nominates U.S. Army general Barry McCaffrey, a veteran of the Vietnam War and Operation DESERT STORM, as the nation's latest director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy—a position commonly referred to as the "Drug Czar."

SEPTEMBER 4, 1996. Marxist guerrillas of the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* or "Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia" (FARC) launch a surprise attack against a Colombian military base in the south central Department of Guaviare, inaugurating a three-week offensive that will claim at least 130 lives.

DECEMBER 29, 1996. Representatives of the Guatemalan government and its National Revolutionary Union sign a peace accord, ending 36 years of civil war that has claimed about 200,000 lives.

DECEMBER 30, 1996. Five years after their last known operation, a handful of FPMR guerrillas swoops into the maximum-security prison outside Santiago de Chile at 4:00 p.m. aboard a hijacked Bell "Long Ranger" helicopter of the federal Carabinero police and frees four imprisoned colleagues within less than a minute.

APRIL 22, 1997. After a 126-day occupation of the Japanese Embassy in Lima by 14 *Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru* or MRTA guerrillas, 140 Peruvian commandos sent by the country's president Alberto Fujimori launch a surprise attack against the building at 3:19 p.m., while the rebel leader Néstor Cerpa Cartolini and 9 of his followers are exercising inside by playing soccer. All the terrorists and 2 soldiers are killed in the resultant half-hour shootout, which is furthermore punctuated by numerous

FARC

A U.S.-assisted sweep by the Colombian Army through the Marquetalia jungles in the southern Department of Tolima in May 1964 stamped out most guerrilla resistance. But a small peasant group named the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* or “Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia” survived. Two years later, FARC was reorganized as the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party. New leadership was provided by the young Marxist intellectual “Jacobo Arenas,” born Luis Morantes, and the veteran jungle fighter Manuel Marulanda Vélez. The latter was born Pedro Antonio Marín, but he assumed the name of a murdered union leader and was better known as *Tiro Fijo* or “Sure-shot.”

Their 350 ragtag followers proved little challenge to the Colombian Army, until Arenas refined their strategic objectives during the so-called Seventh Guerrilla Conference of 1982. Under his guidance, FARC was changed into a “People’s Army.” Uniforms with rank insignias were given to the guerrillas, as well as better weaponry. Discipline, pay, and logistics all were improved. Through such means, Arenas hoped to create a force that could spearhead a drive to national power.

In fact, he produced what has been described as “the most capable and dangerous Marxist guerrilla organization in the world.” Any means, fair or foul, were used to advance the revolution. FARC cruelly pillaged towns, kidnapped individuals for ransom, extorted monthly payments known as “vaccines” from companies, laid highway blockades, randomly detonated terrorist bombs, and gave protection to drug traffickers harvesting coca in its territory.

Arenas, however, died on August 10, 1990, allegedly of natural causes, although rumors persist that he was shot by an angry subaltern. Without his lead, FARC lost its ideological zeal to topple the government. Instead, the movement entrenched under Tiro Fijo in the southeastern jungles and plains at the foot of the Andes. Although it maintained secret operatives in major cities, and the number of its fighters doubled to 15,000, FARC was satisfied to retain control over its third of Colombia’s interior. In recent years, the organization had to defend this territory and its lucrative drug trade against renewed government offensives, such as the “Plan Patriota” campaign of 2002–2004.

detonations. One of the 72 hostages also dies of a heart attack while the others are being freed.

JULY 13, 1997. The exhumed remains of Ché Guevara (*see* “October 8, 1967” entry in “Latin

American Troubles”) are returned to Cuba. They are received at San Antonio de los Baños airbase outside Havana by a full military guard headed by President Castro and reinterred on October 17 in a specially built mausoleum in the city of Santa Clara, scene of his greatest revolutionary triumph.

MARCH 2, 1998. On Monday of the last week leading into Colombia’s congressional elections, FARC guerrillas ambush a column of government troops in El Billar Ravine, along the jungle banks of the Caguan River deep inside coca-producing Caquetá Province, near the Amazonian headwaters in the country’s southernmost corner. Several-score fatalities are inflicted during three days of intense combat, which the guerrillas intend to use as a warning to frighten voters away from attending the polls on Sunday.

MARCH 10, 1998. At 82 years of age, General Pinochet retires as the head of Chile’s army and is succeeded by Gen. Ricardo Izurieta. The next day, Pinochet is named a senator for life amid civilian protests against this unelected appointment, designed to shield him from prosecution.

JANUARY 15, 2000. After months of rampant inflation and economic recession, indigenous Ecuadorians begin a march upon the capital of Quito, calling for the resignation of President Jamil Mahuad Witt. Despite the deployment of thousands of troops and policemen at checkpoints all across the country, thousands of protesters nonetheless get through, storming the Parliament on January 21—as soldiers stand aside, obliging Mahuad to flee Carondelet Palace for the safety of a nearby military base. The next day, Gen. Carlos Mendoza—head of the armed forces—announces the deposition of the president and his temporary replacement by a three-man council comprised of the general, the indigenous leader Antonio Vargas, and the supreme court justice Carlos Solórzano.

MAY 18, 2000. Mutinous Paraguayan troops attempt to take over the barracks in the capital of Asunción in support of the exiled leader, General Oviedo, of one of the Colorado Party factions. Their rebellion is quickly suffocated within a few hours, and President Luis González Macchi the next day proclaims a month-long state of national emergency.

AUGUST 2000. To assist the antidrug and social stabilization efforts of Colombia’s President Andrés

Pastrana Arango, U.S. president Clinton delivers a \$1.3 billion package of American aid, part of which will fund the purchase and operation of 60 combat helicopters, plus the training of their pilots and other related support troops and personnel.

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001. 9/11. At 8:46 a.m. on this Tuesday morning, American Airlines jetliner Flight 11 unexpectedly roars across New York City's Manhattan Island and slams into one of its prominent twin skyscrapers, the north face of the North Tower of the 110-story World Trade Center. As rescue teams mobilize and news crews film this apparent accident, United Airlines Flight 175 deliberately flies across the Hudson River into the South Tower at 9:03 a.m. The fact that these are coordinated terrorist attacks by suicide pilots is confirmed when yet another hijacked American Airlines jetliner, Flight 77, hurtles into the Pentagon outside Washington, D.C., at 10:03 a.m. A fourth plane, United Airlines Flight 93, is intended to hit the U.S. Capitol, yet instead plunges into a field outside Shanksville (Pennsylvania) after its passengers rise up against their hijackers.

As millions of television viewers watch in horror, each of the burning World Trade Center towers disintegrates over the next couple of hours from the combined stress of such massive impacts, plus the inextinguishable conflagrations sparked by the fully fueled jetliners. As the buildings collapse, enormous amounts of debris rain into the very heart of New York's financial district. Casualties are later tabulated at almost 3,000 dead: 265 crew members and passengers aboard the four airliners, 125 personnel in the Pentagon, plus 2,595 people in the World Trade Center (including 343 firefighters and 60 police officers). Material losses run into the billions of dollars, as more than 30 other damaged buildings will later have to be razed and four subway stations entirely rebuilt.

After an initial period of uncertainty, the 19 perpetrators are identified as members of a violent Muslim fringe group known as Al Qaeda or "The Base," whose leader Osama bin Laden is sheltered by the fundamentalist Taliban government of Afghanistan. Three years previously, bin Laden had issued a *fatwa* or "edict" declaring holy war against America for a litany of alleged grievances. A global

School of the Americas

This institute was created on a base near the Panama Canal by the U.S. Army in 1946 as the "Latin American Training Center—Ground Division." Its aim was to standardize the teaching of Central and South American officers. Renamed the School of the Americas (SOA) in 1963, a thousand trainees received Spanish-language instruction every year. Its graduates proved a valuable means of exerting U.S. influence in the Western Hemisphere after they returned home and were promoted up the ranks.

But a high percentage of Latin America's most undemocratic leaders also were SOA-trained: Leopoldo Galtieri and Roberto Viola of Argentina, Hugo Bánzer of Bolivia, Guillermo Rodríguez of Ecuador, Roberto D'Aubisson of El Salvador, Efraín Ríos Montt of Guatemala, Omar Torrijos and Manuel Noriega of Panama, Vladimiro Montesinos and Juan Velasco Alvarado of Peru, and Juan Manuel Sucre Figarella of Venezuela. America's reputation during the Cold War was damaged by such men. Rumors even spread that in their anticommunist zeal, U.S. instructors gave training in torture methods to crush dissent. Because of such tales, the *Escuela de las Américas* became nicknamed the *Escuela de los Asesinos* or "School of the Assassins."

The Pentagon brushed aside such charges as leftist propaganda. In 1984, it moved the SOA to Fort Benning outside Columbus (Georgia) after the United States signed a treaty to leave the Panama Canal by the end of the century. The institute was further tarnished during the Salvadoran Civil War. Six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper, and her teenage daughter were murdered in their University of Central America residence on November 16, 1989. Of the 27 soldiers implicated in this massacre, 19 were SOA graduates. Ten protesters led by a Maryknoll priest appeared as a result outside Fort Benning's gates on the first anniversary of their deaths, eventually sparking a congressional review of SOA procedures.

After many delays, the Pentagon released seven manuals on September 20, 1996. They showed that the SOA trained Latin American officers in executions, torture, blackmail, and other forms of coercion. Reforms were immediately implemented in hopes of saving the strategically valuable institute. Funding nonetheless was almost suspended in 2000 before the new administration of President George W. Bush allowed the SOA to regroup the next year as the "Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation." Yet tens of thousands of civilian protesters still gathered outside Fort Benning every November. Venezuela, Uruguay, and Argentina also refused to send any more soldiers to be taught at the institute.

groundswell of support backs the U.S. administration of President George W. Bush in assembling a coalition expedition, which one month later fights its way into Afghanistan, expels the Taliban from power, and chases bin Laden into hiding.

MAY 5, 2003. In a bid to free a dozen government officials and soldiers being held hostage in a remote jungle camp by FARC guerrillas, 75 Colombian soldiers descend from a flight of helicopters, only to find 9 captives dead and their captors fled.

MAY 27, 2003. After a month of nationwide strikes and roadblocks, Peru's embattled president Alejandro Toledo imposes a state of emergency and deploys troops to temporarily restore order.

JUNE 2003. *Colombia's "Plan Patriota" Offensive.* To break FARC's grip on rural districts, as well as its lucrative sideline in drug cultivation, the government of newly elected president Álvaro Uribe Vélez launches an ambitious series of offensives dubbed "Plan Patriota." Some 18,000–20,000 troops are involved, supported by heavy transport planes, helicopters, and other sophisticated weaponry provided by Washington at a cost of several hundred millions of dollars, plus the active participation on the ground of 800 U.S. military advisors and 600 private technicians.

Their first joint operation sweeps through the Department of Cundinamarca, outside the national capital of Bogotá, followed by a second offensive initiated on December 31 into the Department of Caquetá, led by the successful general Reinaldo Castellanos of Colombia's 5th Division. Early in 2004, the campaign furthermore extends into the southern departments of Guaviare, Meta, and Putumayo. By late that spring, therefore, FARC forces are being driven from their main towns and strongholds and regrouping in the jungle to resume a guerrilla-style existence, with perhaps 5,000 fighters launching hit-and-run strikes at government weak points. Numerous other followers are slain or desert. Neutral Ecuador also deploys 21,000 troops along its border with Colombia to ensure that this fighting does not spill over into its own territory.

FEBRUARY 5, 2004. An anti-Aristide rebellion begins with the capture of the Gonaïves police station and other government offices by the so-called Revolutionary Resistance Front of Artibonite, soon spreading to nearby Saint-Marc (Haiti). A contin-

gent of 150 officers fails to retake Gonaïves three days later, yet Saint-Marc is subdued by February 10. Rebel forces nevertheless continue to marshal and close in upon the northern city of Cap-Haïtien, the town of Dondon just to its south changing hands several times, before the border city of Hinche is seized on February 16.

The rebel leader Buteur Metayer is supported by the former chief of police for Cap-Haïtien, Guy Philippe, so they penetrate this city with relative ease on February 22. Port-de-Paix follows a couple of days later, after which the southwestern city of Les Cayes is also taken on February 26. Foreigners begin to flee the capital Port-au-Prince, some 300 fatalities having been suffered thus far, while the American president George W. Bush refuses to back the beleaguered Aristide. On Sunday morning, February 29, the Haitian president is removed from office and flown into exile to the Central African Republic aboard a U.S. aircraft, while a UN force comprised of American, Canadian, and French troops arrive to prevent bloodshed during the ensuing governmental transition.

NOVEMBER 2004. A move to impeach Ecuador's 48-year-old president Lucio Gutiérrez on corruption charges is approved by the Ecuadorian Supreme Court, therefore the president retaliates on December 10 by convening 52 of the 100 national congressmen who then remove 27 of the 31 judges from the bench and name more pliant replacements.

Protests against Gutiérrez nevertheless gain momentum in the capital of Quito, until finally—after a massive protest march on April 15, 2005—the embattled president once more dissolves the Supreme Court and declares a national state of emergency. Although demonstrations are briefly curtailed by the authorities' show of force in the capital, they spread to Ecuador's largest city of Guayaquil by April 17, effectively dooming Gutiérrez's administration.

JANUARY 13, 2005. In the grip of a worsening fiscal plight, the People's United Party or PUP government of President Said Musa of Belize announces significant new tax increases. Two days later, angry protests start in the capital Belmopan against the administration's incompetence and corruption, persisting for a week.

MAY 1, 2006. Bolivia's 46-year-old president Juan Evo Morales, a former coca farmer elected on a socialist platform five months previously on promises

to restore that impoverished nation's oil and natural gas production to its state monopoly, informs a roaring crowd in La Paz that troops will be ordered to occupy scores of foreign-owned installations the next day in anticipation of a sweeping nationalization program.

OCTOBER 29, 2006. After five months of occupying the Mexican city of Oaxaca by thousands of

supporters of the state's 70,000 striking teachers, who are furthermore demanding the resignation of Gov. Ulises Ruiz on grounds of electoral fraud and political intimidation, their barricades are breached by armored cars and an estimated 4,000 federal policemen under the command of an army general. A 15-year-old protester is killed, and 50 others are arrested, while the remainder regroups on the grounds of the local university, as minor clashes ensue.

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Glossary

Rank Abbreviations

1st Lt.	first lieutenant	Lt.	lieutenant
2nd Lt.	second lieutenant	Lt. Cmdr.	lieutenant commander
Adm.	admiral	Lt. Col.	lieutenant colonel
Brig. Gen.	brigadier general	Lt. Gen.	lieutenant general
Capt.	captain	Maj.	major
Col.	colonel	Maj. Gen.	major general
Cmdr.	commander	Rear Adm.	rear admiral
Commo.	commodore	Sgt.	sergeant
Cpl.	corporal	Sgt. Maj.	sergeant major
Ens.	ensign	Vice Adm.	vice admiral
Gen.	general		

Terms and Definitions

abaft Further aft than; in or toward the stern.

abatis A barricade made of felled trees whose branches were turned outward toward attackers.

absolutism A system of government, common in Europe during the 16th through 18th centuries, in which total power rests with a monarch or dictator.

Acadia A territory in New France consisting of portions of present-day New England, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces.

accoutrements A soldier's gear except for weapons or clothing.

accrocher To board and grapple an enemy vessel.

adobe Sun-dried bricks fortified with straw used as a building material in the southwestern United States and Latin America.

aft Near, toward, or at the stern of the ship.

aide-de-camp A staff officer who assists a commander on campaign.

Alta California A region of Mexico that is today the state of California.

amidships The center part of the ship. This is both between the fore and aft sections and between the port and starboard sides.

amphibious warfare Military activity that involves landing from ships, either directly or by means of landing craft or helicopters.

armada Large fleet of warships, usually used to refer to the Spanish Armada.

army Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of at least 50,000 to 60,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a general. In previous centuries, armies were much smaller in size.

astern Behind a ship.

aweigh Said of an anchor immediately after it clears the bottom and when its cable is up and down.

ballast Additional weight placed low in the hull to improve stability and enable a ship to carry more sail.

ballistics The science of projectiles, divided into interior and exterior ballistics.

bark A small, often three-masted vessel.

barrage Term for a barrier formed by artillery fire (land) or an antisubmarine net or mine barrier (sea).

battalion Military unit, usually consisting of between 300 and 1,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a lieutenant colonel.

battery Military unit corresponding to an infantry company. In modern times, usually composed of about 100 individuals and commanded by a captain.

battle bill The record of battle stations of a ship and the duties of each man assigned to its stations.

bluecoat Slang term for a Union soldier during the American Civil War.

bow chase Cannon mounted on the fore-part of the ship, used in pursuit of an enemy vessel.

breastworks A barricade usually about breast-high that shielded defenders from enemy fire.

brigade Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of between 3,000 and 5,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a brigadier general (premodern times) or a colonel (modern times).

broadside The firing of all guns on one side of a vessel as nearly simultaneously as possible.

buck and ball A close-range musket load having three large buckshot bound on top of a .69-caliber, smooth-bore musket ball, encased in paper.

Californio An original Spanish colonist of California, or a descendent of such a colonist.

caravel Spanish and Portuguese ship of Moorish origin. Broad beamed; usually square-rigged forward and lateen-rigged on aft masts.

cartel ship Ship used to transport prisoners.

case shot Spherical cannon round that breaks apart shortly after firing; the smaller balls devastate close-by combatants.

cashier To dismiss from military or government service.

cease-fire Partial or temporary cessation of hostilities. A cease-fire can also involve a general armistice, or a total cessation of all hostilities.

chain shot Artillery ammunition consisting of two hollow hemispheres connected by a short length of chain folded inside, with the hemispheres closed together into a ball for loading.

chasseurs Light infantry or cavalry used for quick maneuvering.

chevaux-de-frise Defensive artifact designed to protect fortifications or positions. The device has angles of six to nine feet of long, pointed stakes.

close hauled When a vessel has the wind before its beam, or is sailing as close to the wind as possible.

commerce raiding Attack on an enemy's commercial shipping to rob them of valuable supplies and to decrease morale among the civilian population.

commissioned officer An officer possessing authority over enlisted men and noncommissioned officers whose rank is conferred by a government document (commission). Traditionally, officers were usually of high socioeconomic class because commissions had to be purchased.

commutation Legalized form of avoiding military service. During the American Civil War, the "commutation fee," normally about \$500, allowed one to avoid military service altogether.

company Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of between 70 and 250 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a captain.

conquistador Spanish explorer and conqueror in the New World during the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries.

consort A ship accompanying another, often larger, vessel.

Contras Armed resistance group in Nicaragua during the Cold War opposing the Sandinista regime and supported covertly by the United States.

corps Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of between 30,000 and 50,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a lieutenant general.

corregidor A Spanish magistrate, especially in the Spanish colonies of the New World.

corsair Privateer, derived from the Spanish term *corsario*.

coup (d'état) Sudden, decisive use of force in politics, especially in terms of a violent overthrow of an existing government by a small group often assisted by the military.

coup d'assurance The firing of a gun by a warship when it shows its national ensign to the vessel it is chasing.

coup de semonce The firing of a shot across the bow of a vessel chased by a warship.

court-martial To subject to a military trial with a court consisting of a board of commissioned officers.

corvette A flush-deck vessel usually having only a single tier of guns.

Creole In colonial times, an individual of Spanish descent born in Latin America.

dead reckoning Determining the position of a vessel based on the course steered and distance sailed, not accounting for tides and currents.

Dirty War Period of strict repression and violence during Argentina's 1976-1983 military dictatorship.

division Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of between 10,000 and 20,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a major general.

encomienda Labor system from the 16th to 18th centuries that was designed to reward Spanish conquistadores who had fought on behalf of the Spanish Crown with the labor services of indigenous Indians.

enfilade To fire upon the length rather than the face of an enemy position.

enquête du pavillon The demand of a warship for another vessel to show its national ensign.

envelopment To close in upon an enemy's line from several directions.

executive officer Second-in-command of a vessel, squadron, etc.

flagship Ship carrying an admiral who is in command of a fleet or squadron.

flotilla A grouping of lesser warships, distinct from a fleet by their smaller size.

fraise An obstacle formed by studding a rampart with sharpened stakes.

frigate A vessel ranked between a corvette and a ship of the line possessing both full and light batteries.

galleon A large, square-rigged vessel of the 15th to early 18th centuries. See sidebar on page 82 for additional information.

gangway Opening in a ship giving access to a brow or other ladder.

- give-way vessel** The vessel that must stay clear of another vessel (the stand-on vessel) in accordance with the rules of navigation.
- gaucho** A South American cowboy or herdsman, often of mixed Spanish and Indian descent.
- grape shot** Artillery round; usually 9 shot placed between two iron plates.
- graycoat** Slang term for a Confederate soldier during the American Civil War.
- guerrilla warfare** A form of irregular warfare that is highly flexible and often decentralized. Nontraditional tactics such as raids and ambushes are employed to compensate for a numerical or technological disadvantage.
- gun deck** The main deck of a frigate, which supports its battery.
- gunboat** A small armed vessel.
- gunner** In a navy, a commissioned officer whose duties are to take charge of artillery and ammunition of the ship and to train the crew in the use of its guns.
- heading** Direction in which a vessel's head is pointing; its course.
- Hessians** German mercenaries employed by the British during the American Revolutionary War.
- HMS** His/Her Majesty's Ship; the designation used for vessels of Britain's Royal Navy.
- HMSS** The plural of HMS.
- hull** Actual body of a vessel. Excludes superstructure, rigging, masts, and rudder.
- hulled** Shot below the waterline, allowing water to pour into the hull.
- in irons** Condition whereby, through lack of wind, a sailing ship is unable to move while heading into the wind and attempting to tack.
- in ordinary** Stripped down and laid up in reserve (said of a ship).
- intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)** A ballistic missile with a range of more than 3,417 miles.
- intermediate-range ballistic missile (IRBM)** A ballistic missile with a range of between 1,864 and 3,417 miles.
- invest** To assault or lay siege to; to use military force to prevent entry to or escape from a location.
- ironclad** A warship with a wooden hull that has been sheathed in metal for added protection.
- jibe** To change from one tack to the other by turning the stern through the wind.
- junta** A group of military officers that comes to national power through a military coup.
- lateen** Long, triangular sail common in Mediterranean sailing ships.
- lee shore** A shore toward which the wind is blowing.
- leeward** Downwind, away from the wind.
- letter of marque** Document authorizing the private seizure of certain ships, which enabled nations to wage war on an enemy's maritime commerce at little or no expense.
- Licentiate** A person holding a degree or license from a university.
- main battery** A ship's battery made up of its biggest guns or missiles.
- manifest destiny** A belief common in the United States during the 19th century that held that it was the U.S. right, granted by God, to expand the country across the entire North American continent.
- martial law** Temporary military governance of a civilian population when the civil government has become unable to sustain order.
- medium-range ballistic missile (MRBM)** A ballistic missile with a range of between 621 and 1,864 miles.
- mestizo** An individual of mixed Spanish and indigenous South American ancestry.
- mobilization** The raising of the armed forces of a nation for active military service in time of war or other national emergency.
- Monroe Doctrine** Political philosophy espoused by President James Monroe in 1823 that states that the entirety of the Western Hemisphere falls within the jurisdiction of the United States and should be closed to European influence.
- nautical mile** Unit of measurement at sea, equal to 6,076 feet.
- noncommissioned officer (NCO)** An enlisted soldier who has been promoted to a position of control or authority that is between enlisted men and commissioned officers.
- paramilitary** Civilians organized after a military fashion.
- peninsular** During colonial times, a Spanish individual born in Spain, thus enjoying the highest social status of any nationality or ethnic group.
- petty officer** Naval rank equivalent to a noncommissioned officer.
- pink** A small, usually Dutch, vessel characterized by a narrow, overhanging stern.
- piragua** A type of dugout canoe, usually used in Latin America and the Caribbean.
- platoon** Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of between 30 and 50 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a lieutenant.
- presidio** Spanish fortress, especially in the southwestern United States, created to protect missions and other important areas.
- privateer** An individual authorized to engage in warfare through the issuance of letters of marque.
- provost marshal** Chief of military police.
- quarterdeck** Part of the deck that is designated for both official and ceremonial functions. It is also where crew members board the ship by gangways.
- quartermaster** A commissioned officer whose duty it is to provide clothing and subsistence for soldiers and sailors.
- regiment** Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of between 2,000 and 3,000 individuals and commanded by a commissioned officer, usually a colonel.
- round shot** A ball of iron, the size of which is expressed by its weight or the diameter of its gun's bore.

rudder Device for steering a vessel, usually fitted at the stern.

salvo The simultaneous firing of a number of guns.

scuttling The intentional letting of water into a ship's hull to sink it.

sea lines of communication Essential sea routes for military operations.

ship of the line A warship used in the line of battle, usually possessing at least 74 guns.

short-range ballistic missile (SRBM) A ballistic missile with a range of less than 621 miles.

snow A square-rigged vessel characterized by its trysail mast.

sortie A foray out of defensive position or fortified harbor.

squad Military unit, in modern times usually consisting of between 8 and 14 individuals and commanded by a noncommissioned officer.

strike To strike one's colors; to lower the flag of a vessel during battle as a token of surrender.

submarine-launched ballistic missile (SLBM) A ballistic missile delivering a nuclear weapon that is launched from a submarine.

USS United States ship; the designation used for vessels of the United States Navy.

viceroi The governor of a territory or province who administers as a representative of the home country's monarch or governing body.

West Indies The Caribbean; the series of islands located between North and South America.

windward Toward the wind.

Zapatistas In modern times, members of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Mexico. Originally used to denote followers of Emiliano Zapata during the Mexican Revolution.

Zouave Elite French regiment. See sidebar on page 826 for additional information.

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Note: An asterisk (*) indicates a territory.

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